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"Collecting and arranging...a history of the Globe": a reconsideration of the Salem East India Marine Society and Antebellum American Museology

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"COLLECTING AND ARRANGING…A HISTORY OF THE GLOBE": A RECONSIDERATION OF THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY AND ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN MUSEOLOGY

by

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In Memory of Michael J. Davidson

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“COLLECTING AND ARRANGING…A HISTORY OF THE GLOBE”: A RECONSIDERATION OF THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY AND ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN MUSEOLOGY

(Order No.)

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ABSTRACT

The Salem East India Marine Society Museum was one of the most influential collecting institutions in the antebellum United States. From 1799 to 1867, it was considered a model organization in the Union, and visitors were a reflection of American society. Though it continues today as the Peabody Essex Museum, which garners increasing national and international attention, the Society’s museum is surprisingly unrecognized, understudied, or missing from contemporary scholarship.

This dissertation is the first comprehensive work on the East India Marine Society Museum since 1949. To date, no scholar has made more than a cursory examination of the Society’s substantial institutional archive and few individuals have recognized the significance of this museum to antebellum American culture. By applying critical museological, historical, art historical, and material culture analysis, this study will demonstrate how the Society used objects collected via international exchange to support an American identity tied to the sea. Visitors to the museum, therefore, could

circumnavigate the globe, gaining both an understanding of the world and their place within it.

Chapter 1 traces the East India Marine Society's history while contextualizing their museum within the landscape of American collecting institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 provides an understanding of the origins and evolution of maritime charitable societies and the influence of the Society's benevolent mission on the institution as a whole. Chapter 3 explores the Society's scientific accomplishments and its effect on the collection and display of curiosities. Chapter 4 takes an in-depth look at the men who built and maintained the Society in the nineteenth century and the development of the museum's collection through global trade. Chapter 5 examines the Society's exhibition strategy and the impact of outside consultants on the organization and display of objects. Chapter 6 focuses on nineteenth-century visitor accounts of the museum. This study concludes by illustrating how the Society and its mission remained visible through the museum's various incarnations to date, demonstrating that it was not simply a Salem institution but rather a symbol of the antebellum United States.

PREFACE

I caught my first glimpse of the Peabody Essex Museum, then the Peabody Museum of Salem, as a young boy on a spring vacation to New England. The irony that I would spend a good deal of my early adult life working there would have been lost on a seven-year-old, particularly one who didn't want to get out of the car to enter a forbidding and seemingly boring and dusty place. Once my parents dragged me inside, much to my surprise, I enjoyed the museum, looking at unusual and priceless objects that related many stories about the early days of our Republic. This experience resonated with me as I grew up, and I developed an interest in maritime history and a passion for objects connected to eighteenth and nineteenth century America and the lines of exchange that existed with other cultures.

When I first stepped into the Peabody Essex Museum as an employee, I had no idea that it would have such a profound impact on my professional and intellectual growth. After working at the museum for only a short time—organizing, accessing, and studying the objects I marveled at during that family trip in 1984—I knew that I wanted to be a museum curator. I also realized that material culture was the key to making the past relevant to modern society, and began to understand that museums not only serve as repositories of objects, but also present fresh interpretations of history utilizing their collections. The fundamental characteristics of a museum are particularly important in our contemporary society where young people have grown accustomed to virtual experiences. My work with a unique collection of artifacts taught me that museums must continue to emphasize material culture as the *axis mundi* on which they turn.

For twelve years at the Peabody Essex Museum, I pursued the goal of becoming a curator through my work in the public humanities and in my academic studies, focusing on developing dynamic displays of objects and scholarly publications that impact people's understanding of and connection to the past. I also obtained valuable experience working with leading scholars in the museum world, learning how to develop innovative approaches to interpreting material culture. All the while, I was fascinated with the origins of this institution as I worked with the founding collections of the museum. I wondered why the East India Marine Society's story was not well known outside of Salem. This question and others inspired me to return to the academic world to further advance my intellectual development and contextualize my research within current museological scholarship.

The field of American & New England Studies was the most appropriate discipline to connect my interests with my experience. The doctoral program at Boston University was the ideal place to reassess my academic and professional work in material and maritime culture, allowing me to place the East India Marine Society Museum within the larger scope of American life. Very early on, I realized that my choice was the right one. The program allowed me to broaden the interdisciplinary nature of my work through study with preeminent scholars, and the research I undertook drew connections between the origins of American museums and present-day society. The early history of the East India Marine Society was a period when several "big thinking" sailors brought the world to Salem. The objects that their ships carried—expressions of cultural identity—had a profound impact on the port's residents and mirrored the multiethnic crews who manned

American ships in the nineteenth century. Boston University's program in American & New England Studies allowed me to pursue this line of study and nurture my academic and professional growth, culminating in this dissertation.

As a former curator at the Peabody Essex Museum, I came into the project speaking the language of the East India Marine Society collection. The Society accessioned objects in a variety of ways (outlined in Chapter 5), producing disparate internal and external catalogues that were very familiar to me. Shortly after the Society was formed, objects were entered by hand. After 1803, documentation of new acquisitions was not maintained with the same precision, but after the first museum superintendent was hired in 1820, a printed catalogue containing 2, 269 objects was produced and many objects were renumbered. In 1831, a new edition of the Society's catalogue was published with 4,299 objects. Not all of the entries in the 1821 compilation were repeated in the 1831 catalogue, even though some of the missing objects are still in the collection today. An addendum published in 1837 contains an additional 371 items, and all objects from that point until 1867 were again recorded by hand in internal catalogues. With the formation of the Peabody Academy of Science and the movement of some collections to the Essex Institute, objects were again renumbered and would be recatalogued into the twentieth century. Apart from Mary Malloy's work on the objects associated with the Northwest Coast fur trade, there has been no systematic merging of information for the entire collection until now. This dissertation project, therefore, is the first complete assessment of the Society's holdings.

On January 31st, 1905, Peabody Academy of Science Director Edward Sylvester Morse dedicated the opening of the museum's new Marine Room gallery devoted to Salem's maritime past. Before giving a brief overview of the East India Marine Society, Morse remarked that "a student of history must be the one to properly bring together the records of the East India Marine Society, but on this occasion it is necessary to give an epitome of well-known data." Over the past few years, I spent my workdays in the cozy confines of the Phillips Library's Reading Room taking up Morse's challenge, poring over the Society's substantial institutional archive and other collections for the following dissertation on the Peabody Essex Museum's founding organization.

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"A Cabinet, that Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World"

The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (from here on referred to as the PEM) is America's longest continually operating museum, founded as the East India Marine Society in 1799. This institution has been soaring to great heights both nationally and internationally over the past decade. PEM's progenitor, however, is surprisingly unrecognized, understudied, or missing from contemporary museological discourse. Today, the history of the East India Marine Society Museum (1799-1867) is either omitted or diminished in the context of other early collecting institutions in the United States—particularly Charles Willson Peale's museum in Philadelphia and the Smithsonian Institution—or discussed only in relation to focused studies on parts of its collection.[1]

Cultural historian Steven Conn describes the Society's museum as an "accidental cabinet of curiosities" and states that antebellum writers "noted how few people ever seemed to visit the museum…just how the members intended things."[2] Historian

[1] Peabody Academy of Science director Edward Sylvester Morse stated during an informal lunch commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the East India Marine Society, "The earliest public museum in this country was the Philadelphia Museum established by Charles Willson Peale in 1785. In 1800, this museum was filled with a most heterogeneous collection of objects of which few are now in existence. The Museum of the East India Marine Society, the centennial of which we are here gathered to commemorate was begun in 1799. Unlike the Museum in Philadelphia, which long ago became extinct, our Museum still preserves the early accumulations of its members and one may read on the labels the dates of 1799, 1800, 1801, etc." Edward Sylvester Morse, *A Brief Sketch of the Peabody Academy of Science* (Salem, MA: Peabody Academy of Science, 1900).

[2] Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 127. Conn believes that it was hard to gain admission to the museum based on the requirement to obtain passes from a member. The *New York Journal of Commerce* of August 1841 states just the opposite. "You are only required to present a ticket from some one of the proprietors. This, however, is no hindrance of any who ought to enter such a place. Tickets are gladly furnished to all strangers who may wish to use

Anthony Adler claims that the Patent Office Museum in Washington, D.C., which first exhibited the collection gathered by the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842), "was distinguished from other antebellum museums by the great variety of objects housed and displayed…As the first 'national collection'."[3] The truth is quite the contrary. Forming a museum was part of the founding principles of the Society, and in its day, people from all walks of life—from American presidents to everyday folk—visited this museum acknowledged by many as a model for other institutions in the Union.[4]

In this study I aim to revise our understanding of American museology by offering a more nuanced analysis of the East India Marine Society using a multidisciplinary approach, transforming our perception of the their museum beyond its provinciality by placing it within the narrative of early American museums as one of the most influential and complex institutions in the antebellum United States. At a time when the country was filled with Barnum-esque oddity museums, the East India Marine Society Museum allowed visitors to circumnavigate the globe and gain an understanding of the world through objects collected via global exchange. The complexities of this mission, the Society, and the dualities that existed in the country at the time, however, created something more expressive of a nascent American identity.

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them, and one passing hastily through the place, with but a short time to spare, will commonly find some proprietor in the Museum whenever it is open, who will take pleasure in accommodating him." Cited in "East India Museum," *Salem Gazette*, August 3rd, 1841.

[3] Antony Adler, "From the Pacific to the Patent Office: The US Exploring Expedition and the Origins of America's First National Museum," *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011): 49. Apart from acknowledging the East India Marine Society's role in creating this first and only federally supported American geographic expedition, Adler does not mention the Society's museum nor their collection of objects from the Pacific Islands, a vast collection of material that predate the expedition by thirty years.

[4] The *Essex Register* of October 13th, 1825, notes "[a]lthough their Museum consists exclusively of voluntary contributions, it is believed to be at this moment the best in the Union." "Salem East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 13th, 1825.

While attempting to offer authentic experiences in a museum that claimed to be free to the public, but barred people of color during half of its existence, the East India Marine Society's collection and displays reflected America's burgeoning hegemony at a time when the country battled over the notions of race and citizenship. As museum patrons read these installations as modern museumgoers do, influenced by their personal tastes and cultural background, a more accurate depiction of American ideology and understanding of other cultures emerges. The museum, therefore, is not simply a Salem institution, but rather symbolic of the antebellum United States. These themes still resonate in American life today, and the lessons learned from this study can inform our understanding of contemporary society.

Over the last thirty years, a few museum curators and academics have sought to reclaim the illustrious history of the East India Marine Society by broadening an understanding of its mission. Some of these scholars have ventured beyond a simple exploration of the collecting habits of these mariners to conceptualize their efforts as part of American identity formation in the Early Republic. Others have characterized Society members as wanting to obtain global knowledge in a time of increased international contact, a practice viewed as either a reflection of Society members as "bold entrepreneurs" (as PEM currently believes) or imperialists. In these studies, emphasis has been placed mostly on the Society's East Indies objects—particularly those acquired from China and India—even though they were collecting artifacts from across the globe.

The literature on early American museums is largely composed of similar studies of a small circle of institutions, such as Peale's museum, which are rooted mostly in

secondary literature. The East India Marine Society, however, left a substantial institutional archive currently housed at the PEM's Phillips Library and almost a third of the Society's collection still exists. Unlike other early American museums, this vast collection was well documented for its time as internal and published catalogues almost always included donor names, dates of acquisition, and provenance documentation. In addition, East India Marine Hall, the Society's first permanent home opened in 1825, still exists and is installed in a manner akin to its appearance in the nineteenth century. Still, no scholar has made more than a cursory examination of this vast material, and therefore, very few people have recognized the significance of this museum to antebellum American culture. My dissertation, the first comprehensive study of the East India Marine Society Museum since Walter Whitehill's 1949 volume *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History*, will provide significant new insights into the influence of this museum on collecting, exhibiting and interpreting international collections in the early United States, thus weaving it into the fabric of American life.

When twenty-two master mariners formed the East India Marine Society in 1799, Salem was at the epicenter of American consciousness. In a region devoid of good arable land, the ocean was the town's greatest resource, and serving before the mast was the accepted career path for most young men. Commercial shipping grew out of Salem's fishing industry, and the town quickly developed into a thriving mercantile community in the Atlantic world. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Salem's overseas trade increased. Local vessels traded with Spain, Portugal, the Caribbean, and the Azores, and

while the town continued to thrive as a small fishing community, in the 1760s a few successful maritime merchants assembled several waterfront lots and began construction of larger commercial wharves.

After the Revolutionary War, some Salem merchants who had prospered during the conflict began investing their fortunes in the reestablishment of their fishing fleets and reaffirmation of old trade relationships.[5] A few pioneering businessmen like Elias Hasket Derby (1739-1799), the first millionaire in the United States, took advantage of unfettered trade in the New Republic and looked for expanded opportunities in new areas, primarily around the Baltic Sea and in the Far East.[6] Salem mariners, many of whom founded the East India Marine Society or later joined the organization, moved away from the familiar pre-war routes and helped steer these new East India ships into uncharted waters. Thus began Salem's Golden Age of maritime commerce as the town grew to be an entrepôt. As skilled mariners were the port's best feature and most marketable commodity, Salem vessels peddled a litany of goods around the world in the face of

[5] Daniel Vickers notes that Salem's schooner fleet rebounded to pre-Revolutionary form in 1794, but the port was withdrawing from this industry in favor of European and East Indies commerce. By 1844, only three vessels were fishing in the outer banks off the coast. Daniel Vickers, *Farmers & Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 283.

[6] Historian Sidney Perley states, "The East India trade was also opened by Mr. Derby, in 1788, by the ship *Atlantic*, which was commanded by his son. This was the first vessel to display the American ensign at Surat, Bombay and Calcutta. The next year, he imported the first cargo of Bombay cotton brought to this country. In 1798, the ship *Belisarius* brought a cargo of ten thousand, seven hundred and sixty-seven pounds of sugar and one hundred and eighteen thousand, two hundred and fifteen pounds of coffee from Calcutta and the Isle of France." Sidney Perley, "Commercial History of Salem," *The Essex Antiquarian*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1897): 4.

hostile British, French, Malay and Barbary ships and economic risks.[7] In return, they carried home prized cargo and objects from distant lands.

As historian Daniel Vickers notes, "Today it is difficult to reimagine an early American past when the frontier extended in all directions and when the Atlantic, rather than the continental West, stood at the center of our country's geographic consciousness. In that world, Salem was not peripheral but fully enmeshed in the central historical developments of the age."[8] In this environment, master mariners from Salem, Massachusetts, formed a new marine society—The Salem East India Marine Society. Unlike other marine societies, whose primary focus centered on providing relief to the widows and children of deceased sailors, this organization had loftier ambitions beyond benevolence. Membership was limited to Salem supercargoes and masters who navigated the seas beyond both Capes, and among the many by-laws of the organization was one instructing members "to form a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn."[9]

From 1799 to 1867, over 330 members fulfilled the Society's objectives, donating man-made and natural objects collected from many ports of call around the globe. The Society also accepted gifts from individuals outside of the organization—from other mariners, trading partners, and the lay public. In addition, the East India Marine Society

[7] As coastal-based trade waned in favor of overseas routes, a mariner's career was more uncertain. Voyages were longer and sailors venturing to the East Indies and the Pacific spent years away from home, becoming strangers in their own towns. More manpower was required to sale larger vessels, which had increased in tonnage from around 5,500 in 1765 to about 28,000 in 1805. In contrast to this almost fivefold increase, the number of Salem mariners on voyages increased seventy percent—345 in 1765 to 585 in 1805. Daniel Vickers, with Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 250, 177.

[8] Ibid, 249.

[9] East India Marine Society, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (Salem, MA: Printed by W. Palfray, Jr., 1821), 4.

commissioned works from local artists to fill perceived gaps in their institutional narrative. Through these multiple networks, the Society amassed over 6,400 objects during its history, from Pacific island idols to flora and fauna to Western art. This collection of material culture was at the nexus of global interaction, connected to the mercantile trade that dominated international relations during the early days of the New Republic. When displayed in the Society's museum, these expressions of cultural identity had a profound impact on visitors.

While Salem's maritime clout would weaken throughout the century, the reputation of the Society's museum did not. In 1841, the *Salem Gazette* of November 9th notes:

> We do not think it is too much to say that our city owes to this society, next to its "witches" one of its greatest attractions to strangers, in its rare and beautiful collection of curiosities, both natural and artificial…and when we consider that all this is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the members of this Society, we cannot withhold, individually, our expression of thanks for the remarkable liberality, public spirit, and enlightened zeal, which have always characterized the proceedings of the members.[10]

The time has come to reinsert this museum not only into the pantheon of Early Republican and preeminent world institutions during this time, but also to reassert the pride and prestige the museum garnered in nineteenth century society.

Previous Scholarship

Apart from brief encapsulations of the East India Marine Society's founding and mission in nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals, likely based on material in the

[10] "The Salem East India Marine Society," *Salem Gazette*, November 9th, 1841.

Society's published by-laws (1799 and 1808) and their printed museum catalogues (1821, 1831, and 1837), the first scholarly history of the East India Marine Society was an article in the *Salem Gazette* of January 30th, 1885.[11] The author, John Robinson (1846-1925), was the son of a Society member and an honorary member himself.[12] He served in many capacities in the Peabody Academy of Science (1868-1915) and Peabody Museum of Salem (1915-1992), the second and third iterations of the East India Marine Society Museum, including "Keeper of the Society Relics."[13] At this time, Robinson was actively attempting to record the reminiscences of the East India Marine Society before all its members and their families had passed on and to recatalogue the collection. His article documents the first attempts at organization and preservation of their archives. Robinson notes, "[w]hen the museum was transferred to the trustees of the Academy in 1867 such old catalogues and manuscripts accompanied the specimens as were supposed to relate to the collections. These were laid aside for a time and forgotten. Besides these documents such others as did not relate directly to the museum were held in the custody of the Secretary of the East India Marine Society."[14]

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[11] One of the lengthier histories of the Society was published in *The Monthly Nautical Magazine* of April 1855. It was written by then East India Marine Society President Charles M. Endicott in a letter dated February 10th, responding to a request from Griffiths and Bates, the publishers of the periodical, "making inquiries respecting the history of the East India Marine Society of this place,—its objects, the number of its members, of what class of citizens composed, its collection of curiosities, the date of its organization, &c,—…" Charles M. Endicott, "East India Marine Society, Salem," *The Monthly Nautical Magazine and Quarterly Review* Vol. II, No. 1 (April 1855): 62-63.

[12] Robinson's father, John Robinson (1796-1846), left the Society a large legacy upon his death.

[13] Robinson was a curator at the Essex Institute beforehand. For more on John Robinson's career at the museum, see Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 83-94. For his career as a botanist, see Albert P. Morse, "John Robinson, Botanist, 1846-1925" (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1929), reprinted from *Rhodora*, Volume 31 (December 1929): 245-254.

[14] John Robinson, "East India Marine Society. Sketch of the Scientific History of the East India Marine Society, Suggested By An Examination of Old Manuscript Records and Documents Belonging to the Society," *Salem Gazette*, Friday Morning, January 30th, 1885. Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 3,

Robinson's work on the ethnological collections in the Peabody Academy of Science necessitated consulting the East India Marine Society's papers. By doing so, he conserved and organized this manuscript collection, and his hand can still be seen when pouring through this material today. To properly preserve the collection, Robinson notes that the Society's first catalogue, founding documents, internal minutes, and many other documents were mounted and bound in new volumes. This work was done to highlight the importance of the Academy's collection, and while his article focuses on the scientific accomplishments of the East India Marine Society, Robinson contextualizes their museum in the antebellum United States:

> It is needless to refer to the world-wide fame of the East India Marine Museum. It was a large collection before other institutions had begun their work. Peele's [sic] museum in Philadelphia flourished for a time and was finally disposed of by sale. The New England museum in Boston, the forerunner of what is known today as the "Old Boston Museum," was not incorporated until 1818, and none of the earlier Boston collections had a long continued history nor were any or these earlier museums established for scientific purposes. While the fame of the East India Marine museum was in great measure due to public interest in it as a "collection of curiosities" and not on account of its scientific value, yet, those who originated the work, without having the advantages of any knowledge of the methods familiar to the modern scientist, in many instances devised for themselves methods and plans, based upon the orderly ways of transacting business at that day, which the modern scientist has not improved upon.[15]

In Robinson's mind, the East India Marine Society legacy was still alive in the public consciousness as long as the staff at the Academy continued to steward and promote the Society's collection.

1882-1890. Peabody Essex Museum General Archive, Phillips Library. I attribute this article to Robinson as it is signed "R".

[15] Ibid.

Afterwards, the Peabody Academy of Science's museum guide, a 1916 publication of the Society's new by-laws, and catalogues of special exhibitions refer briefly or at length to the history of the East India Marine Society.[16] In 1949, Walter Muir Whitehill—then director of the Boston Athenaeum—authored the first comprehensive history of the East India Marine Society Museum to mark the institution's 150th anniversary. He traced the evolution of the museum from the founding of the Society to its then current form as the Peabody Museum of Salem, where he had served as assistant director and maritime curator. His book is still considered the first step in any exploration of the museum's origin and collections since it is a narrative text based heavily on primary documentation.[17] Still, Whitehill acknowledges Robinson's work to preserve the Society's archives and collection by dedicating this book to his memory, noting, "[h]is faithful labor helped the institution to weather a period of confusion and hardship, and the wisdom of his aims has brought it to this hundred and fiftieth anniversary."[18]

In the introduction to the book, Whitehill offers the first museological contextualization of the East India Marine Society rooted in an interpretation of

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[16] See Edward Sylvester Morse, *A Brief Sketch of the Peabody Academy of Science* (Salem, Massachusetts. Salem, MA: N.P., 1900); East India Marine Society, *History of the Salem East India Marine Society* (Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss, 1916); John Robinson, *The Marine Room of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1921); Peabody Museum of Salem, *Guide to the Peabody Museum*, Reprinted From the *Visitor's Guide to Salem,* Published by the Essex Institute (Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss Co., 1937); and Lawrence Waters Jenkins and Walter Muir Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1944), Reprinted from *The American Neptune* Vol. IV, No. 1 (1944): 5-17. The 1916 volume was the result of an East India Marine Society vote passed in 1899 arranging for a committee to collect data relative to Charter Members of the Society, and other members, together with Salem ships and their voyages, organized by Captain J. Clifford Entwisle. Stephen Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society: A Report of its Funds and How They Were Acquired," Appendix H in Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 189-201.

[17] Prior to this work, museum publications reflected changes, additions, and special exhibitions taking place in the institution, but no lengthy in-depth history of the museum had been crafted.

[18] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, vi.

Renaissance *Kunstkammer* and *Wunderkammer* as markers of prestige. He characterizes Society members' collecting endeavors as partially due to the "human foible of wishing to be honored for irrelevant reasons" and therefore their connection to this organization "scraped an acquaintance with the stay-at-home world of learning."[19] Today, Whitehill's volume must be viewed as an institutional history in the mold of the era, historical and comprehensive without a theoretical lens through which to examine the proceedings of the museum.

Whitehill's book on the museum, one of many volumes on New England institutions that he authored over his life, also suggests some of the problems to be encountered with museological texts from the first half of the twentieth century. Historian Lillian B. Miller believes these volumes on New England cultural institutions "reflect the problems raised by minority control in a mass culture. The 'WASP-ish' nature of American cultural institutions clearly revealed in these books so removed these organizations from the mainstream of American social development that it has been difficult to get back into it."[20] In addition, objectivity comes into question as current or former staff of the institutions that are the subject of the book wrote many of these volumes. Miller sees this as both beneficial and detrimental to the work. On one hand she notes that "the author who has been closely connected with the institution—its intramural conflicts, its personalities, its decision-making, the day-to-day details—has made it his world and can write about it intimately," but the author "is probably incapable of viewing

[19] Ibid, vii-viii.
[20] Lillian B. Miller, "Review: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery: From Its Beginnings to 1969 by John E. Pomfret; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History by Walter Muir Whitehill; Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Calvin Tomkins," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 75, No. 7 (December 1970): 2138.

it as it appears in all its weaknesses and strengths to the surrounding community."[21] The end product, in her view, "is most usually limited to a view of the institution as a separate organism, unaffected by the environment in which it is planted and to a great extent unresponsive to the world it is intended to serve."[22]

Subsequent works by former Peabody Museum of Salem director Ernest Stanley Dodge and former maritime history curator Phillip Chadwick Foster Smith continued to focus on unique aspects of the East India Marine Society. Dodge offered a brief overview of the museum's history in a paper delivered to the Circumnavigator's Club—an organization established in 1902 to bring together individuals who have gone around the world—in 1953.[23] He viewed the Society's early collections as an eclectic assortment of ethnographic and natural history objects that were "just what they purported to be—curiosities. For besides bringing back material which has scientific or artistic merit at the present time there was much of an odd or nondescript nature."[24] Smith's volume on the construction and lasting legacy of East India Marine Hall is an important work that stresses its significance to this marine society and the city. Published on the sesquicentennial of the building, Smith's architectural renderings of the Hall during select periods in its history are a unique testament to this enduring architectural landmark from the late Federal period.[25] Unfortunately, this volume does not delve into the symbolism

[21] Ibid, 2137.
[22] Ibid. Miller's characterization of Whitehill's book was an important reminder of the benefits and pitfalls of writing about a museum where I previously worked.
[23] "Our History," http://circumnavigators.org/about-us/our-history/.
[24] Ernest S. Dodge, "The Museum Built by Navigators," Reprinted from *The Log of the Circumnavigator's Club* Vol. 41, Nos. 3&4 (1953) for The Peabody Museum of Salem: 5.
[25] Architectural historian Bryant F. Tolles Jr., classifies East India Marine Hall as a "late Federal-style edifice presaging the Greek Revival." Tolles also notes that William Roberts was the contractor for

and impact of this ritual space in the mold of art historians Carol Duncan's and Alan Wallach's study on the Louvre and National Gallery in London four decades later.[26]

Starting in the 1980s, museum staff members took a fresh look at the East India Marine Society, and their scholarship forms the basis for this new critical exploration of the Society's museum. Mary Malloy—a former Peabody Museum of Salem employee and long time maritime historian—placed the flourishing museum in the context of sailor's collecting habits.[27] In two essays she took a material culture perspective to exploring some of the Society's early collections, recounting the founding of their museum and members propensity to collect curiosities and novelties from wherever their ships landed. Malloy viewed the East India Marine Society Museum as the first institution to organize and codify sailors' tendencies to collect objects from their travels, a unique characteristic that she dates to the fifth century BCE.[28]

A few decades later, Susan Bean, former curator of Indian and South Asian art, applied other theoretical models and formed new interpretations of the Society in her influential volume *Yankee India*.[29] Within this text she offered insight into the experiences of New England traders—specifically those involved with the Society—describing the contact zones where they engaged with native merchants. Bean sees the

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constructing the building, and he worked on other Salem projects. Bryant F. Tolles Jr., with Carolyn K. Tolles, *Architecture in Salem: An Illustrated Guide* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, With the Cooperation of Historic Salem, Incorporated, 1983), 76.

[26] Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 1980): 448-469; Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[27] Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," *Log of Mystic Seaport* Vol. 37, Issue 3 (December 1985): 93-103; Mary Malloy, "Bringing the World Home", www.antiquesamerica.com/features/detail.cfm?articleNo=532, 2000

[28] Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 93.

[29] Susan Bean, Yankee India: American Commercial and Cultural Encounters with India in the Age of Sail, 1784-1860 (Peabody Essex Museum/Mapin Publishing Co., 2001).

collections amassed by the Society as a negotiated and miniaturized version of members' experiences, a reflection of the world coming to Salem, but also points to the interpretive complexities and institutional power inherent in this Western endeavor. She notes, "most curiosities emphasized difference—the remarkable, the exotic, the strange—put before the public for visual contemplation…visitors were left to impute whatever further significance they wished. The principal lesson seemed to be that India was an exotic land succumbing to the control of a stronger, more enlightened Western power."[30]

A year later, PEM maritime art and history curator Daniel Finamore penned an essay exploring the museum's founding and mission as a reflection of early Republican society in the newly formed United States. He further developed the ideas of mariner collectors and the objects they amassed as presenting "just as much information about the sailors who acquired and donated them as about the far-off person or culture that created it" by focusing on the links between mercantilism and national identity.[31] Finamore argues that:

> the objects were embodiments of vastly different ways of thinking and living, and also manifestations of mercantile relationships that linked culturally and geographically disparate groups...In their vision, Americans were the central players who integrated them all through trade. In this manner they established themselves as players in a world market amongst foreign competition.[32]

Foremost in Finamore's argument is his belief that the lens of cultural imperialism is not the only approach to viewing the mission of the marine society. "Such displays of exotic objects with no thematic organization was no doubt intended to counterbalance 'inside'

[30] Ibid, 13, 85.
[31] Daniel Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," *Journal of Maritime Research* Vol. 4, No. 1 (May 2002): 42.
[32] Ibid.

versus 'the other,' but in this case it offered an opportunity to celebrate American ingenuity in the mercantile successes that put them in competition with the East India Companies of other nations."[33] The Society's collection of material culture supports this line of reasoning, including "objects that displayed the impact of their own exposure" to other cultures as well as "distinctly American products" like the whalemen's art of scrimshaw.[34]

John Grimes, former curator of Native American Art, also explored the East India Marine Society's roots in the introduction to a 2002 exhibition catalogue on PEM's Native American collection. In concert with the current PEM understanding of the Society's members as "global entrepreneurs," an interpretive lens rooted in modern capitalism, Grimes views the Society as "a trade association, a means of sharing information about business contacts, trade routes, and changing international market conditions."[35] Still, Grimes does not let economic aspects of the Society obscure its origins in the enlightened milieu of museums at the time, believing, like those scholars before him, in an inherent tendency for mariners to amass global information since "there was fundamental nobility in the acquisition of knowledge."[36]

Only a few scholars outside of the museum have published studies exclusively on the East India Marine Society. In the mid 1990s, historian James M. Lindgren reacted

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] John R. Grimes, "Curiosity, Cabinets, and Knowledge: A Perspective on the Native American Collection of the Peabody Essex Museum," in *Uncommon Legacies*: *Native American Art from the Peabody Essex Museum*, John R. Grimes et al. (New York: American Federation of Arts in association with University of Washington Press, 2002), 1. The term "global entrepreneurs" appears in the "Prologue" to the institution's *Mission & Vision Statement*, http://pem.org/about/mission_vision.
[36] Grimes, "Curiosity, Cabinets, and Knowledge," 2.

against what he perceived as a problem with prior analysis of American museums as either "Barnum-like sideshows or…vehicles promoting science and enlightenment," by using the lens of cultural imperialism to explore the museum's origins.[37] He argued that the Society's early collecting practices were strictly an attempt to culturally categorize the East.

> All the while, the marvelous artifactual displays, festive parades, and bloated rhetoric associated with the East India Museum exaggerated the East Indies' wealth, romanticized its conquest, and surely degraded its people. The museum, previously pictured as engaged in mere merrymaking and souvenir hunting, instead has proven to be, on closer examination, a once vital link between the domestic and imperial cultures of New England.[38]

Unfortunately, Lindgren does not convince the reader of these bold claims, offering more of a descriptive history of the institution than a critical examination of imperial practices.

Recently, art historian Patricia Johnston crafted an essay building upon Malloy's, Finamore's, and Bean's scholarship, exploring the museum in the context of East-West exchange and global knowledge in the Early Republic.[39] Like prior works, she posits a similar interpretation of Society members and their collecting rationale, viewing it as partly an effort to reinforce their status in Salem society as well as "firsthand participation in the eighteenth-century quest to study and make available natural history."[40] In this line of reasoning, Johnston views the material objects collected by the Society as not only reflecting members' elite status and American international trade, but

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[37] James M. Lindgren, "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem," *New England Quarterly* 68, June 1995: 179–205.
[38] Ibid, 205.
[39] Patricia Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic: The East India Marine Society's 'Curiosities' Museum," in *East-West Interchanges in American Art: "A Long and Tumultuous Relationship"* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2012), 69-79.
[40] Ibid, 71.

also that "as physical embodiments of the new American international trade, global artifacts also symbolized America's new place in international commerce."[41]

Johnston's definition of global knowledge, like Lindgren's notion of imperialism, points to a deficiency in prior scholarship on the East India Marine Society as it only focuses on certain areas of the collection. Naturally, she emphasizes the "East India" objects obtained from trade with China, and to a lesser extant India. The museum's collections, however, were as diverse as its members' trade routes. In fact, the first thirty-two objects donated to the Society came from Southeast Asia, Hawaii, and the Pacific Northwest, and soon thereafter, material began to arrive from other regions. Further, while Johnston's and Lindgren's essays have contributed to the ongoing scholarship related to the East India Marine Society, they lack a cohesiveness that ties all aspects of the Society's collecting practices together and have not pushed our understanding of this organization beyond the scholarship produced by PEM museum curators.[42] This study, therefore, will fill this gap in the literature on the East India Marine Society using the following methodological structure.

Methodology

The founding members of the East India Marine Society considered collecting an essential element of their newly formed organization and codified the practice in their by-laws. Apart from Lindgren's loose application of an imperialist framework to understanding the Society's motivations, Bean's use of transnational contact zones, and

[41] Ibid, 78.
[42] They also suffer from a lack of correspondence with museum curators who are well versed in the institution's history.

Mary Malloy and Dan Finamore exploring what collecting meant in the larger context of the maritime experience, the East India Marine Society has not been contextualized within the cannon of works on museological theory and history. These texts are essential to determine if the Society's museum was in the mold of an American Enlightenment discussed by Charles Sellers in his lengthy study on the museum of Charles Willson Peale; akin to public museums in nineteenth century Europe, characterized by some scholars as institutions of power that sought to uplift or control the masses; a heterotopia "of indefinitely accumulating time" espoused by Michel Foucault; or something that is reflective more of the cultural assumptions and resources of its creators, regardless of the culture or cultures that they attempted to represent.[43] These writings and the following theoretical and methodological studies will shape this forthcoming study on the East India Marine Society Museum.

In order to properly assess whether the East India Marine Society played a role in a nineteenth century imperialistic exercise, a postcolonial framework should be adopted. The Society's museum ideally falls within the burgeoning study of the visual culture of imperialism. For over a decade, many scholars have looked at material culture's impact on empire building. The majority of these studies focus on the late nineteenth century, such as David Brody's interdisciplinary exploration of "the multifaceted discourse that emerged as a result of imperialism" in his examination of the United States relationship

[43] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980). Museums and collections reflecting the cultural assumptions and resources of its creators is the central premise of the edited volume *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lange, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1991). Carol Duncan, Alan Wallach, and Tony Bennett, have written about European museums and power, to name a few scholars. Michel Foucault discusses museums as heterotopias in "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* (Spring 1986): 26.

with the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century.[44] These studies demonstrate how imperialism was reinforced back home through tangible products—from foreign décor to physical transformation of one's body via tattooed images—and was negotiated within transnational contact zones abroad.

No group epitomizes transnationalism more than sailors. These individuals spent the majority of their lives hopping around from port to port and obtained souvenirs to record and memorialize their experiences. While some were "authentic" markers of global cultures, by the late eighteenth century, some international ports in Europe and Asia—as well as native societies in North America and the Pacific—anticipated the interest of Westerners by fashioning new commodities. Some of these objects created for Western consumption promoted mercantile prowess using non-Western aesthetics to interpret familiar icons. Several early nineteenth century punch bowls in the East India Marine Society's collection—manufactured in England and China—conform to this object class, specially designed to commemorate the Society's founding. Other objects made for Westerners at this time were post-contact tourist items—a simulacrum of foreign societies—such as Native Northwest Coast argillite pipes. Both types of material culture gave agency to those seen as colonized or subordinate.

Within this postcolonial mindset, a transnational Atlantic history perspective will help refine the Society's global vision. Specifically, the theoretical stream promoted by

[44] David Brody, *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism & Imperialism in the Philippines* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 3. Other works include Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn's edited volume *Colonialism and the Object* (London: Routledge, 1998) that illustrates how the intersections between British colonialism, museums, and objects "mediated the power relations underlying the colonial project," and art historian Gennifer Weisenfeld's edited volume *Visual Cultures of Japanese Imperialism* in *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8.3 (2000): 591-828, which focuses on Japan from 1868-1945.

historian Bernard Bailyn that focuses on "connections, interactions and the formation of ties… ideas and belief patterns that flow from continent to continent, from empire to empire and nation to nation" will highlight the role American merchants played within the multiple economic and social networks that defined the post-Columbian Atlantic and global world.[45] Historian Phyllis Hunter sees distinct cultural transformations in this Atlantic system that helped Salem merchants emerge from their Puritan shackles as the elite social group during the eighteenth century.[46] She believes that "possessions displaced providence" by the 1750s, and a British genteel class had infiltrated Salem and Boston leading to cultural capital defining status.[47] Elite merchants "transformed the social order in these port cities" by supporting and funding the construction of public institutions and buildings such as libraries, assembly halls, and churches, emulating European aristocracy while simultaneously creating local symbols and meanings from material culture.[48]

In order to properly engage with the East India Marine Society's material culture, attention will be paid to several methodologies. As Bean and others have stated, the

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[45] Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). Bailyn and most Atlantic historians believe that the Atlantic world as a geographic region or system of influence waned towards the mid-nineteenth century, but there are others who think it continues today. The East India Marine Society, with members engaged in global trade, is an ideal example to assess these differing Atlantic paradigms and chronologies.

[46] Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001). Hunter's examination is in the mold of Bailyn's flows and exchanges. It also follows what historian David Armitage would deem "trans-Atlantic history," which emphasizes a comparative approach, or "cis-Atlantic history," which looks at a particular place within an Atlantic context. These Atlantic perspectives, along with "circum-Atlantic history," are outlined in *The British Atlantic World*, David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds. (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

[47] Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 118. Hunter shows that by the late seventeenth century, "although striving for riches was acceptable, riches did not open the door to social or civil leadership." She demonstrates that in late seventeenth-century Salem, Philip English—a Frenchman from the Isle of Jersey who achieved financial success—"threatened the Puritan definition of community and glaringly exposed the tension between a fixed social and religious order and a mobile and multicultural economy." Ibid, 69.

[48] Ibid, 173.

Society's collection can be viewed as the product of the culture that created an object or can illustrate many things about their owners. Within the context of a post-contact world, though, the material culture the Society amassed can be seen as modified by culturally determined behavior to cope with the physical world and to facilitate social intercourse, as espoused by archaeologist James Deetz.[49] With the rise of capitalism and American mercantilism throughout 18th century Salem, some Society objects may be reflective of worldly trends that go beyond their utilitarian function. These ideologies, often associated with the archaeology of capitalism adhered to by Mark Leone and others create "a world of meanings, credible in various ways to those within it, that hides the exploitive or inequitable relations that exist in everyday working life."[50] The East India Marine Society collection, therefore, has great potential to expand our understanding of the burgeoning American trade network and merchant elite in Salem as well as other global cultures.

This dissertation will also employ the methodologies of anthropologists Clifford Geertz, Arjun Appadurai, and Igor Kopytoff.[51] As many East India Marine Society objects are imbued with symbolic meaning, a careful decoding and formal exploration of the material construction and iconographic imagery contained within these artifacts will help push analysis past prior antiquarian readings by peeling back their semiotic layers

[49] James J.F. Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 24.
[50] Mark P. Leone, "Setting Some Terms for Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism," in *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter Jr., eds. (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 1999), 6.
[51] See Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" and Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process" in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Arjun Appadurai, ed. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

towards what Geertz would term "thick description."[52] This approach will transform the static objects to dynamic pieces of material culture that can illuminate the international backdrop of exchange in which they were collected. As commodities in a capitalistic enterprise, the objects are imbued not only with cultural and political significance but also economic value created by exchange, a theory espoused by Appadurai and Kopytoff. By employing this informed approach to material culture, curious objects in the museum can reveal a great deal on both their origins and the Society.

With a host of contextual scholarship in tow to highlight the East India Marine Society's global impact, Chapter One, "The Salem East India Marine Society—May resources from the ambition of its members continue to accomplish its design", provides an overview of the Society's history while contextualizing the museum within the landscape of American collecting institutions during the early days of the New Republic and the antebellum United States. The origins of collecting and the evolution of museums from eclectic private cabinets of the Renaissance to public nineteenth century museums is essential to properly assess the East India Marine Society Museum's founding and development. Many contemporary nineteenth-century institutions ran the gamut from the profit-minded precursors to P.T. Barnum's American Museum—such as Daniel Bowen's Columbian Museum in Boston—to the efforts of artist Charles Willson Peale and his family to construct a national museum in the New Republic.[53] Specific attention will be

[52] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30.
[53] For more on Barnum, see Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P.T. Barnum* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973) and James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). For more on Bowen, see Peter Benes, "'A few monstrous Snakes': Daniel Bowen and the Columbian Museum, 1789-1816," *The Dublin Seminar*

paid to the learned societies that developed in the Boston area to see if the Society was a unique endeavor or shared similar traits.

European models will also be referenced for commonalities and influences on American designs. These institutions included large royal, municipal or national museums devoted to high art, regional collections, or universal survey museums like the Louvre. Duncan and Wallach believe this latter type, which may incorporate facets of the other institutions, stands above the other categories of museums and is driven by "a programmed experience" that casts the public "in the role of an ideal citizen."[54] The notion of a public museum will also be examined to understand who was considered acceptable for visitation. Anne Goldgar portrays the British Museum as an institution formed within an elitist ideology of "democratization" of art for the masses that selectively allowed public visitation.[55] Was the East India Marine Society Museum, then, truly a public institution since it also excluded a segment of the population, African Americans, from entry for a portion of its history?

Chapter Two, "For the laudable purpose of affording relief": Maritime Charitable Organizations, will provide an understanding of the origins and evolution of maritime charitable societies, a distinct class of American eighteenth- and nineteenth-century benevolent organizations, which is missing from current scholarship. Did the East India Marine Society share traits with other similar institutions, and were there other differences beyond the Society's distinct by-laws? In addition to marine societies, other

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for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings: "New England Collectors and Collections" (Boston: Boston University, 2004): 22-39.

[54] Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 451.

[55] Anne Goldgar, "The British Museum and the 'Virtual Representation' of Culture," *Albion* Vol. 32, No. 2 (Summer, 2000): 195-231.

early maritime organizations will be discussed, such as the Naval Lyceum established in Brooklyn, NY, in 1833. This institution was organized to "promote the diffusion of useful knowledge, to foster a spirit of harmony and a community of interest in the service, and to cement the links which unite…[Navy and Marine Corps officers] as professional brethren," and was composed of a library and a museum, and also published its own journal for a time—*Naval Magazine*—before it was broken up in 1889.[56]

Chapter Three, "May each mariner record, for that enterprise may discover": The East India Marine Society's Scientific Exploits, will explore one of the twin pillars that undergirded the Society's unique mission. Beyond requiring that members carry and submit a separate logbook for the Society's collection, an accumulation of navigational knowledge unsurpassed in the Early Republic, the East India Marine Society examined and "signed off" on new books and charts, including Nathaniel Bowditch's *New American Practical Navigator* (1802). They were also one of the earliest supporters of an American voyage of exploration. In addition, natural history faunal, floral, and mineralogical specimens accounted for just over half of the museum's collection. Recent scholarship has diminished or ignored the Society's scientific accomplishments in comparison to the older works on the museum by Whitehill and Dodge. It is essential, then, to discuss this side of the Society's charter, not only to contextualize these endeavors with other American and European learned institutions at the time (e.g. The Royal Society in London), but also to see what effect it had on the collection and display

[56] United States Naval Lyceum Records, 1834-1846, MS 248, A Collection in the Special Collections & Archives Department, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. http://usna.edu/Library/sca/findingaids/navallyceum/index.html#summary. The Naval Lyceum's collections were transferred to the United States Naval Academy and form the core of the Naval Academy Museum's collection.

of curiosities of both a scientific and artistic nature. In light of Salem's vast commercial enterprise, was this accumulation of knowledge and objects merely part of scientific curiosity or rather an important stockpiling of information to aid future capitalist ventures?

Chapter Four, "Gathered, with cost and pains, from every clime": A Museum Built by Mariners, the Public, and the Global Networks of Nineteenth-century Mercantilism, will provide an in-depth look at the men who built and maintained the East India Marine Society over the course of the nineteenth century. Extant scholarship on Society membership has been mainly biographical in nature, and usually focuses on the most well known members. Beyond these select few, who were the men that made up this organization, how did they differ from other Salem mariners, and did the characteristics of these men change over time? In regards to collecting, were these men, in the words of former Peabody Museum director Ernest Dodge, "interested only in trade, and lacked taste and discrimination for foreign objects," or is that statement too general and misleading?

As the museum's collection was built up as much by outside individuals as by its members, it is important to also explore the large network of individuals around the globe who donated artifacts to the Society. Objects were given to the museum by trading partners in distant ports, such as a complete Parsee clothing ensemble donated by the Bombay merchant Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia in 1803.[57] Were these objects and

[57] Jenny Rose notes that Nusserwanjee was the grandson of Lovji Wadia, who with his brother Sorabji, built a dry dock in Bombay, "the first dry dock in Asia." Nusserwanjee's donations, according to Rose, were part of an international engagement that "enabled the Wadias to become one of the most influential families in shipbuilding and trade in Bombay, producing many of the ships used in the British wars against

other donations used for building "relationships in the contact zone" as Bean has suggested, markers of Western imperialism as discussed by Lindgren, or a reflection of something more complex?[58]

An in-depth study of the Society's collecting and exhibiting strategy, and the impact that the construction of East India Marine Hall had on the Society and city at large, is warranted to understand the evolution of the institution's mission. This will be explored in Chapter Five, "To Form a Museum of Natural and Artificial Curiosities": Exhibition and Display. Until recently, analysis of the East India Marine Society's collection and the creation of the Hall have been of an antiquarian nature. In addition, the sixty-eight year span of the Society's museum has often been incorrectly characterized as monolithic. The museum occupied two rented quarters until the erection of the hall in 1825, with transformations in the museum's arrangement and interpretive methods occurring at different points in its history in these various locations. For example, the *Salem Register* in 1804 notes that the museum "is decorated with instructive history paintings at the expence [sic] of the Society. The celebrated Navigators appear on its walls."[59] This account points to the East India Marine Society actively commissioning

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Napoleon. One of the Wadia ships, the HMS *Trincomalee*, launched in 1817, is still afloat in the UK, and another, the HMS *Minden*, is thought by some to be the ship from which Francis Scot Key watched the British bombardment of Fort Henry in 1814 and wrote the poem which later became the anthem of the United States, 'The Star Spangled Banner'." Jenny Rose, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 198.

[58] Bean, *Yankee India*, 71-72.

[59] *Salem Register*, November 12th, 1804. The *Salem Register* also notes the very same day that "[a]t Peele's Museum, a room is assigned for models of useful machinery. A visitor appeared much pleased that a specimen of the kind had appeared in our own museum. Should they be numerous or bulky, we doubt not the members of the Salem East-India Marine Society would still take good care of such as should be offered them."

works early on and engaging in an explicitly self-documentary process, acquiring and creating objects that commemorated their own accomplishments and progress on the seas.

The impact of outside consultants on the organization and display of objects will also be explored. By 1820, the collection had grown to more than 2,000 objects and was difficult to maintain. The Society's quarters in the Salem Bank Building on Essex Street had become, as then president Nathaniel Bowditch (1773-1838) notes, "considerably broken in upon by the great accumulation of articles…so that things of a similar nature, instead of being collected together, were scattered about all over the Museum."[60] In order to recreate the "elegant arrangement which had been made in the museum," a local medical doctor, Seth Bass (1780-1867), was hired as superintendent—the first professional curator of the museum. Bass created the first published catalogue for the museum in 1821—copies of which were sent to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison—and reorganized the collection.[61] His successor Malthus Ward, also a medical doctor, created the first arrangement in East India Marine Hall which included installations of radiating spears, paddles, war clubs, and fans reminiscent of the trophy style display that characterized anthropological and natural history museums in the late nineteenth century.

How did the East India Marine Society's internal mission and understanding of their collecting efforts compare to reception by the public? This will be the focus of

[60] East India Marine Society, *Records, 1799-1972*, Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# MH-88, also quoted in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 36.
[61] Notice of the rearrangement of the collection ran in the *Salem Gazette* of May 30th, 1820: "*East India Museum*—The valuable cabinet of curiosoties [sic] is now undergoing a new and more systematic and scientific arrangement which will greatly facilitate the viewing of it by visitors—A number of articles have been added to the collection by members of the Society and others, and it would doubtless be convenient if those, who have any objects they intend for this Museum, to present them while the new arrangement is making, that they may be placed at once according to their class and order. This is one of the few objects in this town that attract the notice of strangers, and it is always spoken of with admiration."

Chapter Six, "A subject of wonder and pride to our citizens": Visitor Experiences at the East India Marine Society Museum. One toast given at the Society's annual dinner in 1807 proclaimed, "Our Museum—May these emblems of the wants of the savage, teach us to value the blessings of the civilized state."[62] Salem resident Caroline Howard King, too, recalls the museum in a similar Orientalist manner. She notes that "[a]s far back as I can remember the Museum had a mysterious attraction for me and indeed it was an experience for an imaginative child, to step from the prosaic streets of a New England town into that atmosphere redolent with the perfumes from the east, warm and fragrant and silent, with a touch of the dear old Arabian Nights about it."[63]

In addition to the Society's perceived mission, were objects read differently or similarly by members, scientists, and the lay-public, and were there inherent dualities that existed within each group? Finamore notes that "visitor's experience of the hall and its collection was always mediated by either a custodian or a catalog," thus influencing patron's experiences with the collection.[64] Some viewed this as beneficial, since the tour guide—"invariably a retired sailor"— had a "personal connection to the objects exhibited and the lands from which they came" and "rendered the exposure to the exotica more believable."[65] Still, the interpretation of specific objects was diverse, such as the life-size figures of Asian merchants that stood prominently in the museum. East India Marine

[62] Published in the *Essex Register*, November 9th, 1807.
[63] Caroline Howard King, *When I Lived in Salem, 1822-1866* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Daye Press, 1937), 29. King's view of other cultures aligns with Etsuko Taketani assessment of what she terms "the symbiosis between colonialism and children's education in the antebellum period…children's books, juvenile magazines, girls' books, geography bucks, school textbooks…are both conducive to and subversive of colonialism…crucial in the inculcation of a belief in racial distinctions and white supremacy." Etsuko Taketani, *U.S. Women Writers and the Discourses of Colonialism, 1825-1861* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 7.
[64] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 47.
[65] Ibid.

Society members and other mariners perhaps thought of these merchants as "elite counterparts to the American traders," as Johnston believes, and, "[a]s such, they were presented as individuals, unlike the more generic representation of cultures in the Society's cabinet."[66] They also can be viewed through the lens of imperialism as a marker of global success and control of foreign trade relationships, as taxidermal equivalents to Donna Haraway's "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," or perhaps seen as a child would, as Caroline King recalls, "I came to know their dark faces well, and Mr. Blue Gown, and Mr. Camel's Hair Scarf and Mr. Queer Cap, each had his own pleasant individuality and must be greeted whenever I went to the Museum."[67]

This study will conclude with a look at the post-East India Marine Society history of the museum in "That thus their exploits, on the ocean wave, from age to age might still be handed down": A Continuing Legacy of Inspiration. The museum and mission remained visible through the institution's various incarnations and continues to have an influence on individuals to this date. Not only were visitors in the nineteenth century entranced by what they viewed on exhibit, but the collection was a source of inspiration to artists throughout the twentieth century and to contemporary artists today. This conclusion will highlight the enduring legacy of the East India Marine Society.

[66] Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic," 77.
[67] Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," *Social Text*, No. 11 (Winter 1984-1985): 20-64; King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 29.

CHAPTER ONE:

"The Salem East India Marine Society—May resources from the ambition of its members continue to accomplish its design"

THE EAST INDIA MARINE MUSEUM.
A Noble company, that early band,
Who left their homes to sail across the sea,
And distant voyages to the Orient planned.
The land of wealth and dark Idolatry.
Behold their Monument!—the rich and rare,
Gathered with cost and pains from every clime,
And in this spacious hall preserved with care,
To interest and instruct the future time;
To cherish in their sons the spirit brave,
Which gave to Salem its world-wide renown,
That thus their exploits on the ocean wave
From age to age might still be handed down,
And distant generations might behold
And guard the trust, more precious far than gold.

Poem written by the Reverend Jones Very (1813-1830), published in the *Salem Gazette*, December 1865

In the northwest corner of East India Marine Hall at PEM, tucked inside an over mantel case, is a most unusual looking pipe (fig. 1). Not one, but two metal stems emanate from a central bowl like cattle's horns. An iPad information kiosk incongruously placed on the exterior of another case simply notes that this pipe was acquired in Sumatra and donated to the East India Marine Society in 1799 by Captain Jonathan Carnes (1757-1827). It is not native to Sumatra, however, as no Indonesian scholar has ever seen such a curious-looking smoking device. Was this an object for leisure, or was it intended for ritual purposes? Though the pipe was evidently smoked at some point in time, as the carved and decorated bowl is caked with thick black tar, this dark patina does not reveal

any more clues as to the object's origins and meaning. While these questions and others still baffle PEM museum curators and art historians, the pipe is documented as part of the first donation to the East India Marine Society museum—denoted by a painted cartouche containing the number "194," obscured by the tobacco stains on the bowl.[1] More importantly, the pipe's double-ended form makes it one of the most symbolic objects collected by the Society; unintentionally encapsulating the multiple meanings imbued within this organization in the antebellum period.

When twenty-two master mariners formed the East India Marine Society on the last day of August 1799, Jonathan Carnes was homeward bound from the East Indies. Carnes, who would become a member of the Society shortly after his return, was emblematic of post-Revolutionary Salem. During this time, no port was too distant, no waters too dangerous as Salem traders took great risks opening American markets in the Pacific, Far East, the American Northwest, Africa, Russia, and the Near East. During a voyage to modern-day Indonesia in 1795, Carnes learned of a location on the west coast of Sumatra where he could obtain the valuable spice, pepper, directly from the natives without interference from hostile Dutch and English vessels.[2] Back in Salem, Carnes

[1] Though Carnes acquired this pipe in the vicinity of Banda Aceh, Sumatra, Dan Finamore notes "it isn't a common design for smoking paraphernalia there and I've never seen another one like it. Neither had a recent visitor—an art historian who specializes in that part of the world who suggested it might be from around Burma. If that's the case, then it leads me to wonder how it got to Sumatra and what the people there thought of it before they gave it away or traded it." Dan Finamore, "Object 001," Connected, PEM Blog. connected.pem.org/object-001/.

[2] East India Marine Society member Dudley Leavitt Pickman describes the process for obtaining pepper in British controlled Bencoolen on the southwest coast a few years after Carnes' voyage in his journal aboard the *Anna* in 1801 under the command of Benjamin Swett. Pickman states that "All Goods are landed and shipped at a Wharf or Bridge built out a short distance from the Beach. The expenses of landing and shipping are very high. Duties inward, 2 ½ pr. Cent. Double Guard is kept at the 'Bridge', notwithstanding which, the disposition to theft is so great, that very great care alone can prevent a part of every article being

caught the ear of a wealthy distiller, Jonathan Peele. Peele outfitted a brigantine named *Rajah*, and with Carnes as master, she surreptitiously set sail on one of the most important Salem voyages in the port's history. The *Rajah* returned to Salem in 1797 carrying the first cargo of wild black pepper to America and yielded a 700 percent profit, starting a fifty-year lucrative trade that enhanced Salem's wealth for years to come.

Salem, founded as a year-round fishing post in 1626 by Roger Conant, was an entrepôt in the midst of its Golden Age of maritime commerce in the early Republic.[3] These were the days, as romantically recalled by author Arlo Bates at the end of the nineteenth century:

> when Derby Street was alive with bustle and excitement; when swarthy sailors were grouped at the corners, or sat smoking before the doors of their boarding-houses, their ears adorned with gold rings, and their hands and wrists profusely illustrated with uncouth designs in India ink; when every shop window was a museum of odd trifles from the Orient, and the very air was thick with a sense of excitement and of mystery.[4]

At the height of Salem's commercial activity as the sixth largest port in the United States, accounting for five percent of the nation's per capita income, forty wharves lined the South River harbor (fig. 2).[5] Salem's mercantile fleet of approximately 200 vessels in

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pillaged, even at noonday, and if left at night, an almost total certainty exists of at least, a partial loss." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1318.

[3] Conant, a malcontent from the Plymouth settlement who had been driven out in 1624 to Nantucket, brought a small group of individuals associated with the English Dorchester Trading Company north to Cape Ann. National Parks Service, *The Salem Project: Study of Alternatives* (Denver, CO: United States Department of the Interior, 1990), 132. Salem appeared destined for global importance due to its natural harbor and a riverine network to outlying communities. Commercial shipping grew out of Salem's fishing industry, and the town quickly developed into a thriving mercantile community in the seventeenth century and eighteenth Atlantic world system between Europe and the West Indies. After the Revolutionary War, a few pioneering businessmen like Elias Hasket Derby took advantage of unfettered trade in the New Republic and looked for expanded opportunities in new areas, primarily in the Baltic and Far East.

[4] Arlo Bates, "Introduction," in Eleanor Putnam [pseud. Harriet Leonora Vose Bates], *Old Salem*, Arlo Bates, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886), 14.

[5] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 40. Finamore notes "[t]he economic impact of

1807 included the first American ships to enter into many Eastern ports from Mocha to Batavia to Nagasaki. Salem merchants valued the Pacific region so much that they inscribed the motto "To the Farthest Port of the Rich East" within the city's seal when incorporated in 1836, and conversely, the feeling was mutual for merchants in the East (fig. 3). Salem-born Charles Timothy Brooks (1813-1883), a Unitarian pastor, poet, and Transcendentalist, captured his native town's notoriety abroad in verse:

> Some native merchant of the East, they say,
> (Whether Canton, Calcutta or Bombay),
> Had in his counting-room a map, whereon
> Across the fields in capitals was drawn
> The name of SALEM, meant to represent
> That Salem was the Western Continent,
> While in an upper corner was put down
> A dot named Boston, SALEM'S leading town.[6]

While Salem was synonymous with the United States for those who would never set foot on its shores, in many ways, Salem's rise in the antebellum period mirrored the burgeoning nation and denoted a growing American identity both home and abroad.

Salem's overseas trade was a complex affair; only those Yankee sailors who possessed keen nautical and business acumen were successful in acquiring goods and creating profits. In these heady days, a vessel did not leave home with cargo intended for the final destination; instead, she carried New England resources to be traded along the

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these voyages on the nascent American economy was clearly recognized by members of Salem's maritime community. The establishment of contacts with markets in the Pacific and Indian Oceans immediately following the American Revolution helped rescue the national economy from a severe financial depression." Ibid.

[6] Published in Herbert P. Adams, "Origin of Salem Plantation," in "Village Communities of Cape Anne and Salem, From the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, IX-X (July and August 1883): 26.

way at several different ports.[7] A ship bound for the East Indies would typically exchange goods in Europe, and then sail down the coast of Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope to the Isle de France to trade, and continue along the African coastline, along the rim of the Indian Ocean, to India, Batavia, and Canton. In all of these Eastern ports, the ship's master and supercargo—the principal business agent—drove profitable bargains, often turning over cargoes a dozen times for a great profit.[8] Due to these intricate trading patterns, Salem mariners obtained global knowledge of distant cultures and also of the material objects associated with these new lands.

Once Salem ships returned home, and after duties were paid, most foreign merchandise would go into shops or be sold at auction.[9] Some cargo would be reexported.[10] Mary Boardman Crowninshield (d. 1840), in a letter to her husband and then Secretary of the Navy Benjamin William Crowninshield (1772-1851) on May 19th,

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[7] For example, a ship would sail out of New England with dried fish, salt, beef, butter, woodenware, mast timber, shingles, tar, spermaceti candles, and ginseng, as well as hard currency. This vessel might then stop in Saint Petersburg to purchase trade goods for Java, and in London and Cadiz to trade goods for British letters of credit and silver dollars, the only Western currencies accepted in the East. National Parks Service, *The Salem Project*, 132. These trade patterns also involved specie. Lindgren notes that by 1825 "the breakdown of U.S. trade at Canton was 3.0% furs, 3.2% opium, 0.7% sandalwood, 72.8% silver, and 20.3% other (mostly metals and textiles). Lindgren, "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World'," 193, footnote 27.

[8] National Parks Service, *The Salem Project*, 132.

[9] These goods included pepper from Sumatra; cocoa, sugar, molasses, and cotton from the West Indies; ivory, myrrh, logwood dye, and gold dust from Africa; tea and silks from China; Castile soap, wines, figs, lemons, and raisins from Spain; cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and pepper from the Spice Islands; indigo from the Philippines; gin, hemp, nails, and cheese from Amsterdam and Hamburg; cottons, sugar, and cheroots from India; prunes and almonds from Marseilles; sailcloth, iron, and cordage from Russia; and coffee, dates, horses, camels, tigers, and even an elephant from Muscat and Oman. Ibid, 133.

[10] The success of the East Indies trade in the early Republic was due to rexportation of goods obtained on voyages to the Far East to Europe and elsewhere once it arrived in the United States. This allowed American merchants to get around British and other European restrictions during wartime to remain neutral and trade foreign goods, and the federal government encouraged this system by reimbursing merchants for duties levied on this rexportation. This trade system was immensely profitable for the nation, with an increase from $67 to $108 million from 1795 to 1806, money then reinvested in industries that supported the American industrial revolution. By 1807, a British East India Company official marveled at the success of American trade in India, which had tripled in growth in such a short time and even surpassed British endeavors. Bean, *Yankee India*, 68-69.

1815, writes of "a most agreeable jaunt down to the wharf to see the prise [sic] goods" where she observed "the most elegant ladies clothing…books most elegantly bound…elegant pictures landscapes in colours...chintzes very beautiful table linens..."[11] This experience led her to proclaim, "I wish you could have been with me to HAVE SEEN THESE PRETTY THINGS."[12] The numerous advertisements in Salem newspapers from this period echoed Crowninshield's description of Salem's wharves, evidence that many residents had the ability to purchase a wide array of objects from shops in the city (fig. 4). In turn, Salemites used this vast assortment of material culture to create a cosmopolitan lifestyle normally associated with large European cities—having access to spices for meals, being able to have tea in Chinese porcelain and English ceramic services, and drinking spirits crafted in distant lands.[13] As historian Samuel Eliot Morrison notes, the East Indies trade "whetted the appetite of every Massachusetts merchant, and (what was equally important) fixed his good wife's ambition on a chest of Hyson [tea], a China silk gown, and a set of Canton china."[14]

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[11] "Some Letters of Mary Boardman Crowninshield," Margaret Pardee Bates, ed., *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 83 (1947), transcribed on http://landmark.salemstate.edu/international_horizons.html.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Historian Ping Chia Kuo believes the effects of the China trade spread Chinese culture "into the heart of old New England. The commodities ordered by merchants, the curios and furniture brought home by sailors, and the customs and ideas reported by these early adventurers united to make a deep impression upon the life of these early Americans. Important contributions were made to their diet and beverages, to their costumes and tables, to their furniture and ornaments, and some of the loftiest forms of Chinese culture touched their minds. Not only was the dullness of Puritan life somewhat relieved, but the mental horizon of the American people was greatly widened." Ping Chia Kuo, "Canton and Salem: The Impact of Chinese Culture upon New England Life during the Post-Revolutionary Era," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Jul., 1930): 421.
[14] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 46, quoted in Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 191. Lindgren sees a negative aspect of this desire. He notes "[t]his transition from traditional to luxurious trade goods, however, could corrupt New England, some warned, as it had Vanity Fair. Israel Williams, a vice president of the Society and one of four principal donors to the museum, voiced that fear at the 1825 banquet.

Salem's burgeoning economy allowed merchants to emerge from their Puritan roots and become the port's most influential class, eclipsing the religious elite that had governed the town in the previous century.[15] Sea captains developed new areas of the city to display their wealth, constructing elegant Federal-style houses and public buildings. Still, Salem ships brought back more than fine goods and profit; a constant stream of objects, both fine art and strange and unusual "curiosities," flowed into the town during the American Enlightenment.[16] When Carnes returned to Salem in October 1799 after the *Rajah*'s second voyage to Sumatra, his valuable cargo of pepper was matched in importance by a select few items from the distant land. One might view these thirteen objects as mere bric-a-brac—a cup made from rhinoceros horn, an elephant's tooth, various flora and fauna, and the curious double-stemmed pipe. To Salem mariners, they were cultural reflections of their new trading partners, and perhaps emblems of American free trade.[17]

An increased global presence made Salem representative of a new kind of "American town" in the early days of the new United States—one at the forefront of the American Enlightenment.[18] Salem could also boast its national political importance

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Toasting Salem's 'China Produce: Once considered nectar for the Gods,' he nonetheless implored, '-may it never make scandal for our Goddesses.'" Ibid.

[15] Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 173.

[16] The American Enlightenment was a period of intellectual, social, and political awakening from the mid seventeenth century to early eighteenth century inspired primarily by philosophers and scientists in England and France.

[17] Patricia Johnston believes Carnes "seems to have been the driving force behind the idea of collecting objects for the society's museum." There is no evidence to support this bold claim apart from his donation of thirteen objects being the first to the Society. Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic, 71.

[18] Historian Robert Booth states that it was one of the "few cultural bright spots" in the country, "a place where the pulse of life was quick and the promise of the new republic was being met. Drawn by the town's prosperity and mercantile activity and by a local culture that extolled learning, art and music, and

immediately following the formation of the United States. Native-son Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) was George Washington's Secretary of State, and in the following decades, Salem mariners—many of whom were East India Marine Society members as well—became senators, congressmen, and held cabinet posts. The town was also home to intellectuals that rivaled the nation's colonial capital in Philadelphia. Edward Holyoke (1728-1829), a well-respected scientist and physician who had lived through a transformative century in Salem, was a founding member and later president of the American Academy of Arts and Science.

As Salem developed into a global city, the first American collecting institutions took form in the country. In the first half of the eighteenth century, American "museums" derived from European studiolo models formed during the Italian Renaissance that evolved into the *Kunstkammer* and *Wunderkammer* of Northern Europe, better known as "cabinets of curiosity."[19] These precursors to the modern museum were created by noble

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sociability, educated and inventive young men moved to Salem and there found inspiration." Robert Booth, "Salem as Enterprise Zone, 1783-1786," in *Salem: Place, Myth, and Memory*, Dane Morrison and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, eds. (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 76. Booth also notes Salem at this time had two newspapers, ten churches, several schools, banks, publishers, insurance companies, charitable organizations, libraries, bookstores, a municipal water system, and concert halls in addition to the Society's museum. All of these characteristics allowed the port town to address "itself directly to a national audience, and was heard respectfully." Ibid, 63.

[19] Arthur MacGregor offers a very comprehensive empirical study of the origins of collecting and the evolution of cabinets of curiosities in *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007). He begins with a few known examples of collecting in antiquity and the development of religious reliquaries before delving into the private collections amassed by nobility during the Renaissance. These later ensembles–truly universal cabinets—were part showpieces, part devices of learning, and partly fantastical. MacGregor illustrates the move from noble collections to the private cabinets of the emerging academy and mercantile class, which led to different forms of collections like gardens, anatomical or medical collections, and scientific instruments and technological apparatuses. He also demonstrates how art (sculpture and painting, e.g.) was incorporated into these cabinets but never dominated their makeup. Finally, he offers early display strategies of some *Kunstkammer*—noting that they were sometimes chaotic—and does not take visual depictions of cabinets as fact since they are often fantastical recreations. While his study is not theoretical—lacking more nuanced understanding of national movements, imperialism, and colonial

and elite circles, and emphasized an object-based epistemology to obtain knowledge. While these cabinets highlighted the rare and unusual, their collections reflected a scientific and human impulse to classify the world.[20] Thus, they were partly devices for learning, partly fantastical, and also tinged with a hint of a religious reliquary. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, they were also showpieces, enhancing the status of their owner.

At the dawn of the New Republic, the cabinet of curiosity model was being replaced in Europe by the universal survey museum.[21] This museum typology, still the model that comes to mind when we think of major art museums today, is characterized by large municipal or national institutions devoted to high art or regional collections. According to Duncan and Wallach, it is driven by "a programmed experience" that casts the public "in the role of an ideal citizen."[22] The Louvre, opened in Paris in 1793, was the first national universal survey museum for the public, and the British Museum in London was similarly formed with an elitist ideology of "democratization" of art for the masses.[23] This museum paradigm did not appear on American shores until the end of the nineteenth century, when industrialist "robber barons" like Andrew Carnegie and J.P. Morgan

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expansion reflected in collecting trends—it stands as an unparalleled compendium of knowledge on the subject and an important source for any research on early collecting institutions. Also see Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (London: The British Museum, 2000) and Maria Zytaruk, "Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Volume 80, Number 1 (Winter 2011): 1-23.

[20] Historian of science Lorraine Daston notes that these collections ignored "99.9 percent of [the cosmos]." Lorraine J. Daston, "The Factual Sensibility," *Isis* Vol. 79, No. 3, A Special Issue on Artifact and Experiment (Sep., 1988): 458, quoted in Zytaruk, "Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge," 2.

[21] Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 448-469.

[22] Ibid, 451.

[23] Goldgar, "The British Museum and the 'Virtual Representation' of Culture," 195-231.

created the museums still familiar to us, such as The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, among others.

As private *Kunstkammern* fell out of fashion in Europe in the mid to late eighteenth century, they emerged in America as cabinets of learned societies in several colonial cities. Historian Joel J. Orosz differentiates these American versions from their European predecessors as "essentially attempts to set up centers to satisfy the demand for scientific knowledge in an enlightened age" rather than reflections of their owners' status or education.[24] These early American museums began as collections for private display or for deposit in elite learned societies.[25] They "were guided not so much by European examples, but rather by the imperatives of the American democratic culture, including the Enlightenment" according to Orosz.[26] During the antebellum period, these institutions developed with "the simultaneous decline of the respectability and rise of the middle classes, the Age of Egalitarianism, and the advent of professionalism in the sciences."[27] Furthermore, American museums during this period were "neither the frivolous sideshow some critics have imagined, nor the enclave for elitists that others have charged. Instead, the proprietors displayed serious motives and egalitarian aspirations."[28]

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[24] Joel J. Orosz, *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 11-25, 14. Orosz does not include the East India Marine Society in his study.
[25] Cory Willmott, "The Historical Praxis of Museum Anthropology: A Canada/US Comparison," in *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology*, Julia Harrison, ed. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2006), 220.
[26] Orosz, Curators and Culture, ix.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid. Orosz notes that later in the nineteenth century, "The conflicting demands for popular education on the one hand and professionalism on the other were a continuing source of tension in American museums after about 1835, but by 1870 the two claims had synthesized into a rough parity. This synthesis, the 'American Compromise,' has remained the basic model of museums in America down to the present. Thus, by 1870, the form of the modern American museum as an institution which simultaneously provides popular education and promotes scholarly research was completely developed." Ibid.

Early on, North American cabinets followed Orosz's principles of the American Enlightenment. Philadelphia's American Philosophical Society (APS), founded in 1743, pursued "all philosophical Experiments that let Light into the Nature of Things," according to founding member Benjamin Franklin, and featured scientific apparatus, natural history specimens, Native American objects, and historical mementos, like the chair in which Jefferson was believed to have written the Declaration of Independence.[29] The Library Society of Charleston, South Carolina, started in 1773, collected material relating to the natural history of South Carolina, and mechanical contraptions such as a telescope and a camera obscura, which served as visible indicators of the institution's purported scientific goals.[30] Despite Orosz's characterization, however, most American cabinets of learned societies exhibited similarities to European endeavors, closed to the general public and accessible only by members and their friends.

Mary Malloy provides an alternate model for the formation of early American cabinets of learned societies, one that aligns with and includes the East India Marine

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[29] Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's 'Indian Hall at Monticello,'" *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring, 1995): 45. Robinson notes "[t]he bylaws of the society, as published in 1771, stipulated the election of three curators who were to 'take charge of, and preserve, all Specimens of natural Productions, whether of the ANIMAL, VEGETABLE or FOSSIL Kingdom; all Models of Machines and Instruments, and all other matters and things belonging to the Society, which shall be committed to them; to class and arrange them in their proper order, and to keep an exact list of them.' This recognition of the need for curatorial assistance and for some sort of guiding organization suggests a self-awareness and a public agenda foreign to the notion of the private princely collection. Although the cabinet was open to society members only, the APS effectively functioned as a kind of scientific academy where en-lightened thinkers could explore the mysteries of the world around them." Ibid. Anthropologist Cory Willmott notes that "the American Philosophical Society's 'cabinet' is a prime example of the colonial characteristics of early American collecting." In addition, Willmott notes a nationalistic turn in the early the nineteenth century, "evident in the inclusion of items of national heritage such as William Penn paraphernalia, portraits of past presidents, and early documents of the Republic." Willmott, "The Historical Praxis of Museum Anthropology," 221.

[30] Malloy notes that the Library Society of Charleston advertised in 1773 "'extensive collection of Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Warlike Arms, Dresses and other CURIOSITIES' including an Egyptian mummy, and the 'head of a New Zealand Chief' possibly collected by naturalist Joseph Banks in 1770 on the first voyage of Captain Cook." Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 94-95.

Society's mercantile origins, reflects Orosz's democratic principles, and shifts the center of activity from the mid-Atlantic to New England. She notes that learned societies in the New Republic grew out of "the simultaneous expansion of international commerce and the creation of learned societies in Boston after the American Revolution," which made it a unique and important center for the collecting of 'curiosities.'"[31] While the earliest American learned society, the APS, was formed in Philadelphia, Massachusetts ventures, primarily in Boston, "blossomed and flourished in the years following the War of Independence" and include the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, founded in 1780 and modeled after the APS, the Massachusetts Historical Society started in 1791 (MHS), and the Anthology Society in 1804 (which became the Boston Athenaeum in 1806).[32] The American Antiquarian Society (AAS) established at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1812, extended this model outside of the confinement of the port of Boston "forty miles distant from the nearest branch of the sea" in order to protect its collection, "from the ravages of an enemy, to which seaports in particular are so much exposed in times of war."[33]

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[31] Mary Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788-1844* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2000), 31. Malloy notes "Native American artifacts were particularly welcome, as many of these institutions were self-consciously attempting to define a uniquely American history and culture and came to regard the New World's native people as a potential counterpart to the ancients of the Old World." Ibid.

[32] Ibid, 31-32. Other collecting institutions of note formed in this period are the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1785, the Dartmouth Museum [today the Hood Museum of Art] and the Deerfield Academy Museum (today the Memorial Hall Museum of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association). Ibid.

[33] Ibid, 31. Malloy also states that the AAS, formed to "preserve such relics of American Antiquity as are portable, as well as to collect and preserve those of other parts of the Globe," also had "a number of Oriental and Indonesian goods, including: Chinese pass for the Ship John Jay of Providence, which pass cost at Canton 500 dollars. Two small pieces of Palm Leaf, on which are several lines written with a Stilus, in the Malayan Language. A Lady's Silver Trinkett, made in the year 1111, or 1121, consisting of a Tooth, Ear, and Nail Picker." Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 95.

Unlike Orosoz, Malloy argues that:

> [t]he explicit rationale for institutional collecting at the time was science. Scientists could bring botanical, zoological, geological, and ethnological specimens from newly discovered territories into the laboratory for identification and comparison. 'Natural curiosities,' specimens from nature, and 'artificial curiosities,' those fashioned by human hands, were gathered at every landfall and brought to 'cabinets of curiosities,' where the intellectual institutions of the young America could create a scientific taxonomy of nature and culture.[34]

Still, some learned societies, like the Boston Athenaeum, promoted the collection and display of art.[35] Though collecting objects were tied to learned societies, these organizations were primarily focused on creating exclusive collecting libraries.[36] Eventually, the majority of these organizations donated their cabinets to the large art and natural history museums that emerged in the Gilded Age.

There were also a few larger museums in the early Republic in addition to the cabinets of American learned societies. Principle among this group in the eyes of museum historians and art history scholars is the museum founded by Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827) in Philadelphia and run by him and his family. Founded in 1786, the Peale's institution, unlike those of learned societies, was open to all willing to pay the price of admission. Peale and his family attempted to construct a national museum for the New Republic, attracting the attention of Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers,

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[34] Malloy, Souvenirs of the Fur Trade, 31-32.

[35] For the most in-depth discussion on the Boston Athenaeum's collection and exhibition of art, see Hina Hirayama, *"With Éclat": The Boston Athenaeum and the Origin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, MA: The Boston Athenaeum, 2013). She notes that "[t]he prospectus issued in 1807 ambitiously proclaimed that the future Athenaeum would include, in addition to the library, a 'Repository of Arts' filled with works of fine art, a 'Museum' of natural and antiquarian specimens, and a 'Laboratory and an Apparatus' for scientific experiments and observations." Ibid, 17-18.

[36] Art historian Joyce Robinson characterizes them as "a quasi-scientific mélange of curios most often amassed in conjunction with libraries or historical societies or by enterprising private collectors." Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities," 45-47.

and focused on exhibiting the "natural and the uncivilized races of America."[37] The museum exhibited natural history specimens such as a mastodon discovered by Charles Willson Peale himself, portraits of Native Americans and Revolutionary heroes painted by the artist and some objects collected by Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1778-1838), as well as some oddities and technical devices.[38] With a mixture of science and patriotism, the Peale family envisioned their collection would be the first wholly American institution. Though the majority of the museum's displays were focused on the natural world (discussed in further depth in the third chapter), Peale's artistic background was evident in the portraits hovering above cases of specimens and his occasional display of Western art.[39] Like many museums in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Peale's institution did not last. Political opposition and ideological differences eventually destroyed his vision, and the remnants of his museum run by his son Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) were dispersed to the commercial ventures of individuals like P.T. Barnum.[40]

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[37] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 42.

[38] Malloy notes: "Included in the large Peale collection were artifacts collected by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their epic trek across the North American continent between 1804 and 1806. When they returned to St. Louis in 1806, one 'Clatsop hat' was forwarded to Washington (presumably to Thomas Jefferson) by Lewis, and another was sent by Clark to Louisville 'in the care of Mr. Wolpards.' Some portion of the material collected by Lewis and Clark was donated to the Peale Museum in 1810, and the acquisition was announced on March first in the Philadelphia newspaper, *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*…The hats from the Peale collection were eventually transferred to the Boston Museum and from there to the Peabody Museum at Harvard." Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 128.

[39] Alan Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradiction: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 23. Wallach notes that Peale exhibited a collection of Italian paintings in 1789.

[40] For the most comprehensive examination of the Peale museum, see Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*. Mark P. Leone and Barbara J. Little examine Peale's efforts using the lens of Foucault's "surveillance mechanisms" in "Artifacts as Expressions of Society and Culture: Subversive Genealogy and the Value of History," published in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 160-181.

The majority of for-profit museums in the New Republic were sideshow-style institutions that abounded through most of the nineteenth century.[41] Like Peale's museum, they were accessible for a fee. In these museums, as in the museum created by Peale, visitors could see a mix of oddities including double-headed creatures and works of fine art. Antebellum American culture lacked a distinction between high and low culture, or as cultural historian Lawrence Levine has termed "highbrow" and "lowbrow" art, and what we today deem as elite practices, such as attending a Shakespearean play, were enjoyed by all.[42] Daniel Bowen's (ca. 1760-1856) ventures in Boston, primarily his Columbian Museum opened in 1795, was one of the early purely profit-driven endeavors and the precursor to the Barnum era, which expanded the model of carnival-esque institutions.[43]

Within this mix of exclusive learned societies closed to the general public, natural history institutions like Peale's accessible to all for a fee, and the for-profit popular museums of Bowen and others, the East India Marine Society Museum stood in stark

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[41] British humorist Edward Peron Hingston satirized American museums as "something very different from that which we understand by the same word in Europe. There was Mr. Barnum's Museum in New York, and there is Mr. Kimbal's Museum in Boston; but neither of them had nor has any very close resemblance to the national treasure-house of the Louvre, the establishment at South. Kensington, or that in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury. A 'Museum' in the American sense of the word means a place of amusement, wherein there shall be a theatre, some wax figures, a giant and a dwarf or two, a jumble of pictures, and a few live snakes. In order that there may be some excuse for the use of the word, there is in most instances a collection of stuffed birds, a few preserved animals, and a stock of oddly assorted and very dubitable curiosities; but the mainstay of the 'Museum' is the 'live art,' that is, the theatrical performance, the precocious manikins [sic], or the intellectual dogs and monkeys." Edward Peron Hingston, *The Genial Showman. Being Reminisces of the Life of Artemus Ward, A New Edition* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881), 18, quoted in Adler, "From the Pacific to the Patent Office," 62.

[42] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[43] Benes, "'A few monstrous Snakes'," 22-39. Art historian Nicole Rousmaniere believes that these types of museums, and other cabinets, appeared "to titillate the viewer." Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-century America: Ukiyo-e Prints in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, *Apollo* 145, No. 421 (March 1997): 25.

contrast.[44] Unlike many of the institutions that folded within a few decades of their inception, the Society was distinct if for one specific reason—all members were mariners. This transnational group had a clear advantage in collecting objects as they spent the majority of their lives hopping around from port to port, obtaining souvenirs to record and memorialize their experiences.[45] Mariners did make up a portion of the membership of other learned societies, and helped build their collections, but those who formed the East India Marine Society went a step further.[46] They were able to construct an organization that could independently collect and interpret objects from around the globe on a greater scale than any other learned society of the day without relying on other scientific institutions.[47] In addition, they combined recording their own adventures in tangible souvenirs with an enlightened desire to contextualize their curiosities in the international world now explored by American mariners.[48]

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[44] A. Hunter Dupree argues that museums and learned societies in the early Republic were not national entities. "In spite of their national names, the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences hardly qualified as national institutions. If they aspired to emulate the great European societies, they nevertheless related more to local Philadelphia and Boston." A. Hunter Dupree's *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities*, 2nd edition (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 8.

[45] Malloy states that "[w]hile the notion that a merchant had a scientific obligation to society was a new one at the turn of the nineteenth century, the tradition of souvenir collecting went back at least to the fifth century B.C." Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 31-32.

[46] As Malloy notes, "[w]hile the low social status of common sailors would generally have kept the seafaring community separate from the members of such institutions, the nature of the collecting enterprise brought the two groups into regular contact. Many merchants and several sea captains had social connections or philanthropic means and inclinations that made them welcome in the founding circles of Boston's learned societies. More importantly, mariners had access to artifacts collected on foreign voyages, and a collection of such objects was a necessary component of the complete scientific society. The growth, during the Victorian era, of the disciplines of natural history and its progeny ethnology was increasingly dependent on these collections." Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid. Finamore similarly states that "Boston was a hotbed of intellectual thought in early America, with several learned societies that promoted science, history, literature, and the documentation of national expansion. Although seafarers were important suppliers of the information on which these organizations were based, the East India Marine Society was the only one that privileged the role of the sea-captain and supercargo within their social hierarchy. The collections were put to the related purposes of documenting

When the East India Marine Society was founded, Salem boasted few learned societies. Salem's Social Library, which would later become the Salem Athenaeum, was the only public institution when it was founded in 1760.[49] Like the majority of American learned societies, it primarily collected published volumes, with two- and three-dimensional objects a secondary focus of its mission. The collection and display of global knowledge in Salem at this time was mostly a private affair. John Prince (1751-1836), pastor of the First Church in Salem and a donor to the East India Marine Society museum, formed a collection where he instructed students in the methods of experimental science and entertained guests with performances employing his various optical instruments.[50] In a memorial to his life, nineteenth-century Salem politician Charles W. Upham recalls Prince's cabinet as a place where visitors:

> were introduced, through his admirable apparatus and specimens, to all the wonders of Astronomy, Optics, Pneumatics, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, and Entomology…His collection of engravings and specimens was very extensive and curious. By means of optical instruments he was enabled to make a most satisfactory display of all these treasures of knowledge. In the course of a winter's evening, his delighted visiter [sic], sitting all the while quietly in his chair, was enabled to inspect the temples and the structures of ancient and of modern Rome, to explore the ruins of the old world, to traverse the streets of London, Paris, St.

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the variety of nature, and memorializing the individual contributions to knowledge that were gained while in the pursuit of commerce." Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 44.

[49] As Henry Wheatland notes in his handwritten manuscript on the history of Essex County Institutions, "During the Revolutionary War, the valuable scientific library of the celebrated Dr. Richard Kirwan, was captured in the British Channel by a Beverly Privateer, &, a company of gentlemen of Salem & vicinity was enabled to purchase this library at a very low rate, & thus was laid the foundation of the Philosophical Library…An offer of renumeration was afterwards made to Dr. Kirwan who generously declined it, expressing his satisfaction that his valuable library had found so useful a destination. Rev. Joseph Willard of Beverly, afterwards President of Harvard University, was the first Librarian, & on his removal to Cambridge in 1781, the Rec. Dr. Prince was appointed his successor & continued in office till the Union in 1810. The Library was kept in the Librarian's house." History of Essex County institutions, undated [circa 1842]. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 8, Folder 11, 1-3. It was this library that helped Nathaniel Bowditch develop his intellectual capabilities as a young boy, as he was allowed access to the collection.

[50] Dennis Andrew Carr, "Optical machines, Prints and Gentility in Early America," University of Delaware, 1999. United States—Massachusetts: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, viii.

> Petersburg, to visit the villas of Italy and noblemen's seats in England, to watch the successive aspects of an eruption of Ætna or Vesuvius, and literally to survey the whole earth and the glories thereof.[51]

Upham's sketch mirrors the descriptions of European cabinets, and only individuals within Prince's circle would have been able to share these worldly experiences.

William Bentley (1759-1819), minister at the Salem Unitarian Church, also created a vast personal cabinet. Bentley was a renaissance man in all senses of the word; a collector, writer, editor, cleric, and more.[52] Schooled at Harvard, he developed a penchant for acquiring objects at an early date and created an extensive collection of books, flora, fauna, and curiosities. He is revered by scholars of the early Republic for the detailed daily diaries he kept from 1784, when he arrived in Salem at the age of twenty-five, until his death in 1819. Bentley's entries reveal active relationships with several of the founding members of the East India Marine Society before its formation—particularly Captains John Gibaut (1767-1805) and Benjamin Hodges (1754-1806)—a network of exchange he utilized to procure volumes and objects for his personal cabinet. For example, Bentley notes in his diary on February 26th, 1787, "Delivered at Capt Gibaut's a written request to be forwarded to E.H. Derby…that he would purchase for me

[51] Charles W. Upham, "Memoir of Rev. John Prince, L.L.D.," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. V (Boston, John E. Eastburn, 1836): 278-279, a portion of which is quoted in Carr, "Optical machines, Prints and Gentility in Early America," 17.

[52] Historian Joyce Ketcham notes that Bentley was a weekly contributor to the *Salem Gazette* from 1794-1797, and editor of the *Salem Register* from 1800 until his death, and attributes his worldliness and penchant for collecting to his early schooling. Joyce Ketcham, "The Bibliomania of the Reverend William Bentley, D.D.," *Essex Institute Historical Collection*, Vol. 108, No. 4 (Oct. 1972): 275. Louise Chipley, citing journalism historian Frank L. Mott, characterizes Bentley's contributions to these papers as one of the best sources of national and international news in the United States at the time that was also recognized and widely read by contemporaries. Louise Chipley, "William Bentley, Journalist of the Early Republic," *Essex Institute Historical Collection*, Vol. 123, No. 4 (Oct. 1987): 331.

one, any, or all volumes of Bossuet's theological works, &c."[53] With the aid of Society members and other individuals, Bentley created a library that was one of the largest in America at his death, with upwards of 4,000 volumes.

Interspersed indiscriminately within the pages of Bentley's original manuscript diaries are inventories of his collection. While a few of the earliest objects he obtained in the 1780s and 1790s are listed in brief entries entitled "Collection. Nat. Hist." and "Curiosities," the first detailed lists that could be considered a catalogue commenced in 1802.[54] Bentley notes "Formed a Cabinet in June 1802 & here shall notice all articles obtained for it," suggesting that while actively collecting objects prior to this date, Bentley created a display of his objects within the rooms he rented in the house of Benjamin Crowninshield (which survives today as the Crowninshield-Bentley house of the PEM) three years after the creation of the East India Marine Society. His occasional cataloguing of a wide variety of objects—containing object name, date obtained, and donor—occurs over twenty-two pages up to his death in 1819.

In addition to documenting the growth of Bentley's cabinet and the acquisition of objects, his diary contains some of the most detailed descriptions of the East India Marine Society's early days—a period characterized by annual parades and lavish dinners. Among his entries on the Society are the first contemporary descriptions of its formation.

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[53] William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* Vol. II: 1793-1802 (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1907), 322. Patricia Johnston notes, "Reverend Bentley's seagoing parishioners often brought him exotica from their journeys. His diary mentions such gifts in 1788, after he had been settled at the East Church for nearly five years. Captain Elkins gave him a Chinese razor; Captain West brought him Chinese copper coins. Captain Benjamin Hodges, Bentley's close friend, presented him with some of the most intriguing items in his collection…Thus the artifacts the captains brought back were truly global—from all around the world—and not simply evidence of where individuals had voyaged." Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic," 72.

[54] Thomas Knoles, "William Bentley's Cabinet," unpublished inventory, American Antiquarian Society.

On October 22nd, 1799, Bentley notes, "Capt. Carnes from Sumatra, shew [sic] me various specimens of shells, a large Oister [sic] shell, like that given to Hist. Society, the tooth of an Elephant, a pipe with two stems, a petrified mushroom cap & stem, & two specimens of boxes in gold, with open work, extremely nice, & open flowers. The work is of uncommonly thin plates of gold, by the Malays."[55] Bentley then notes, "It is proposed by the New Marine Society, called the East India Marine Society, to make a Cabinet. This society has been lately thought of."[56] In this passage, Bentley has documented both the origins and first donation to this new Salem organization.

The remainder of Bentley's entry from October 22nd has caused much confusion as to his role in the formation of the East India Marine Society and its museum. Bentley continues:

> Capt. Gibaut first mentioned the plan to me this summer & desired me to give some plan of articles, or a scetch [sic]. The first friends of the Institution met & chose a committee to compare & digest articles from the scetches [sic] given to them. Last week I was informed that on the preceding week the members had met & signed the articles proposed by the Committee & had chosen Capt. B. Hodges, President, Capt. Jacob Crowninshield, Treasurer, & had paid 25 dollars each for a fund, & had chosen a 'Committee of Observation.' On Saturday last, Capt. Gibaut brought me the articles & begged a revision of them. I gave him my ideas. The President asked the same & I have promised whenever they are again exhibited to give my remarks in writing, as this liberal & important design has not yet the perfection its members intend to give it."[57]

Since Bentley penned these words, it has been interpreted by his contemporaries and both nineteenth-century and modern scholars as evidence of Bentley's influence in the

[55] Bentley, The Diary of William Bentley, Vol. II, 321.
[56] Ibid. On November 7th, 1799, Bentley records in his diary "Mr. Carnes has presented his curiosities to the new formed East India Marine Society & they are providing a Museum & Cabinet." Ibid, 322.
[57] Ibid, 321.

founding of the Society and the crafting of their by-laws. In fact, some individuals have credited Bentley as the founder of the Society![58]

Captain Nathaniel Silsbee (1773-1850), one of the founding members of East India Marine Society who would later serve as a representative to congress and United States senator, provides an alternate view on the Society's founding. In his autobiography, Silsbee states:

> It was in the course of my residence on shore, in that interval between my voyages, in the autumn of 1799, that the present East India Marine Society of this city was brought into existence by the efforts of a few other East India shipmasters & myself & organized in 1800 (January). The first rules of the Society were drafted by me as one of the committee appointed for that purpose.[59]

Silsbee's son, Nathaniel, also notes in a letter to then East India Marine Society President Benjamin H. Silsbee on December 22nd, 1867, that he heard his father say "that the first suggestion of such an Institution was made by a few shipmasters who were standing together, on a cold day, 'under the lee' of the store on the end of Union Wharf (which I think belonged to Mr. Derby) where they were in the habit of congregating."[60]

Silsbee's recollections are supported by documentary evidence. In the Society's archives is a "List of subscribers agreeing to formation of organization" dated August

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[58] Salem historian Jim McAllister also notes that Bentley was the "founder of the East India Marine Society (1799)" and his "personal inventory of artifacts and curiosities later became the foundation for the Marine Society Museum collection." http://www.salemweb.com/tales/bentley.shtml.

[59] Letter from Nathaniel Silsbee Jr., to Benjamin H. Silsbee, then President of the East India Marine Society, December 19th, 1867, where the younger Silsbee quotes from the his father's autobiography. A copy of this letter was transcribed by Henry Wheatland and appears in a scrapbook devoted to East India Marine Society research. East India Marine Society, *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 1. The original letter accompanied a donation of a portrait of Nathaniel Silsbee to the East India Marine Society, copied by Hartwell from the original by Harding "to be placed in the hall of the Society," and some papers from Silsbee's time as East India Marine Society Treasurer (1808-1812).

[60] East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 1.

31st, 1799, which notes that an "Association of Masters or Commanders of Vessels who have been or are engaged in the East India trade from the town of Salem" met at Webb's Tavern in Salem to lay down the structure of this new marine society:

> We the Subscribers Do Hereby Agree to form an association to consist of such Ship Masters only as have had a Register from Salem and who have navigated those Seas at or beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to continue our friendly and mutual association by dining in Company together each month or quarterly, forming a Society by the name of the East India Marine Society…making such rules & by-laws at future meetings as may be judged useful & necessary in obtaining any nautical or mercantile knowledge & information, especially relative to East India Voyages, which being objects of Public & private utility and advantage shall receive the utmost attention from the Society and the individuals there of."[61]

The key elements in this document are the declaration of "Public & private," which distinguished the East India Marine Society from other learned societies who guarded their collections, and the qualifications for joining the Society. Though the above agreement limits membership to those Salemites who had sailed beyond the Cape of Good Hope, the articles and by-laws adopted on Monday October 14th, 1799, at the first full meeting of the Society at Benjamin Webb's Tavern—followed by the signatures of the thirty members in the order of election—extended this geographical designation to include Cape Horn or the East Indies. In addition, Article II opened membership to those Salem mariners over twenty-one years of age who were supercargoes or factors onboard ships venturing beyond the capes. These strict nautical restrictions would be debated but

[61] List of subscribers agreeing to formation of organization (East India Marine Society), 31 Aug. 1799. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 1. Before this document was signed, an additional statement read "We also further agree that our first meeting to carry into effect the above purposes shall be at Capt. Webbs tavern on the 18th September (Wednesday evening) 1799." Walter Whitehill notes that no minutes survive from this first meeting, but we can surmise that the original articles of the Society were drawn up based on this founding document, and additions/edits were made. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 4.

never changed, even during periods of declining membership and financial hardships. In an ironic twist, it led to the Society's eventual demise in the twentieth century.[62]

The articles and by-laws were edited and printed for the Society's use in 1800.[63] Neither document contains any additions or edits by William Bentley. In addition, Nathaniel Silsbee and his son never mention Bentley in their reflections, bringing Bentley's account into question. Taken at face value, Bentley's entry gives the impression that he played an essential role in crafting the East India Marine Society's by-

[62] This stipulation for membership was revisited several times during the Society's history. During the July 4th, 1822 meeting, it was voted "That George Cleveland, John W. Treadwell & William P. Richardson be a committee to define the limits 'of the seas near the Cape of Good Hope & Cape Horn'—also the precise meaning of the words Factor or Supercargo in the 1st Article of the Bye-Laws, & to report at the next meeting." Their report during the November 6th, 1822 meeting states that "they consider the intention of the Society when they framed the Bye-Laws admitting members who had 'actually navigated the seas near the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn' to have been that no one should be admitted as a member unless he had actually been at one of those Capes, or had navigated the seas beyond them—as it respects the precise meaning of the words Factor or Supercargo the Committee cannot define better than the By-Law now does the intention of the frames of that article." They concluded that "the President and the Standing Committee should still continue to exercise their own discretion on the subject." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. During the March 2nd, 1831 meeting, Dr. Osborne put forth a resolution stating "[t]hat it is the opinion of this meeting that Gentlemen who have navigated the South Atlantic Ocean beyond the latitude of the 'Cape of Good Hope' as masters or supercargoes, resident in Salem, are eligible as members according to the act of incorporation. On motion of Joseph Ropes Esq. Mr. Osborne's resolution was laid over to the next meeting." At the May 4th, 1831 meeting, it was voted to withdraw Osborne's proposition. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. At the annual meeting on November 1st, 1848, a proposition put forth at the September 1848 meeting "for admission of the Commissioned Officers of the United States Navy, to be admitted as Members of the Society" which was unanimously passed (subject to subsequent votes by members not in attendance as a majority was necessary for amending the by-laws). This change stipulated that these naval officers must have "navigated the seas, Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope or Westward of Cape Horn." The specific verbiage of *near* or *beyond* was discussed yet again in 1869 and slightly changed. Almost all individuals put up for membership were voted in, except for a Dr. Hubbard in 1825. Over several meetings his eligibility was questioned and looked into by a committee. The September 1825 meeting found he was eligible, but he did not receive the required votes (28 yeas were required, but of the 37 votes at that meeting, he received only 26). The minutes note "the Society did not intend any disrespect towards him, but that the vote was dictated by the opinion, that he was not eligible." Ibid.

[63] The minutes for this meeting state that "the articals [sic] be red [sic] seperately[sic] and excepted or rejected. This being dun [sic] and the articals [sic] excepted as they now stand the company proceeded to the choice of officers agreable [sic] to the articles." As Walter Whitehill notes, "[a]t the meeting of 2 March 1808 these were abolished and new By Laws [printed in the 1821 and 1831 Museum catalogues] adopted…Various minor changes were made during succeeding years." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem,* 181.

laws. Unfortunately, Bentley has become so revered a historical figure that his diary has not always been carefully dissected to distinguish accuracy from hyperbole. Thus, the problem with Bentley's writing, and an important component that some historians tend to ignore, is the double-sided nature of his personality. As religious historian Christopher White notes, "Bentley was a paradoxical figure. In public, he lobbied for religious freedom and tolerance; in private, he harshly criticized Baptists, evangelicals, Universalists, and others."[64] In addition, Bentley had disagreements with other learned societies in Massachusetts that stemmed from personal slights—Salem's oldest marine society, the Salem Marine Society formed in 1766, and the Massachusetts Historical Society.[65] These examples can easily be extended to his views on any subject related to Salem, including the East India Marine Society.

Another problem with ascribing Bentley as a founder of the Society is his connection to the organization. Just prior to the founding meeting for the Society at Webb's tavern on August 31st, Bentley notes in his diary on the 26th, "Composed Articles xxiii for intended Society of Marines who have navigated the seas of Asia. I delivered

[64] Christopher White, "Salem as Religious Proving Ground," in Morrison and Schultz, *Salem*, 47.
[65] According to maritime historian Phillip Chadwick Foster Smith, "Bentley, an active Mason, viewed the Marine Society cooly and believed it had no place in Salem." Smith, Philip Chadwick Foster. *A History of the Marine Society at Salem* (Salem: The Marine Society at Salem, 1998), 14. Smith also notes, "Bentley, although never a member, could be counted upon to voice his opinions on any subject, and he did so with fair regularity…when the Marine Society was creating membership certificates in 1797, they called on Bentley for his input on the proposed design…Among assorted Bentley papers at the Peabody Museum of Salem is a page, written in his hand, which may constitute his suggestions…If this, indeed, was his plan for the Marine Society certificate, it was not strictly followed." Ibid, 18-19. Bentley disassociated himself from the Massachusetts Historical Society in the early nineteenth century as noted by Thomas Knoles in "'An Equal Taste for Antiquities': Reverend William Bentley and the American Antiquarian Society," *The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings:* "New England Collectors and Collections" (Boston: Boston University, 2004): 16.

them to Capt. Gibaut."[66] While John Gibaut, a close friend of Bentley, was one of the founding members of the organization, he was not one of its influential members. Gibaut did not serve in any executive capacities in the organization nor on any committees. In addition, Gibaut did not donate any objects to the East India Marine Society collection even though he had given material to Bentley for his personal cabinet, bringing into question his allegiances.[67] Bentley, too, donated only nine objects to the East India Marine Society during his lifetime, less than the material he gave to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1798 and 1801.[68] Apart from two porcelain figurines of Chinese figures, one given after his death, the majority of his donations were flora or fauna specimens.

Compounding the problem is a mythology surrounding Bentley's role in the creation of the East India Marine Society that emerged shortly after his death. Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), founder of the American Antiquarian Society, expresses his dismay concerning Bentley's bequest to the Antiquarian Society in a letter to the Reverend Timothy Alden of Allegheny College. Thomas bemoans the fact that Bentley's "cabinet was not so extensive as I had supposed it would have been," and attributes it to his

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[66] Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. II, 316, cited in Norman E. Muller, "The Peabody Museum of Salem's Oceanic Collection: An Historical Study," Typescript copy of the author's M.A. Thesis, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University, June 1967, 3. Muller is the only scholar I have found who notes this passage in academic works on the East India Marine Society and Bentley.

[67] Samuel Elliot Morrison, too, errs when discussing the relationship between Gibaut, Bentley, and the East India Marine Society. He notes: "The famous *Astrea*, John Gibaut master, ventured into the harbor of Pegu, near Rangoon, in 1793, and was promptly commandeered by His Burmese Majesty. This enabled Captain Gibaut to travel up the Irawaddy River, collecting curiosities for the East-India Museum and for his Salem pastor, Dr. Bentley." Morrison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, 92. As the Society was not established until 1799, Gibaut would have only been collecting objects for Bentley, as evidence by Bentley's catalogue for his personal cabinet in scattered in his original manuscript diaries in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[68] Knoles, "William Bentley's Cabinet."

understanding that Bentley "had given a great part of it to the Salem Museum some time before his death."[69] Either Thomas had been misinformed or was provided with erroneous information, as Bentley's will clearly states, "I give all my German Books, New England printed books, manuscripts not of my own hand, & Cabinet with all it contains to the American Antiquarian Society, & all my paintings and engravings."[70] No Salem institution is mentioned on this document, and many Salemites were stunned when hearing the news of Bentley's gift to the Antiquarian Society and not to a local institution. Still, a few decades later, journalist Joseph T. Buckingham (1779-1861) notes, "Mr. Bentley's cabinet of Natural History was large, until the establishment of the Salem Museum, in which he took an active part, induced him to deposit his collection where it would be more useful."[71]

This misinformation continued to populate scholarship relating to Bentley, Salem, or the East India Marine Society into the twentieth century. In the "Biographical Sketch"

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[69] Isiah Thomas to Timothy Alden, May 8th, 1820, quoted in Knoles, "'An Equal Taste for Antiquities,'" 20. The same opinion was held by the author and lawyer Samuel Lorenzo Knapp (1783-1838), who wrote a satiric description of life in Boston by the fictional Frenchman Marshal Soult. In this work, Knapp notes "Several Institutions have grown up among them, which show their enterprize, liberality, and taste, particularly the East India Marine Society. This society have a museum of rare and valuable curiosities, collected from various parts of the Eastern world…This collection is not exhibited for money, but may be seen by every decent stranger. I visited their hall of curiosities several times, and hardly knew which to admire most, the number and richness of the articles, or the exquisite taste in the arrangement of them. This arrangement, I understood, was made by Dr. B*****y, whose fame had reached us in France. The Dr. is a singular man, a bachelor near sixty years of age. His enemies allow him an acquaintance with a wide and diffusive range of literature; and freely acknowledge the benevolence of his heart, and the charities of his life; but like Priestly he has grasped too much to be accurate and profound. He has engaged toe deeply in politics for his happiness or fame…As an antiquary he is most conspicuous, but even here, he differs from other men ; for to a profound and hallowed veneration for what has been, and long since been, he adds an enthusiastic, and visionary belief of the perfectibility of that which is to come." Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, *Extracts from the Journal of Marshal Soult Addressed to a Friend: How Obtained and by Whom Translated is Not a Subject of Enquiry* (Newburyport, MA: William B. Allen & Co., 1817), 69-71.

[70] Will of William Bentley, dated May 8, 1819. William Bentley Papers, Legal and Financial papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-36, Box 1, Folder 17.

[71] Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature: with Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes and Reminiscences*, Vol. II (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 344.

preceding volume one of the first publication of Bentley's diaries, Judge Joseph G. Waters states that Bentley was instrumental in the formation of the Society:

> I can hardly doubt that it was principally owing to his suggestion and labors, that the East India Marine Society had its origin and support for many years. Its first board of officers was composed of his personal friends, and some of them were his most influential parishioners. He prepared its first articles of association and was its leading counsellor [sic] for many years. His collection of curiosities was the foundation of their valuable museum, which has been so long one of the chief attractions of strangers to our city.[72]

Similarly, near the end of the century, historian Mildred Berman notes that Bentley, along with Nathaniel Bowditch, was among the founders of the East India Marine Society and that his "carefully catalogued animal, vegetable, and mineral specimens formed the basis of the Peabody Museum's first permanent collection."[73]

Like most historical questions, the truth probably lies somewhere in between these various accounts. As Bentley was a collector and considered an authority on collecting, and many East India Marine Society members were his parishioners, he likely had some direct and indirect influence on the formation of the Society. A close inspection of Bentley's comment that "Capt. Gibaut brought me the articles & begged a revision of them. I gave him my ideas," reveals that Bentley likely gave feedback to Gibaut when presented with a draft of the Society's by-laws. It probably fell on deaf ears, however, as he states with an air of unhappiness in his final remark on October 22nd, "The

[72] Judge Joseph G. Waters, "A Biographical Sketch of Rev. William Bentley. From the Historical Address by Judge Joseph G. Waters prepared for the celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the establishment of the East Church, observed November 8,1868," in *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* Vol. I (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1905), ix. Waters' inaccuracy has seeped into twenty-first century scholarship as Teresa Barnett cites Waters when noting Bentley donated his cabinet to the Society. Teresa Lynn Barnett, "The Nineteenth-Century Relic: A Pre-History of the Historical Artifact," University of California, Los Angeles, 2008. United States—California: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, 18.

[73] Mildred Berman, "Salem's Maritime Activities," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Vol. 119, No. 1 (January 1983): 25.

President asked the same & I have promised whenever they are again exhibited to give my remarks in writing, as this liberal & important design has not yet the perfection its members intend to give it." Bentley was probably frustrated that the sketch of by-laws he gave Gibaut on August 26th and further feedback were not incorporated into the East India Marine Society's articles, and expressed his bitterness by characterizing the state of the Society as imperfect. Regardless of Bentley's role in the formation of the East India Marine Society, his diary is a valuable source of information on the organization and its collection in the first decades of its existence when critically examined.

With its articles in place, the East India Marine Society distinguished itself from other learned societies of the day by creating an organization that privileged the maritime elite over the social and financial upper class. In addition, in comparison to other marine societies—uniquely American maritime charitable organizations along the Atlantic Coast that provided relief for the widows and families of sailors—the East India Marine Society was the only one to instruct members to collect objects during their voyages.[74] This unique aspect of the Society's charter was an outgrowth of the city's trading nexus, a

[74] The Boston Marine Society did have a collection, too, as described by Malloy. "It was not until 1832 that the BMS began to talk about establishing a museum of its own, probably inspired by the high profile and success of the Salem East India Marine Society's cabinet. A committee was appointed to 'take into consideration, the expediency of forming a collection of rare and valuable curiosities, that may be formed into a museum.' A year later there was a sizeable collection on exhibition in the society's room over the Tremont Bank on State Street. Within a decade the museum had outgrown the available space, and the entire collection was deposited with the Mercantile Library Association, an organization dedicated to the education of men employed by the Boston merchant firms, most of which were well represented in the membership roster of the Boston Marine Society. The relationship between the Boston Marine Society and the Mercantile Library Association was something like that between a captain and his crew…At some point the collection was transferred to the Boston Society of Natural History, probably when the latter institution opened its elegant new building on Berkeley Street in Boston's Back Bay in 1864…In 1869 the Boston Society of Natural History transferred its own ethnographic collections to the new Peabody Museum at Harvard and suggested that the Boston Marine Society do the same. It did, gaining with the decision the satisfaction of knowing that it had aided 'the furtherance of so valuable a science as that of ethnology.' Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 124-125.

rational curiosity that characterized scientific exploration in the New Republic, and sailors' predisposition to acquire objects from their voyages.

While collecting objects and forming a museum was not explicitly stated in the East India Marine Society's original by-laws, it was implied as a founding principle in other ways. Article V states "[t]hat a convenient hall, or room to meet in be procured with an adjoining room to deposit the Books, Papers, & charts, or any articles of Curiosity that may be collected or presented to the Society by donation or otherwise," and Article VI adds, "[t]hat the most approved books of History, Voyages, Travels and of Navigation and new & correct Charts especially of the East India Seas shall be purchased or procured as far as the funds of the Society will admit or as the President and Committee may think necessary."[75] By 1821, collecting was concretely expressed as one of the principle

[75] List of subscribers agreeing to formation of organization (East India Marine Society), 31 Aug. 1799. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 1. The end of Article V states "…until further provision is, or can be made to purchase, or hire a lot of ground whereon it is proposed to erect a building for the accommodation of the Society." This laid the groundwork for the erection of East India Marine Hall. This article was truncated and renumbered as Article XII for the 1800 printing of the Society's by-laws, and states that " a convenient place be provided by the President for the meeting of the members, with proper apartments for the Books, Papers, Charts, Curiosities, and such other things as the Society may collect or by donations may receive, until a building be purchased or otherwise obtained by the Society for their accomadation [sic]." East India Marine Society. *By-Laws and Regulations of the East India Marine Society, Massachusetts* (Salem, MA: Printed by Thomas C. Cushing, 1800), 7. In regards to Article VI, the word approved was written over valuable, which was crossed out. The stronger ink and different penmanship suggests an edit by another individual. This article was also truncated and renumbered as Article XIII, which states "[t]he members engage to assist in collecting all valuable publications in every Language…" Ibid. In the revised by-laws of the Society printed in 1808, three-dimensional objects were included in this article: "The Members shall collect such useful publications, or articles of curiosity, as they think will be acceptable to the Society." East India Marine Society. *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society, Massachusetts* (Salem, MA: Printed by Pool and Palfray, 1808), 12. Also part of this evolving Article was the modern concept of museum deposits. The original Article VI notes that members' could collect publications "to present to the Society, the property or right to which, if more agreable [sic] to the person who presents them shall be considered his own, subject only to the perusal & inspection of the members by permission of the President or Committee and to the preference of purchase by the Society at prime cost or at a fair valuation as may be agreed upon." List of subscribers agreeing to formation of organization (East India Marine Society), 31 Aug. 1799. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 1. Like the preceding Articles, this one was also shortened and clarified to

objectives of the East India Marine Society, printed on the first page of the Society's first published museum catalogue as "to form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities." In this way, the East India Marine Society fulfilled the characteristics or "the essential apparatus of the learned gentleman" according to Francis Bacon.[76]

Over the next decade, during the height of Salem's maritime supremacy, the Society's membership grew to 140 members, and a vast assortment of objects came pouring into the museum. In the first few months of its existence, Carnes and other members trading in the Pacific donated thirty-five objects, a number that had more than quintupled when William Bentley described his visit to the East India Marine Society museum on August 13th, 1801:

> Visited in Company with Capt. Hodges & Gibaut the Museum of the East India Marine Society. As they have not been long in the habit of Collecting, the Collection is entitled to notice. They are furnished with several images & paintings of Hindostan, China & Japan, with complete dresses in the Chinese fashion. They have various specimens of the Oyster shells of Sumatra. Large collections of the smaller shells & some of them beautiful. The Albatross, birds of paradise, parakeets [sic], & several birds. No fish, & but few insects. Some antiquities, & a handsome number of Coins given by E. H. Derby. A few specimens of stones, ores, &c. not arranged, petrefactions [sic], & curiosities, in all 185 articles. They have a foundation for a Library well begun, as it contains already Cooke's Voyages, Perouse, Vancouver, &c. Their Museum is kept over the Marine office in the Brick Building, east corner of Court Street, fronting Essex Street. Communications are required on the Voyages of Members & such only are members as circumnavigate Cape of Good Hope. Capt. Sage has lately

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read "…as donations to the Society or to be held in their own private right, for the temporary use of the Society under such terms as may be agreed on with President & Committee" in 1800.

[76] Francis Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum*, 1594, as quoted in Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*, 1. These were: "First, the collecting of a most perfect and general library, wherein whosoever the wit of man hath heretofore committed to books of worth…may be made contributory to your wisdom. Next, a spacious, wonderful garden…so you may have in small compass a model of the universal nature made private. The third, a goodly, huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of man by exquisite art or engine has made rare in stuff, form or motion; whatsoever singularity, chance, and the shuffle of things hath produced; whatsoever Nature has wrought in things that want life and may be kept; shall be sorted and included." Ibid.

> delivered a Chart of a Voyage with the tract of his Ship, & it is a good beginning."[77]

Three years later, the *Salem Register*, too, noted that "a few years has not extinguished the zeal with which they commenced their labours in collecting and arranging the most important aids to a history of the globe. Their friends abroad have not refused the best testimony of their approbation, by useful donations, and by valuable additions. For their greatest success we join in the witness of their fellow citizens."[78]

Within a decade, the collection grew almost twenty times its size, and it more than doubled over the following ten years, reaching over 2,000 objects by 1821. The museum housed objects collected by Society members while engaged in international trade; purchased by the institution; received from foreign merchants as friendly tokens of admiration; donated by other mariners or individuals who had heard about the East India Marine Society's endeavors through word of mouth or in publications; and brought in by museum visitors. The collection was in many ways akin to European cabinets, containing a vast assortment of natural history specimens and ethnographic material, but it was also a unique representation of members' experiences in new lands—tools, weapons, and trade goods from the Pacific islands, oil paintings and life-size clay figure portraits of the merchants with whom members traded in the East, and an assortment of unusual flora, fauna, and other objects that conjured up memories of life at sea.

Like the double-ended pipe, many of the objects collected for the East India Marine Society were bound within the nature of mercantile exchange, and thus contained

[77] Bentley, The Diary of William Bentley, Vol. II, 382.
[78] *Salem Register*, November 11th, 1805.

multiple meanings that were not always readily accessible to Society members and museum patrons. Objects obtained from the Northwest Coast of North America, in particular, display the complexities bound within the sea otter trade that began in the late eighteenth century.[79] Sea otter pelts were a key trade good for obtaining tea and porcelain in China, and American mariners procurement of valuable furs extended from the Northwest Coast to Hawaii and later California. In the process, cultural artifacts were exchanged, native inhabitants moved from their homes to other regions in the trading network, and new objects were crafted as souvenirs for the growing number of Westerners entering this region.[80]

Mariners viewed some souvenirs as symbolic of their trading partners' culture and their experiences in mercantile trade.[81] Sailors also purchased other cultural artifacts offered to them by their trading partners and assembled a collection on shipboard, which served as a three-dimensional documentation of the encounter between the shipboard

[79] Objects collected from this region were mostly confined to exchange onboard ship. As Malloy notes: "Almost all contact was on the water, with Yankees on the decks of their ships and native traders in their canoes. When the American ships were anchored adjacent to Villages, high-ranking native individuals generally controlled trading, but the trade at sea while en route between villages was usually unsupervised. While the shipboard population was limited to men subject to the strict rules of captains and owners, Northwest Coast Indian people of both genders, all ages, and all social tanks flocked to arriving ships." Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 42-43.

[80] Malloy notes that in the early years of the Northwest Coast trade, paddles, fishhooks, weapons, hats, and clothing were the most common objects available to Westerners as they were "the things most readily available in a casual encounter, where the exchange of souvenirs was spontaneous. These were items that Northwest Coast Indians had in their canoes for their own use when they approached foreign vessels." Ibid, 41. Still, not everything was available for exchange in the early years of the fur trade. Ibid, 42.

[81] Malloy wonders what happened to the Western objects given to native inhabitants: "In July 1801 Ralph Haskins aboard the Boston ship *Atahualpa* traded a violin and a pocket watch to a Haida merchant; he later got a prime skin in exchange for the ship's cat. What did that watch or that fiddle mean to the Northwest Coast Indian collector, who had no knowledge of the context in which it was understood hack in Boston? Were his thoughts similar to those of the American captain who stood on the deck of his ship with a mask in his hands? How was the watch perceived back in the village?" Ibid, xix.

community and the people of the Northwest Coast.[82] Often, sailors preferred objects that exaggerated physical characteristics they found fascinating.[83] Captain Daniel Cross of Beverly, Massachusetts, donated one such object in 1827—a Haida mask "once used by a distinguished Chieftainess of the Indians at Nootka Sound--said to represent exactly the manner in which she painted her face," according to the Society's 1831 printed catalogue.[84] It shows a woman wearing a prominent lip-distending labret (fig. 5). Labrets fascinated Westerners, and objects illustrating their use were desired for display to people back home. This mask, contrary to the description in the catalogue, was not an important object used in a Haida ceremony. Rather, it was a carefully crafted souvenir that appealed to Western tastes.[85]

Objects also moved within different regions in the sea otter trading network, sometimes exchanged at other points after being acquired.[86] Captain John Bradshaw

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[82] Ibid, xi-xii. Malloy traces the changes that occurred in the collection and interests in these objects throughout the nineteenth century.

[83] Malloy describes American taste for objects from this region controlled by the nature of interaction and exchange with native inhabitants from the Northwest coast. Ibid, 43-44.

[84] Cross was master of the brig *Rob Roy* during a voyage to the Northwest Coast from 1821-1825. Malloy notes that though Cross never makes mention of the mask in his journal, he may have obtained it from the Haida chief Nacoot "with whom Cross and his men had such a close relationship. It is one of a number of important masks carved by the same artist, and William Sturgis, one of the ship's owners, borrowed it from the museum to illustrate a lecture he gave in Boston in 1848." Mary Malloy, "Author Exposed! Young Sailor is Revealed as 'Anonymous' Keeper of Excellent Voyage Narrative," Originally published in *Historic Nantucket*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Winter 2006). www.nha.org/history/hn/HNmalloy.htm.

[85] For more on the mask and Daniel Cross, see Gary Breckon, James B. Thayer, and Thomas Vaughan, *This Noble River: Captain Gray and the Columbia* (Astoria, Oregon: Columbia River Maritime Museum, 1992), 46; Ralph T. Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain. 1976), 138; Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 150; Ira Jacknis, "Towards and Art History of Northwest Coast First Nations: I. 'Traditional' Period (1770-1870), *BC Studies*, No. 135 (Autumn 2002): 52-53. Jonathan C. H. King, *Portrait Masks from the Northwest Coast of America* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 20. Karen Kramer, "Intersections: Native American Art in a New Light," *American Indian Art Magazine* (Autumn 2007): 77, 164; Malloy, *A Most Remarkable Enterprise: Lectures on the Northwest Coast Trade* (Sturgis Library: Barnstable MA, 2013); Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 73.

[86] Malloy describes the movement of good throughout the region and beyond and the complexities that resulted from this disbursement. "Artifacts were often collected at a distance from the place where they

donated a Tlingit basketry hat with six "potlatch rings" to the East India Marine Society in 1832, even though he traded exclusively on the California coast in 1825 when master of the Boston ship *Sachem* and did not venture to Nootka Sound in modern- day British Columbia.[87] Similarly, Captain Thomas Meek donated an Aleut gut raincoat or *kamleika* in 1820, which was given to Meek by Kamehameha, the king of Hawaii. Meek, who gave a few other impressive objects to the East India Marine Society, was familiar with these Aleut garments from previous voyages as they were popular trade goods for Americans and Russians as lightweight and durable foul-weather gear.[88] It was misattributed in the Society's 1821 catalogue as "The Royal Robe of Tamahama," probably the error of recently hired superintendent Seth Bass, and ultimately corrected in the 1831 catalogue when this royal attribution was eliminated from the object entry.[89] Thus, objects made by different cultures could be available in an area that extended along the Northwest Coast,

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were produced because they were regularly exchanged between tribes or as barter goods in the maritime fur trade with Americans and Europeans. A long tradition of intertribal trade on the Northwest Coast preceded European contact by many centuries. In addition to extensive commercial networks, there was an elaborate system of exchange through potlatching. Also, shorthanded ships signed Northwest Coast Indian men to work as members of their crews, and in the process transported them (and their clothing, gear, and weapons) to other parts of the region and to more distant destinations in California, Hawaii, and Canton. This resulted not only in the wide distribution of objects across regions and cultures, but also in the frequent misatribution of their original sources and cultural contexts." Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 44.

[87] Malloy notes that Bradshaw "could not have been expected to know local goods there from firsthand experience, he apparently attributed the hat to the important center of early trade, which he knew from the reports of his countrymen and from the publications of Cook and others." Ibid.

[88] Ibid, 47-48.

[89] Ibid. Malloy states that Hawaiian objects went to the Northwest Coast, too, as native workers moved throughout the distinct regions and the California coast. This explains how Robert Bennett Forbes obtained a Chilkat blanket that he donated to the Society in 1831, as he never ventured to the Northwest Coast. These blankets were among the rare objects obtained through the sea otter trade because of the time consuming labor that went into their construction. Ibid, 50.

from the Alaska coast to the Bering Straits, the Hawaiian Islands, the coast of California, and Canton.[90]

As these objects passed through multiple hands, their original meaning was altered.[91] Once they were exhibited at the East India Marine Society museum, they could be viewed in multiple ways—as representations of other cultures or souvenirs of exchange and cultural encounter. Most likely, the Westerners who acquired these objects, Society members, and museum visitors did not wonder whether an object was made for ceremonial use or as a trade item.[92] In addition, sailors had a limited understanding of indigenous people prior to their voyages apart from the published descriptions of their predecessors on the Coast, such as Captain James Cook (1728-1779), and often compared Northwest Coast Indian people and their customs to culturally unrelated Native American groups encountered at other points of a voyage.[93]

While filled with complexities, the Society sought to present visitors with an understanding of the world through the objects they collected via global exchange. These expressions of cultural identity had a profound impact on not only Salem residents, but on the diverse American society who came from across the country to visit the museum, making distant shores as well known as provincial towns. The museum—sometimes referred to as the East India Museum, or simply, the Salem Museum—was open to the

[90] Ibid, 47.
[91] Ibid, xiv. Malloy notes that "[o]n at least one occasion, a mask collected on one part of the Northwest Coast was traded back into native hands by an American sea captain, transferring it from one tribal setting to another. If it were collected again, as it almost certainly was, would the collector recognize its origin?" Ibid.
[92] Ibid. In fact, as Malloy states in relation to Northwest Coast masks, "[i]t is unlikely that any American sailor thought about whether the masks were made as souvenirs or for native use—most of them never even went ashore. They seldom saw ceremonial events and so had little idea of the masks being intended for anything other than portraiture." Ibid.
[93] Ibid, 5.

public free of charge as long as visitors had an introduction from a member.[94] Writing in the early twentieth century, Caroline Howard King recalled the sense of Orientalist wonderment she experienced during her visits as a child in the 1830s: "the hours were full of enchantment, and I think I came as near fairyland as one ever can in this workaday world…And indeed in those days the Spice Islands seemed to lie very near our coast."[95] For several years, the East India Marine Society members paraded around the city before their annual dinner in foreign dress, carrying objects from the collection, most notably a palanquin from Calcutta donated by four members of the Society in 1803 (fig. 6).[96]

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[94] It was referred to as the Chinese Museum in a letter to the editor published in the *Boston Herald* of August 18th, 1851, pertaining to the dedication of Lowell Island in Salem harbor and the erection of a public house on the island. Some Society members proposed charging admission at certain points in the nineteenth century, but no resolution was ever passed as it was seen as antithetical to their mission. In addition, outside observers and visitors never seem to grasp the concept of an American museum that did not charge an entrance fee. The *Salem Observer* of April 12th, 1828, noting an essay in the April 11th, 1828 edition of the *Boston Galaxy* that stated "[o]n the subject of the Museum, take a caution. It is not opened for profit, and what you give at the door is a gratuity to the keeper. I was unreasonable enough to require change for a cool ten, and nine dollars were disgorged reluctantly," responded, "[t]he Boston Galaxy, of yesterday, contains an account of our Museum, furnished by a correspondent, from which we have taken the following extract. The writer's statement respecting admission money received at the door, is, we hesitate not to say, utterly false. We do not believe that a cent has ever been received for admission. The members of this institution have always freely invited strangers to inspect the valuable curiosities, contained in the Museum, and the writer, who could make such a return for their civility, may be left to receive from the public that character, which such base ingratitude must stamp upon him."

[95] King, When I Lived in Salem, 29-30.

[96] Moses Townsend, in a letter to the East India Marine Society from Calcutta dated October 8th, 1802 and read at the March 2nd, 1803 meeting, informs his brethren that he and Captains West, Lander, Orne, and Mugford had purchased a "palinquin" as "it may gratify the curious, will show the method of travelling in this country, and may answer a very good purpose on our festival day, in case any accident should happen a member." He also notes at the end of the letter, "The Kittishallis a compliment from W. Doorgapersand." William Mugford transported this object to Salem via the ship *Ulysses*. Correspondence, ByLaws, Minutes, and other papers, 1802-1869. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 3. There is also a receipt for $9.50 from Benjamin Hodges to Rowland Luce for the freight of 1 "palanqueen [sic] & Hettefall [sic] measuring 76 feet at 12 cents per foot," and a note in pencil "destroyed about 1875." Ibid. King was once allowed "to ascend into that mysterious palanquin, with dim-colored eastern cushions and wraps, smelling of myrrh and frankincense." She was "much surprised at my mother's displeasure, and by hearing her say afterwards to my father, 'Really, Captain Saul must be spoken to! Think of his putting the children into that unpleasant old palanquin. Nobody knows what horrid disease they may have caught.' Presumably other children had the same treat until their parents found out!" King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 33-34.

Through the museum and their festivities, the Society brought the world back home to their native town.

As objects were not collected as an exercise in racial or cultural categorization—which characterized United States and European museology starting in the mid nineteenth century—they were not simply a means of obtaining global knowledge. Rather, they were expressions of a new American identity denoting both Salem and the new nation's position in the world. In this context, the museum's collection is akin to the letters, journals, and published narratives penned by American expatriates and businessmen abroad at the time. Historian Dane Morrison notes that these documents explored "the themes of discovery and identity...and contributed to the development of a nascent national character—the 'true Yankee.'"[97] The East India Marine Society used its museum in a similar fashion, to support an American identity tied to the sea.

In addition to donations and acquisitions of objects, the East India Marine Society commissioned and purchased works that filled perceived gaps in their institutional narrative. In 1803, they paid the Neapolitan artist Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845), who immigrated to Salem in 1799, $10 to paint a small horizontal sign for the entrance to the Society's museum—quarters on the second floor of a new building constructed by

[97] Dane Morrison, *True Yankees: The South Seas and the Discovery of American Identity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), xx. For a critical examination of the recent reconceptualization of early American history in a Global history context see Rosemarie Zagarri, "The Significance of the 'Global Turn' for the Early American Republic Globalization in the Age of Nation-Building," *Journal of the Early Republic* Vol. 31 (Spring 2011): 4-5. Zagarri's applies this to "the exchange of goods, people, and ideas between British India and the early American republic; missionary activity in India, especially by American women; and a comparison of British and American ideas about race and the treatment of nonwhite peoples under their rule." Ibid, 9.

Benjamin Pickman on Essex Street (fig. 7).[98] In the center of this painting is a full-rigged ship. She flies a rectangular white flag and ribbon-like pennant atop her mainmast, with the Star-Spangled Banner hanging from her stern as she sails towards an expanse of open blue-green sea.[99] A small tender holding a dozen people, doffing their hats and gesturing towards the departing ship, trails off her stern. The ship is surrounded by Salem harbor and Salem neck, with Fort Pickering at a distance on the left under puffy clouds and optimistic pinkish hues above the small buildings. In the foreground, a woman in Empire dress, perhaps an allusion to Liberty or Columbia, sits on a rocky cliff, extending her arms in an open embrace and gesturing the viewer towards the vast stretch of sea. Two cherubs unfurl a scroll lettered "East India Marine Hall"—added to the painting in 1825—above a blue-green sky.[100]

Cornè received several commissions from the newly formed East India Marine Society, from portraits to historical scenes to landscapes. Some were in the form of

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[98] Upon his arrival, Cornè had a profound impact on the marine painters of the newly formed United States, and painted gouache scenes of local ships, historical and allegorical images in oils, and portraits based on engravings. He also taught his craft to other aspiring artists, such as a young deaf-mute sign and carriage painter George Ropes Jr. (1788-1819). Most importantly, he established the genre of ship portraiture in America–the most specialized form of marine art. A typical ship portrait is a carefully constructed composition that places a vessel in a specific situation, combining artistic skill with nautical accuracy and detail to document maritime culture in a unique way. The ship is almost always in broadside perspective to display specific attributes of her masts, rigging, bow, and carving, and the best practitioners of this genre were those who were able to present accuracy in ship design. Daniel Finamore, "'To Paint a Storm': Perception and Meaning in Marine Painting," in *Romance of the Sea: An Exhibition of Marine Painting from Members' Collections* (Boston: St. Botolph Club), 2.

[99] The ship is likely the *Mount Vernon*, the vessel Cornè emigrated to Salem aboard, owned by Elias Hasket Derby. Cornè painted the *Mount Vernon* at least twelve times for the family, attesting to the significance of this ship to Cornè.

[100] Cornè's original painting is described in an invoice/receipt from Benjamin Hodges as "a painting over the Door of the Hall of the Marine Society." Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 5.The lettering was done by local artist Samuel Bartoll, and his additions, noted in an invoice/receipt as "Altering the figure, lettering, guilding & Varnishing the sign over the entrance to the Hall," almost equaled the price paid to Cornè at $9.50. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 27.

overmantel and fireboard paintings.[101] This work, however, is symbolic of the Society's mission. Visitors entering the museum would readily understand the scene before them, one of maritime enterprise and commerce. The woman's gesture imparts a notion of "come see the four corners of the globe inside these doors."[102] When read in connection with Charles Willson Peale's *The Artist and His Museum* (fig. 8), it takes on added meaning. Both Peale and the woman seated in East India Marine Society sign mirror as bookends in a similar pose inviting the viewer to come inside. Peale has opened a curtain onto his carefully constructed and enclosed exhibition of American natural and political history, filled almost exclusively with static artifacts apart from a few visitors wandering through the Long Room of the Pennsylvania State House. Cornè's woman, on the other hand, gestures to American maritime enterprise and open waters, allowing the viewer to imagine what lies behind the museum's walls.

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[101] Art historian Anna O'Day Marley views these works by Cornè as part of an understudied genre of works done in the British American colonies and early Republic that were part "of a broader taste for landscapes installed above fireplaces in the British Atlantic World. Deriving from Atlantic travel, the international exchange of architectural pattern books, and the desire to establish gentlemanly status in the Americas, British Americans were engaging in a transatlantic trade in landscape overmantels as acts of social and political identity formation." Anna O'Day Marley, "Rooms with a View: Landscape Representation in the Early National and Late Colonial Domestic Interior," University of Delaware, 2009. United States—Delaware: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, xxi. PEM decorative arts curator Dean Lahikainen has classified these works as an essential element of the "coordinated interior" of Salem's elite merchants during the port's Golden Age. Dean Lahikainen, *Samuel McIntire: Carving an American Style* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2007), 217, quoted in Marley, "Rooms with a View," 118. The works done for the Society, related to British naval heroes and ports of call for Salem vessels, "suggest an engagement not only with British landscape aesthetics but with the contemporary realities of mercantile risk and trade… At once both universal and local, Cornè's copies after British seascapes and landscapes played an important role in Salem's 'coordinated interiors,' assisting Salem's merchants in crafting spaces that connected them to the benefits and privileges of international aesthetics and trade, while insulating them from the anxieties and inconveniences brought by that same trade to their bustling port city." Ibid, 119, 162.

[102] As Finamore speculates, the museum "invited visitors to believe that the world had come to Salem in a miniaturized and contained state that had been distilled for them first hand by their merchant-ambassadors. The explanatory context for the variations amongst the peoples of the world revolved around the objects they made and the natural resources they harvested for sale. In their vision, Americans were the central players who integrated them all through trade. In this manner they established themselves as players in a world market amongst foreign competition." Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 48.

While optimistic in tone, Cornè's painting also clouds the realities of the mercantile experience—one filled with violent storms, dangerous seas patrolled by hostile vessels, and other cultures who fought back against Western incursion. A few objects exhibited in the museum directly engage these negative associations in the published catalogues available for consultation by visitors—a journal "written with blood upon a Seal Skin" by shipwrecked sailors in the South Seas, the calendar stick of James Drown who was stranded on the remote island of Tristan da Cunha for 173 days until he was rescued, and a double-ended dagger "supposed to be a remnant of the arms of the ship *Boston* which was taken by surprise & the crew murdered."[103] Most objects, however, carried darker secrets bound to the collections and not readily available to viewers or Society members.

Almost immediately, the East India Marine Society garnered international recognition for its worldly endeavors. The Society gained a reputation as an important scientific organization, thanks in part to Nathaniel Bowditch's involvement in the organization. A veteran of the East India trade as both supercargo and master, Bowditch was, in the words of mathematician Dirk Struik, "the most famous of early New England

[103] The calendar stick, numbered 176, is inscribed "James Drown, born AD 1777, 10 Mar. 1804. A.P. Providence, Rhode Island, America." Drown made 173 notches on his calendar stick before being rescued. It took him a full 11 years to make his passage back to New England and when he returned his wife, who had presumed him dead, had remarried and his life was unrecognizable. Finamore characterizes this object as representative of "an experience that is so graphically horrible that it's hard for people to conceive…The only thing that he had with him was the club that he'd taken ashore with which to kill seals. So he transforms his weapon into a representation of himself, marking each day with a notch. Thinking I am all alone here, no one will come to save me, no one will even know that I died here. Staring up at the sky, out at the sea. Living in a purgatory that is neither civilization or death … just in this transient zone forever." Quoted in Whitney Van Dyke, "11 Years a Stranger," *Connected* PEM blog, October 31st, 2013. http://connected.pem.org/11-years-a-stranger. It is only listed on a late nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue possibly compiled by John Robinson in the Society archives where it is recorded as "the notched stick being the calendar kept in 1804 by James Drown of Providence when wrecked on the island of Tristan d'Cunha during a sealing voyage."

scientists."[104] He served as the institution's first caretaker and organizer of the Society's logbooks and journals, an archive of information that was unsurpassed in the world at the time. The East India Marine Society required all members to carry a separate logbook on their voyages in order to "collect such facts and observations as may tend to the improvement and security of navigation,"[105] and these "quarter-deck chroniclers," as journalist Ralph D. Paine describes them, constructed volumes of written information that often contained "a pen and ink drawing of the landfall of some almost unknown island" creating a "unique library of blue water."[106]

Thus, a scientific curiosity undergirded the East India Marine Society's endeavors in a similar fashion to the Renaissance *Kunstkammern* that were slowly disappearing from Europe at the time and spurred the Society's accumulation of objects for enlightened speculation. This fusion of the natural sciences and the collecting of material culture—like the Sumatran double-ended pipe—was recognized by the East India Marine

[104] Dirk Jan Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), 108. In August of 1823, a dinner was held in Salem for Nathaniel Bowditch on the occasion of his move to Boston. The Honorable Judge Putnam offered the toast that echoes Struik's belief: "NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, our most distinguished citizen—*First* of his Countrymen in the walks of science—*Second* to no man on earth for purity and honor."

[105] East India Marine Society, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*, 3. The Society's collection of logs, books, charts, and other nautical information pre-dates any governmental repository. The blank journals initially cost the Society $45 for a run of seventy-five, per a receipt in the treasurer's accounts date March 9th, 1802 from Thomas C. Cushing. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 4.

[106] Ralph D. Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem: The Record of a Brilliant Era of American Achievement*, New Edition (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912), 11. Paine notes that these illustrations "would help the next captain passing that coast to identify its headlands Therefore many of these developed an astonishing aptitude for sketching coast line, mountains and bays. Some of them even made pictures in water color of the ships they saw or spoke, and their logs were illustrated descriptions of voyages to the South Seas or Mauritius or China. In this manner the tradition was cherished that a shipmaster of Salem owed it to his fellow mariners and townspeople to bring home not only all the knowledge he could gather but also every kind of curious trophy to add to the collections of the East India Marine Society. And as the commerce over seas began to diminish in the nineteenth century, this tradition laid fast hold upon many Salem men and women whose fathers had been shipmasters. They took pride in gathering together all the old log books they could find in cobwebby attics and battered seachests and in increasing this unique library of blue water." Ibid.

Society as the twin pillars of the Society. Only six years after English artist William Blake wrote that "The Foundation of Empire is Art and Science," the Society cemented this principle in two consecutive toasts given during their festive anniversary dinner in 1804—"Natural History, may commerce never forget its obligations" and "A Cabinet, that every mariner may possess the history of the world."[107]

Apart from its scientific attributes, the East India Society Museum was seen as a novel institution in the United States and a model for future endeavors.[108] The *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register* of March 1st, 1802 notes:

> The Anglo-Americans looking to the East Indies for the greatest future improvement of their trade and navigation, neglect no means that may contribute to promote their object. A society, under the title of the 'East India Marine Society,' has hence been established, recently, at Salem, with a view to collect charts, maps, and observations, tending to facilitate the navigation of the eastern and southern ocean. Commerce is expected to derive signal benefits from its exertions.[109]

The Boston Weekly Magazine of January 8th, 1803 also commented, "[t]he conduct of this Society has been highly honorable to them...They have collected the Journals of the voyages which have been performed since their establishment, and have provided a

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[107] William Blake, "William Blake's Annotations to the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1798," in the *Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. by D. V. Erdman; quoted by Lenore Metrick-Chen, *Collecting Objects/Excluding People: Chinese Subjects and American Visual Culture, 1830-1900* (Ithaca, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012), 225; *Salem Gazette*, November 12th, 1804. The public also recognized these two objectives, as a correspondent to the *Salem Gazette* noted in 1821: "Its rare collection of curiosities, the facilities it has afforded to the navigation of distant seas, and the fund of information in various branches of science daily obtained from the journals of its members,…render it unrivalled among the institutions of our country." *Salem Gazette*, February 21st, 1821.

[108] Early notices of the formation of the museum ran in local and Massachusetts papers. *The Political Repository* of Brookfield notes on January 20th, 1801 "the Institution is only in its infancy, yet there is already a very handsome collection of natural curiosities and foreign coins. The funds of the society are increasing, and it is expected will in time form a considerable capital stock, and which is directed by their constitution to be employed in useful purposes."

[109] "Provincial Occurences," *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register*, March 1st, 1802: 195.

library for the purpose of mercantile and nautical information; also a very valuable collection in Natural History, coins,' &c."[110]

A couple of years later, in the *Salem Gazette* of November 5th, 1805, an anonymous author highlighted the Society's importance to both the town and the nation in a praiseworthy letter entitled "To the East India Marine Society." He distinguishes the Society's museum from other American endeavors "with swelling titles and splendid decorations," which "have died soon after their birth."[111] These organizations, according to the author, "injured the reputation and lessened the usefulness of all."[112] In addition, the Society's election of members who are "young, curious, and full of enterprise, and will add much to your information, and collection of curiosities" rather than "men advanced in years, among whom ambition is but a momentary sensation of the soul."[113] Triumphantly, the author pronounces the East India Marine Society as the foundation of global knowledge for Salem and ultimately the country, and not a carnival side-show:

> Your collection of rare and valuable curiosities surpasses any in New England; and the large additions which are daily made to it induce us to think that it will soon be the first in United States. Many men of sordid and contracted minds consider a Museum as they do fireworks, that give pleasure only when seen; but it appears different to those who are enlightened by science and refined by taste: They are filled with admiration at every thing which throws light on the history of nations, or exhibits the beauties, or displays the wonders of nature…Your researches, united with the researches of others, will assist the philosopher in discussing that hitherto but partially explored subject, the powers and faculties of

[110] "Boston: Saturday Evening, January 8th, 1803." *The Boston Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (January 8, 1803): 47.
[111] "To the East India Marine Society," *Salem Gazette* November 5th, 1805.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid. A week later on November 11th, the *Salem Register* noted, "We feel obliged on all proper occasions to notice the attention which has been paid to the collections of the East India Marine Society. The late anniversary has assured the members of that Useful Institution that its design has not been forgotten."

> the human mind, by showing him the influence of climate, laws, superstition and habit, on society.[114]

Finally, he boldly predicts that the Society's model will promote similar endeavors at this time and in the future: "Your descendants, in some distant day, will look at what you have done, and while they admire and reverence the indefatigable industry and bold enterprize of their fathers, will feel stimulated to like exertions."[115]

Unfortunately, Salem's maritime fortunes would not be as long lived as the East India Marine Society. As a result of increasing British and French interference with American commerce during the Napoleonic Wars, President Jefferson prohibited all foreign trade in and out of U.S. ports in 1807.[116] This embargo, which included the Indies and China trades, had damaging effects on New England's economy since nearly all of Salem's fleet and crews were idle, putting one-fifth of Salem's population out of work. Though there was a temporary lifting of the embargo in 1809 with all countries except Great Britain and France, the War of 1812 with Great Britain resulted in another embargo on foreign trade. Some Salem sea captains participated in privateering and found it profitable, though the British did capture twenty-six Salem vessels.[117] By the

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[114] Ibid.
[115] John Sparkhawk Appleton similarly comments in *The Barber's Shop, Kept by Sir David Razor*, a satirical periodical printed for the Salem political campaign of 1807-1808: "This museum, although in its infancy, is very respectable for the large and valuable collection of antiquities and other curiosities which it contains. The ample hall appropriated to this purpose is nearly filled; but I have no doubt that the proprietors would exert themselves to find room for any additions the liberality of the public might choose to make to it." *The Barber's Shop. Kept by Sir David Razor* (Salem, Cushing and Appleton, 1808), 45. See Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1927), 183.
[116] National Parks Service, *The Salem Project*, 134.
[117] Ibid.

end of the war Salem's economy was starting to change as merchants moved their businesses to Boston, New York, and other larger harbors.[118]

Most scholars who have studied the East India Marine Society museum end their story at this point, linking the Society's eventual demise to Salem's dwindling overseas trade.[119] Yet the museum more than doubled its collection by the end of the 1820s, and its highest annual visitation came in the next two decades (see Appendix C, Table 2 and Chart 3). Though Salem never attained its pre-embargo economic prestige, it remained a busy port until the 1840s.[120] As Vickers notes, "it is something of a puzzle how Salem

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[118] Ibid. There were also developments to link Salem and Boston commerce, one being the Salem to Boston railroad. George Peabody—son of Joseph Peabody and President of the Eastern Railroad—notes the advantages and disadvantages of commuting to Boston via rail in an address commemorating the opening of the line on August 27th, 1838. "If the only consequence of the Road to Salem, is to secure to her what she at present possesses it will accomplish a truly valuable purpose; for she has much to lose. Few towns can boast of so many solid advantages…Charitable and humane institutions exist nowhere in greater number or on a more respectable footing. The man of literature, science, and taste, may here have access to an Atheneum [sic] containing one of the choicest libraries in the country, to an excellent collection of Native Antiquities, and to the fine Cabinets of the Society of Natural History and the East India Museum, the latter of which contains as is well known, a collection of rare and valuable curiosities equal if not superior to any of the kind in Europe or America…Their intercourse with Boston must necessarily be constant, and they will now be subjected to a trifling loss of time or money in their transactions. In fact the cost of travel on the Rail Road, if made use of every day in the year, would be less than the difference between the rent of a house in Salem and one of equal quality in Boston." George Peabody, *Address at the Opening of the Eastern Rail Road Between Boston and Salem, August 27, 1838* (Salem, MA: John H. Choate & Co., 1888), 13-14.

[119] An excerpt from the *New-York Journal of Commerce* that ran in the *Salem Gazette* of May 21st, 1833, counters the notion of Salem's diminishing presence in American foreign trade. "Many of their ships are absent a long period cruising from one port to another for the purpose of trade, and come back loaded with wealth, which they poor into the lap of their country, entering generally either at New York or Boston. Hence there is an *appearance* of far less commerce at Salem than the actual amount. And indeed if it were all visible, unless the observer was acquainted with the *kind* of trade in which it is mostly employed, he would be greatly deceived in estimating its value. Some idea of this may be formed from the fact that in that small town of only 14,000 inhabitants, there are no less than four or five Marine Insurance Companies, with an agregate [sic] capital of $1,000,000…But whether by privateering or by commerce, in war or in Peace, Salem, and all other towns where the same industry, enterprize, and intelligence prevail, will contrive to keep their heads above water,—nay, to get rich, though surrounded as Salem is, by little else than barren rocks.—*New-York Journal of Commerce*."

[120] Salem did receive national attention in 1830, not for its commercial activities, but for the murder of East India Marine Society member Captain Joseph White. Literary historian Alfred Rosa points to murder as a significant event at this time, which "lifted Salem onto the front page of every newspaper in the country…the first criminal case in this country to receive national press coverage. It was an exciting and

remained in the nineteenth century a seaport of consequence at all…but through the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, local merchants and mariners proved amazingly inventive in seeking out new destinations and new products, mainly in parts of the world where Americans had never ventured before."[121]

Trade patterns had changed and captains undertook shorter voyages, changes that were reflected in East India Marine Society donations. Voyages to the East Indies, China, California, and the South Seas shifted from the shallow silting Salem Harbor, which was unnavigable for the larger ships that started to dominate overseas trade, to Boston, which absorbed the foreign commerce and shipping of every other Massachusetts seaport because of its rail connections.[122] Instead, Salem merchants returned to the Atlantic world, focusing their attention on markets in South America, the West Indies, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and opened new opportunities in East Africa.[123] The goods brought back from these regions were used in nascent Salem industries. Hides and cotton were essential resources for local shoe and textile factories, and gum copal from Zanzibar was processed into a base for varnish.[124] Salem's commerce between

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frightful time for Salem since the trial, although carried out under legal procedures, echoed the famous Salem witchcraft trials of the seventeenth century…Daniel Webster was brought in to act as a prosecuting attorney, and the final result of the trial was the execution of the murderers of Captain White. The image of Salem as a quiet, secluded New England seaport was shattered with rumors of conspiracies, financial collapses, and threats of further violence. Newspaper reports of thousands of Salemites viewing the executions of the murderers did little for the town's reputation." Alfred F. Rosa, *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), 12. News of this event was transmitted by Salemites at home to those friends and family abroad, too. Edward Stanby writes to his friend William D. Waters in Valparaiso, "Our town is in great agitation, owing to a most atrocious & cruel murder…so horrible that we should in vain search the records of crimes in any country for a case exceeding it in enormity." Letter from Edward Stanby to William D. Waters, April 10th, 1830. Waters Family Papers. Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. MSS# MH-12, Box 9, Folder 8.

[121] Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 173-174.

[122] National Parks Service, *The Salem Project*, 134.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

1815 and 1850 still involved the Sumatran pepper trade and voyages to Pacific Islands, the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Even as late as 1825, there were approximately 200 vessels sailing out of Salem.

The museum, too, was still considered as influential an organization as it was in its early years due in part to Salem's burgeoning intellectual life. *The North American Review,* the oldest literary magazine in the United States begun in 1815, published a lengthy description of the East India Marine Society in 1818, noting that the Society was "founded on principles of benevolence, as well as utility," and was "by no means exclusive or local in its influence."[125] The magazine characterizes the East India Marine Society's collection as "extensive and rare…both in nature and art, elegantly arranged in a spacious room."[126] This publication proudly notes "we are confident, that no person, who visits Salem, will think the time ill spent, which he may devote to examining it. Would not the establishment of similar societies in all our commercial towns, having some bond of union among themselves, contribute very much to the advancement of Commerce, and the sciences of Geography and Navigation?"[127]

By the 1820s, the Society was recognized by other learned societies in the greater Boston area. During the East India Marine Society's meeting of May 1st, 1822, a letter from Octavius Pickering Esq. to Nathaniel Bowditch was read: "I have been directed by the Standing committee of the Boston Athenaeum to inform you that by the By-laws adapted on the 4 Feb. 1822 for the Government of that Institution the President of the

[125] "Salem East India Marine Society," *The North American Review,* Volume 6 (1818): 283-285.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

East India Marine Society of Salem is an honorary member of the Boston Athenaeum and entitled to its privileges."[128] After the letter was read, a vote of thanks was given to the Athenaeum "for their mark of attention."[129]

When banker and philanthropist William Wilson Corcoran (1798-1888) visited the Society's museum on August 29, 1836, he was more than twenty years away from commissioning James Renwick to construct a museum in Washington, D.C. to house his collection of American art.[130] Smaller provincial galleries devoted to art and lyceums and societies with natural history cabinets opened and closed in the 1820s and 1830s, but there was still no public national museum created in the United States partly due to what sociologist Paul DiMaggio characterizes as a lack of cohesion amongst America's elite.[131] The East India Marine Society museum, therefore, filled this void through its

[128] The letter was dated March 23rd, 1822. The cordial relationship with the Boston Athenaeum continued. The minutes for the September 2nd, 1829 meeting note a vote of thanks to their officers "for their kindness in loaning to this institution several rare & valuable works on Conchology, and that the Corr. Secy. Be requested to communicate this vote." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[129] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Invitations from other societies were not always met with the same enthusiasm, however. During a special meeting on Friday evening, September 12th, 1828, a letter from the Essex Historical Society was read, inviting the East India Marine Society to join the public procession later that month in honor of the bicentennial of the founding of Salem. Capt. Samuel Tucker put forth a motion to not accept this invitation, with 25 out of 28 of the members present supporting it. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. A similar invitation came from George Peabody, Chairman of the committee of arrangements for celebrating the 4th of July in 1831, which asked that the East India Marine Society join the public procession. It was rejected by a vote of 31 to 3, as were invitations in 1842 (but in this instances a vote of thanks was returned to the committee arranging the celebration for Salem) and 1851. Ibid.

[130] See Alan Wallach, "William Wilson Corcoran's Failed National Gallery," in *Exhibiting Contradiction*, 22-37.

[131] Paul Di Maggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century Boston: The Creation of an Organized Base for the High Culture in America," in *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*, Richard Collins, James Curran, et al., eds. (London: Sage, 1986), 194-211. In *Exhibiting Contradiction*, Allan Wallach echoes Di Maggio's hypothesis when discussing antebellum art museums in his chapter "Long-Term Visions, Short-Term Failures: Art Institutions in the United States, 1800-1860," and extends this line of reasoning to the Gilded Age in "William Wilson Corcoran's Failed National Gallery." For an in-

national influence. It was seen as model for other institutions, such as the United States Naval Lyceum (1833-1889) formed in Brooklyn in 1833 "to elevate and adorn the character of our Navy" through the establishment of a library, reading room, a bi-monthly publication entitled the *Naval Magazine*, and a "Museum of Natural History, Curiosities, &c."[132] Noted American scientist Benjamin Silliman (1779-1864), who had visited the East India Marine Society museum in 1807 and 1834, remarks in 1835:

> Having seen the library, collection, and arrangements of the Naval Lyceum, we have been much gratified, both with what is already accomplished in so short a time, and with the plan and design of the Institution, which is worthy of all praise…Visiting, in the course of their voyages, many distant countries, they will bring home their scientific, antiquarian and historical treasures, and their collection may, perhaps, one day emulate the splendid Mariners' Museum at Salem. [133]

One of the founders of the Lyceum, Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858), visited the East India Marine Society Museum in 1829 and 1830, and likely modeled this new naval organization on his experiences at the Society's museums.[134]

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depth listing of American museums during the antebellum period, see Laurence Vail Coleman, *The Museum in America: A Critical Study*, Volume 1 (Washington, D.C.: The American Association of Museums, 1939), 6-19. The Appendices provide a good chronological listing of American institutions and buildings to reference.

[132] Naval Lyceum, *Constitution and By-Laws of the United States Naval Lyceum, Established at the Navy-Yard, New-York*. Brooklyn (NY: E.B. Spooner & Co., Printers, 1838), 1. For a brief study of the Naval Lyceum, see Steven Lubar, "The United States Naval Lyceum, 1833-1889" (Brooklyn Navy Yard Center, Bldg 92 Blog, 2012, http://bldg92.org/blog/the-united-states-naval-lyceum-1833-1889). A more in-depth discussion of the Naval Lyceum can be found in William P. Leeman, *Long Road to Annapolis: The Founding of the Naval Academy and the Emerging American Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 130-134. Leeman details the formation of the Naval Lyceum, part of a national lyceum movement in the United States.

[133] "16. 'The United States Naval Lyceum'," in *American Journal of Science of Science and Arts. Conducted by Benjamin Silliman, M.D. LL.D.* Volume 27, No. 2 (January 1835): 390-393. During one of Silliman's lectures, noted in the *Gloucester Telegraph* of July 1st, 1835, "[h]e advised there should be added to the splendid East India Museum at Salem, geological specimens" as he "considered geology the grandest science next after astronomy." Ibid.

[134] Perry, a captain at this point, later reached the rank of Commodore in the United States Navy, and helped open Japan to the West in the mid-1850s. He visited the museum on February 12th, 1829, and with his family on January 25th, 1830. Leeman notes, "The lyceum's museum-quality scientific collection

The continued success of the East India Marine Society's museum, combined with the inadequacies of its quarters, prompted the Society to build a permanent home for their collection and meetings on Essex Street, characterized by Vickers as "the spine of Salem society" where "credit was obtained, justice dispensed, and the issues of local politics and administration decided."[135] On October 15th, 1825, East India Marine Hall on Essex Street opened with a dinner attended by President John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) and numerous American politicians and dignitaries. It was designed by Boston architect Thomas Waldron Sumner (1768-1849), the son of a housewright and a member of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association and the Society of Associated Housewrights (of which he was a founding member).[136] This stately building, reminiscent of the North and South Market Street blocks flanking Boston's Faneuil Hall Market, had a granite façade with seven arched windows and the words "East India Marine Hall"

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included shells, minerals, insects, fish and bird specimens, a stuffed leopard, and archaeological artifacts. The lyceum also owned an impressive art collection that featured presidential portraits, naval paintings, and a bust of George Washington." Leeman, *Long Road to Annapolis*, 131. In addition to the elected officers of the Lyceum were five curators, a librarian, an assistant librarian, and a library committee. The curators were charged with similar tasks to the East India Marine Society superintendents.

[135] Vickers, Young Men and the Sea, 135.

[136] Architectural historian Christopher P. Monkhouse contributes a biographical sketch of Sumner in Smith's book, one of the first published works on this architect, in the hopes of "redeeming from anonymity a once active Boston builder, but also, as a consequence, making it possible for the first time to place East India Marine Hall into the broader architectural context of Sumner's other known buildings, and those designed by his better-known contemporaries: Charles Bulfinch, Asher Benjamin, Alexander Parris, and Solomon Willard." Christopher P. Monkhouse, "Thomas Waldron Sumner: A Biographical Sketch of the Architect of East India Marine Hall," in Smith, *East India Marine Hall*, 4. According to Walter Whitehill's introduction to Smith's book, Sumner had actually been identified in 1924 by a *Salem News* columnist, and confirmed through research by Smith. It is surprising, though, that Sumner was not known as the architect of the Hall prior to Smith's publication as the internal maritime department object catalogues started by John Robinson in the early 1900s clearly identify him as the building's architect in the entry for object M478—"East India Marine Hall plans. Original plans, elevation of front and west side, showing side doorway and arch as adopted in 1904 when a corridor to the street was also added. Sumner of Brookline, architect, 1824."

above, and red brick sidewalls (fig. 9).[137] The first floor was rented out to other businesses, and the second-story contained a 100 x 45 foot hall used for the East India Marine Society's museum, meetings and dinners.[138] With the words "Asiatic Bank" and "Oriental Insurance Company chiseled above two entrances that flanked the door to East India Marine Hall, denoting the initial tenants on the ground floor, the foundations of maritime commerce literally supported the Society.[139]

Upon its opening, the *Essex Register* characterized East India Marine Hall as "as chaste and beautiful a specimen of architecture as our country can exhibit, and filled as it is by the rare and curious productions of nature and art from the four quarters of the

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[137] Sumner designed the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association building, the Congregational Church in Barton Square (1824-25), the South Congregational Church on Washington Street in Boston (1827) and completed the designs and construction of Divinity Hall at Harvard (after Simon Willard's original concepts). In an article from the *Salem Observer* on the Church in Barton Square, the author states that the "design of the Church, in all its parts, was furnished by Thomas W Sumner, esq. of Brookline. Mr. Sumner was also the architect of the East India Marine Hall; and to his good taste and judgment, the town of Salem, will probably for some time to come, have reason to consider itself indebted for its two most ornamental public buildings." *Salem Observer*, December 4th, 1824.

[138] The ground floor was also occupied by other businesses from 1825 to 1867. "The Commercial News Room" was established in July of 1825, changed to the "East India Marine Hall News and Reading Room" in 1831. The *Salem Gazette* notes on July 15th that it contained "a capacious reading table" in the centre of the room "upon which are to be found all the original reviews and periodical works, a very important addition to the reading heretofore supplied at this well managed establishment." The Salem post office moved into this space in 1829, and the lower rooms were used as offices of the Mill Dam Corporation and the Essex Marine Rail-Way in the 1820s and the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company in the 1840s. The Hall was also the location of the operator's room for the Boston to Salem telegraph line when constructed in 1847, which the *Salem Register* of December 23rd notes was "on the same floor with the Post Office—the room formerly occupied by the Treasurer of the Naumkeag Cotton Co.—the best location for business men that could have been selected." By 1851, it appears that many of these ground floor rooms were empty as an advert in the *Salem Register* of September 3rd, 1855, notes the availability of rooms and to inquire of N. Griffin for details. Still, commercial stores occupied this space in the late 1850s and early 1860s.

[139] Historian Mary Northend notes, "Marine insurance in the olden times was conducted in a very different manner from the methods of to-day. To be sure there were insurance offices, but there were no organized stock companies. These offices were visited by the merchants and skippers and other individuals also. A printed policy of insurance was placed upon a desk in the office, giving the name of the vessel and the cargo, and other particulars, and any person who desired to take a risk in the venture wrote his name at the end of the policy, giving the amount he would risk. This person was called an underwriter. The proprietor of the office kept books, and had to satisfy the owner of the vessel that the underwriter was reliable. Later, in 1800, a joint stock company was incorporated as the Salem Marine Insurance Company." Mary H. Northend, "Historic Salem," in *New England Magazine*, Volume XXXI, Number 5 (January 1905): 517.

globe, forms a cabinet unrivalled in this, and excelled by few in any country."[140] Similarly, an editorial in the *New York Courier* in 1830 notes that "[o]ne of the greatest curiosities in the good town of Salem, is the Marine Hall, or as it is more popularly called, the East India Museum. It is a most superb collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and specimens from the distant parts of the world, particularly from the East Indies, China, and the islands in the Indian Ocean."[141] Two contemporary images illustrate how the building cemented the museum into the fabric of Salem's main thoroughfare, Essex Street (fig. 10 & 11). The Hall rose above all other buildings in its vicinity, and undoubtedly attracted the attention of locals and visitors. [142] Furthermore, the *Courier* editorial reminds the readers of the institution's maritime roots thirty years after its founding:

> The mariners of Salem have long been celebrated for their adventurous habits. The tea trade at one period was most successfully carried on by Salem shipping and Salem navigators. As a circumstance resulting from this trait in the character of its inhabitants, few old gentlemen of any eminence in wealth, are to be found here who bear not the title of captain. This is not a barren militia title, indicated by epaulettes, &c. It is a marine honor, and most heroically has it sometimes been earned—not by the heroism of conquering nations, destroying the human race, and sating the wild ambition of little minds—but that heroism which battles the

[140] "East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 17th, 1825. The *Essex Register* of September 13th, 1824, reprinting an article from the *Salem Observer*, notes that a box containing "the latest coins of the United States, and covered with a silver plate, on which were inscribed the names of the officers of the Society, building committee, &c. and the names of the President of the U.S. the Governor, and Selectmen of the town," was placed within the cornerstone of the building.

[141] Republished in *The Georgian* (Savannah, GA) of August 14th, 1830.

[142] This image of East India Marine Hall is among the earliest known depictions of the building. Other antebellum period images of the Hall include one by Boston engraver Samuel Smith Kilburn (1831-1903), a student of Abel Bowen, published in "Sketches of Salem," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (January 26, 1856): 56 and "Public Buildings in Salem, Mass.," *Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (February 1860): 107, and another by F.E. Worcester, first published in *The Salem Directory* of 1850. A whole-plate daguerreotype photograph was taken circa 1840 by an unidentified photographer on a plate sold by Obediah Rich of Boston, the earliest photographic image of the exterior of this building. The plate was identified by Dan Finamore in *Capturing Poseidon: Photographic Encounters With the Sea* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 1998), 12. This daguerreotype in the PEM collection is unfortunately in poor condition and hard to view.

> elements in the pursuit of independence, which braves the mountain waves for the glory of the nation's commerce, which penetrates every ocean in the honorable calling of a merchant and navigator.[143]

Here, American maritime enterprise is seen as a patriotic endeavor that has emboldened the country, as opposed to the evils of imperial European powers; a view that ignores a burgeoning American hegemony in the world.

In the following decades, Salem experienced a great intellectual awakening, and the East India Marine Society museum benefited from the city's transformation with increased attendance from a wide swath of American society. Salem was home to numerous learned societies, a dozen churches, several reading rooms, two circulating libraries, four bookstores and several printing presses.[144] Principal among these new organizations was the Essex Institute, formed in 1848 through the union of two institutions—the Essex Historical Society (1821) and the Essex County Natural History Society (1833). They held a vast library, and while focusing on Essex County history, also maintained a museum of natural history and ethnological objects, competing with the East India Marine Society for gifts from similar donors.[145] Salem continued to be a reflection of the country, particularly in scientific inquiry, which had evolved since the beginning of the century from an amateurish pursuit to a more professional practice. As historian of science Sally Gregory Kohlstedt notes:

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[143] *The Georgian*, August 14th, 1830.

[144] Rosa, *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne*, 26-30. Rosa notes the printers in 1830 were Caleb Foote, Warwick Palfrey, William and Stephen Ives, John Archer, James R. Buffum, John D. Cushing, and the firm of Whipple and Lawrence. Foote and William Brown Jr. printed the *Salem Gazette*, Palfrey was the editor of the *Essex Register*, the Ives published the *Salem Observer*, and Charles A. Andrew edited the *Salem Courier*. Ibid, 29.

[145] In addition, a few East India Marine Society members served as curators at the Essex Institute in the 1860s. Richard Saltonstall Rogers (1790-1873) and John Bertram (1796-1882) were curators of fruits and vegetables at the Essex Institute prior to the establishment of the Peabody Academy of Science.

> Eventually a general insistence that such study be made available to everyone helped create an unprecedented market for lectureships, textbooks, and journals. By the 1840s major urban areas sponsored an array of learned societies and public exhibitions in the natural sciences, from the taxonomically arranged cabinets of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia to the mounted specimens and curiosities of P. T. Barnum of New York.[146]

The East India Marine Society received many school groups during this era, as "urban natural history collections and botanical gardens provided reference materials to students and faculty at nearby academies, seminaries, colleges, mechanics institutes, normal schools, and medical schools."[147]

Among the most important of these institutions was the Salem Lyceum (1830-1898), established in 1830. Charles W. Upham released a circular advocating for a lyceum, tying the town's mercantile downturn to an opportunity to inform the masses:

> The decline of commerce, and the stagnation of mercantile business, having thrown out of employment a large number of inhabitants of our seaboard town, who, if they could be engaged in the acquisition and communication of knowledge, would be provided, at the same time, with a resource most agreeable to their own feelings, and with the means of being useful to others. If their leisure hours were thus occupied, they would be laying up stores of information which would be highly beneficial to them in whatever pursuits they might afterwards be engaged.[148]

Over the next fifty years, the Lyceum brought in a wide variety of audiences who were discriminating in their assessment of speakers and had high expectations of lectures,

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[146] Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Curiosities and Cabinets: Natural History Museums and Education on the Antebellum Campus," *Isis*, Vol. 79, No. 3, A Special Issue on Artifact and Experiment (September 1988): 405, 407.
[147] Ibid, 407.
[148] Charles W. Upham, "A Circular Letter Issued Pursuant to the Vote of a Convention Held at Topsfield, Dec. 30, 1829, for Establishing a County Lyceum," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 18 (December 1881): 301.

wanting the best of the best and particularly anyone who was lecturing in Boston.[149] Over eight-hundred lectures were given during this period, with speakers ranging from the Transcendentalist authors Emerson and Thoreau, to artist George Catlin (1796-1872), and inventor Alexander Graham Bell. Many of the lecturers spent time at the East India Marine Society museum during their stay in Salem, and thus both organizations fed off each other.[150] As Kohlstedt notes "The lyceum circuit attracted lecturers on science, while independent entrepreneurs displayed live animals, mineral specimens, and rarities in small towns across the country, capitalizing on public curiosity about natural objects."[151]

Literary historian Alfred Rosa notes the lyceum movement was:

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[149] Rosa, *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne*, 43. Emerson noted in a letter to Thomas Carlyle, "If the lectures succeed in Boston, their success is insured at Salem, a town thirteen miles off, with a population of 15,000." Ibid, 49.

[150] Rosa notes an important link between Transcendentalism and the lyceum. "The lyceum movement and Transcendentalism, mainly through the great popularity of Emerson, brought about a great interest in learning and a concern for the quality of life. This popularity is attested to chiefly by the large audiences that attended lectures at the Salem Lyceum Hall. Hollow materialism in Salem, already suffering from a severe case of dry rot, was toppled by the flourish of an intellectualism that was unprecedented in our history. It was not a renaissance as such because America had never before experienced anything like it. The intellectual flowering was for that reason all the more startling…Salem had its museums, libraries, newspapers, periodicals, musical societies, progressive schools, and famous citizens, many of whom graduated from Harvard. These cultural advantages were not enough however; the people hungered for something more to make them whole and they yearned for someone to show them how to live. They needed stimulation, leadership, and spiritual elevation. The lyceum touched everyone, cut across social strata and spanned all age groups, and it excited the people as no written word could have done." Ibid, 16-17, 146-147.

[151] Kohlstedt, "Curiosities and Cabinets," 407. Rosa points to several changes in Salem at this time—economical, social, and psychological—that contributed to Salem's intellectual rise. "After the collapse of its important sea trade, Salem attempted to make a name for itself as an industrial power. This attempt at revitalization failed and the town never really regained its former economic strength. Such a shift in economic emphasis had inevitable ramifications on the town's social and cultural makeup. Salem no longer had contact with the great ports of the world and the cultural influence that those ports provided. It had then to look on its culture as a historical fact, a thing of the past essentially, rather than something that was still developing and expanding." Rosa, *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne*, 11-12. The influence of the Indian trade also influenced Transcendentalists, who were inspired by translated Indian texts of Hinduism and Buddhism starting in the 1820s. Bean, *Yankee India*, 21.

> a great social and intellectual awakening…that began to evolve in Salem, as it was evolving in every small town in the country. Salem's lyceum was one of the biggest and most famous and attracted almost every important lecturer to its platform. The effects of these lyceum lectures on Salemites was very great and was especially beneficial for the cause of Transcendentalism.[152]

Evidence of Rosa's characterization comes from the *Boston Weekly Museum* of October 11th, 1851. In a short piece excerpted from the *Salem Register* entitled "Lyceumania in Salem," the paper notes, "an amusing account of the exciting scenes witnessed in that good old town, on the occasion of the sale of a few Lyceum tickets."[153] The excerpt from the *Register* characterizes Salem as "preeminent in the support of Lyceums," noting that:

> The tickets for the Mechanic Lyceum course were only advertised last week, and the whole number was disposed of within a short time, without supplying the quantity desired. The Salem Lyceum subscription books were opened yesterday and in less than an hour every ticket was taken up. The rush and jam were paralleled only by the Jenny Lind excitement…The best of the joke is that not a single lecturer has been announced, and the only answer that can be given to the inquiry 'What has caused this great commotion?' must be that our people are Lyceum-mad.[154]

While these combined institutions give the impression that Salem was an enlightened city, it was still entangled in the country's struggle over slavery. Though Salem was a center for the abolition movement, it had a complex association with African Americans since its founding in 1626.[155] As historian Rebecca R. Noel notes,

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[152] Ibid, 12.
[153] *Boston Weekly Museum*, October 11th, 1851: 141.
[154] Ibid.
[155] The earliest black residents in Salem were the West Indian slaves Indian John and Tituba, famous for her involvement in Salem Witchcraft trials of 1692. Slavery was definitely a part of colonial life in Salem, despite attempted measures to outlaw its existence such as the Body of Liberties prohibiting slavery in the Colonies in 1641. Eleanor Broadhead, "A brief history of the negro in Salem," Unpublished paper prepared for the Committee on Racial Understanding for the Confrontation on Racism, April 11 & 12, 1969, 1. A large percentage of the free black population in the early Republic settled in a few sections of the city; at the Salem end of the turnpike to Boston, a section with the unpleasant moniker "Roast Meat Hill," "Little Africa," or "New Guinea," a group of about 100 huts near the wharves. This area was also

"Well-dressed or destitute, all black Salemites confronted the indignities of northern Jim Crow. Restricted in where they could walk, sit church, and be buried, African Americans often found stagecoaches off-limits and railroad cars segregated. In periodic neighborhood raids, whites drove away scores of allegedly unruly blacks."[156] In the 1830s, with the rise of public schools in the city, Salem's young African Americans were forced by the local government to go to segregated institutions, which ignited a fight to integrate the public schools over the next decade.[157]

The East India Marine Society played its part in this division between abolition and segregation, adding to the complexities imbued in the Society, its mission, and its collection. In an August 1827 letter written to the abolitionist Reverend Samuel Eli Cornish (1795-1858) and published in the first African-American newspaper, the *Freedom's Journal*, on November 9th, 1827, an African-American man, likely John Brown Russwarm (1799-1851), describes his experiences at the museum.[158] He praises

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known as "Knocker's Hole" because of the noise of shipbuilding in earlier days. The Census of 1754 lists 3,462 inhabitants of Salem, of whom 123 (3.5%) were black. Ibid, 2.

[156] Rebecca R. Noel, "Salem as Nation's Schoolhouse," in Morrison and Schultz, *Salem*, 144-145.

[157] In 1835, 175 people signed a petition asking that black children not be allowed into the public schools of Salem, stating that they had "no disposition to injure their Colored Citizens, that they are willing to be taxed for their improvement, but not at the expense of our own children's feelings." White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," 109. According to noted abolitionist Sarah Parker Remond (1815-1894), "One morning, about an hour before the usual time for dismissing the pupils, the teacher informed us that we could no longer be permitted to attend school." "Statehouse honors women," *Salem Evening News*, Thursday March 13th, 1997, quoted in George Schwartz, "'The Chief Spirit…Our Venerable Fellow Citizen': The Life of John Remond in Antebellum Salem, Massachusetts." (Boston: Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 2012): 127-128. Through the hard work of an outraged black community, supported by the noted abolitionist and then mayor of Salem, Stephen Clarendon Phillips (1801-1857), race distinction in Salem public schools was terminated in the 1840s.

[158] Cornish lived in New York City and was one of the two editors of the *Freedom's Journal* along with Jamaican born Russwarm. Both men were of mixed race. The letter is noted as sent from Boston, and pertains mostly to the African-American community in this city. It was reprinted in the *Salem Observer* of November 17th, 1827, which states "In a late number of Freedom's Journal, we found the following notice of this town, which was probably written by one of the Editors, who visited us a few weeks ago." Unfortunately, Russwarm's name does not appear in the museum guestbooks. Russwarm's letters to

the East India Marine Society for their collection, "the richest in the country," and declares "[t]here are but few museums equally valuable."[159] However, he informs the editor:

> I can say but very little concerning it, owing to the shortness of my visit, which had to be regulated by the time which the gentleman who had charge of the Museum had to spare; for you are to be informed, that it was an act of great condescension in allowing us persons of colour to peep at it, as no money is ever taken as the price of admission.[160]

As Whitehill notes, "This 'condescension' did not continue forever."[161] Six years later, East India Marine Society member Joseph Ropes (1771-1850) put forth a resolution at the Society's September 4th, 1833 meeting "[t]hat people of Colour shall be excluded from visiting the Museum of this Society, during the usual hours of admission, excepting as attendants on visitors," which was passed at the next meeting in November by a vote of 20 to 7. While Rope's impetus for proposing this stipulation is unknown, as are the seven members who voted against this measure, it was not repealed until May 3rd, 1865, just after the end of the Civil War.

Most Salemites had no knowledge of the East India Marine Society's decision to bar people of color from the museum until July 22nd, 1850, when the *Salem Register* ran a column confirming this fact. Noting "[a] writer in the last number of the Register,

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Cornish were published in the paper on more than one occasion. See Jacqueline Bacon, *Freedom's Journal: The First African-American Newspaper* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2007) and Winston James, *The Struggles of John Brown Russwurm: The Life and Writings of a Pan-Africanist Pioneer, 1799-1851* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010). In regards to Salem, the Russwarm states "Salem is the residence of our friend R.[Remond] who by uniform propriety of conduct, and an undeviating attention to business has gained the respect of all classes of the citizens." Remond was too sick to accompany the men around town.

[159] "Letter No. XV," *Freedom's Journal*, November 9th, 1827. Whitehill makes mention of this article as it was reprinted in the *Salem Observer* of November 17th, 1827.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 142 footnote 21.

referring to the Museum of the East India Marine Society, describes it as 'a Museum free to all,'" the author asks for "a corner in your paper to correct this undoubtedly unintentional misstatement."[162] The author notes:

> It may not be generally known that tickets of admission to the Museum are not granted to *colored persons.* It is a fact which I have learned from officers of the society, that one of their rules prohibits the admission of colored persons, except upon terms requiring on their part a sacrifice of self-respect. Foreigners, paupers, convicts, if white, can obtain tickets, while our native citizens, however respectable, if colored, are denied admittance.[163]

The author then contextualizes his discovery, noting that "[t]he city of Salem is distinguished, above all others in the United States, for the equality of rights and privileges enjoyed by all classes of her citizens, without regard to color or condition."[164] He also notes that "[n]o individuals distinction is here permitted in the public schools. Our churches have no 'negro pews.' Public opinion countenances no proscription in the Lyceum or the concert room."[165]

There is an air of revision in these claims, however. Though Salem had integrated many of its public institutions by this time, the author ignores Salem's recent segregated history. The author concludes by commenting that "a Charitable Institution, founded and maintained by men renowned for their generosity and honorable deeds—the Navigators and Merchant Sailors of Salem—should be the only refuge of this senseless remnant of the injustice of past times?" The editor of the *Salem Register* believes that "the above statement, from a very respectable source, will surprise the majority of our readers as

[162] "For the Register," *Salem Register*, July 22nd, 1850.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.

much as it did ourselves."[166] He then follows this column with hopes that this public declaration will force the Society to make amends. "The regulation alluded to is probably a relic of ancient prejudices, established many years ago, which, when brought to the notice of a Society so liberally disposed as this is, will be promptly expunged, and the admission of colored, as of white, persons, be safely entrusted to the discretion of the members."[167]

While the *Salem Register* was surprised by the East India Marine Society's decision to bar people of color from entering the museum, the Society's action is an illustration of the complexities of race that the country faced in the formation of an American identity throughout the antebellum period. In the newly formed United States, race, according to historian Ronald Takaki, was directly linked to republicanism. To prevent a return to the moral depravity of England and the monarchy, American society needed to be homogenized; how this was to be accomplished was debated.[168] As the

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Historian Barbara M. Solomon puts this article into context: "Thoughtful persons were concerned with inconsistencies in the Northern treatment of Negroes. On the one hand, as an example of anti-slavery sentiment, there was public notice of a collection being made to help a freed colored man purchase his wife and three children out of slavery. But on the other hand, in 1850 the Salem *Register* printed a letter to the editor pointing out that 'colored persons' were unable to obtain tickets of admission to the East India Marine Society Museum. The writer of this letter contrasted the lack of such 'invidious distinction . . . in the public schools.' Perhaps he did not know that in the 1840's there had been separate schools for colored children in Salem and Newburyport. Moreover, a few months earlier in 1850 the same newspaper had reported the Massachusetts State Supreme Court's decision upholding the right of school committees to establish 'separate schools for colored children when, in their judgment, the best interests of such children will be promoted thereby.'" Barbara M. Solomon, "The Growth of Population in Essex County, 1850-1860," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Vol. 95 (April 1959): 98.

[168] Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), xvii. Takaki points to Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson as possessing alternate views in this debate. Rush's ideas on race were grounded in his medical and philosophical background. He did not view black people as racial savages, as he did Indians, but rather lacking republican values. "Unlike Indians, blacks had a future in America and would not eventually be 'extirpated.'" Ibid, 29. Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, viewed colonization as the only means of removing black people from the country to meet the goal of republican ideals. The practice of slavery went against republicanism, but he

country industrialized under Andrew Jackson, there was an increased focus on the removal and annihilation of Native Americans and an expansion of slavery.[169] More than any other period, this capitalistic America impacted all races. White attitudes towards these races developed in conjunction with these changes, according to Takaki, "[a]s they appropriated Indian and Mexican lands and exploited blacks and Asian labor, and as they channeled white workers into factories."[170] Even the North became an industrialized center where African Americans had no place. The rise of American hegemony in the globe during this period brought new racial targets that were compared and contrasted to African Americans and Native Americans in order to determine their relationship to white America.

The issue of race represents another duality inherent in the East India Marine Society and its vision of American identity. While "people of color" were not allowed into East India Marine Hall from 1833-1865, the Society appears to have only excluded African Americans. The visitor logs for the museum includes the names of Native Americans, such as Maungwadans, an Ojibway man from Lake Huron who toured the museum on May 21st, 1850; Indians like Rustomjee Hirjeebhoy Wadia of Bombay, who visited on October 9th, 1860; and others who were not bared entrance based on race. Unlike other contemporary institutions, such as Peale's museum that displayed images of

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feared abolishing slavery might lead to racial wars in the South. In regards to his views on Indians, Jefferson had two alternate opinions; one directed towards civilizing them and the other focused on complete extermination, which Takaki believes "were not contradictory. They were both consistent with his vision of a 'homogeneous' American society." Ibid, 55.

[169] Ibid, 81. Takaki notes that the vision of the Indian-killer and elevation of hatred for Indians into a morality was prevalent within the country and played out in the attitudes and policies of Andrew Jackson and Robert Montgomery Bird.

[170] Ibid, 72, xvii.

other cultures beneath white Americans in his displays, the East India Marine Society exhibited portraits of the Bombay merchant Nusserwanjee Wadia and the Cantonese merchant Eshing alongside white maritime heroes such as Captain James Cook, and displayed busts of Founding Fathers and American military heroes next to religious sculptures from the East Indies (fig. 100). Still, all members of the Society were white sea captains or supercargoes.

Similarly, the issue of race was foremost on some Society members' minds when discussing social inequalities observed in other lands. In the early years of the India trade, Americans saw race as a major focal point of the social order in European-controlled settlements. Some East India Marine Society members mentioned in their journals and ship's logs the presence of "black towns" where natives lived and did business as distinctive from the "fort" where Westerners lived and worked.[171] They thought of this separation as both natural and an inherent inequality of European attitudes concerning race. As Susan Bean notes, "Coming from a newly established nation in which republicanism, freedom, and equality had been instituted, in sharp contrast to monarchical Europe, Yankees were ambivalent about the fact that their own system encompassed only part of the population. Race remained basic to relations with vanquished Native Americans and enslaved Africans."[172]

On the other hand, several members exhibited accepted stereotypes of other cultures that infiltrated antebellum American society. Some toasts during the East India Marine Society's annual dinners in the first two decades of the nineteenth century denote

[171] Bean, *Yankee India*, 34.
[172] Ibid.

these racial attitudes, particularly a toast delivered in 1807 that proclaimed, "*Our Museum*—May these emblems of the wants of the *savage*, teach us to value the blessings of the *civilized* state." Actions of members outside the Society also illustrate hard sentiments concerning race. East India Marine Society member Ephraim Emmerton (1791-1877), a veteran of the India trade and later an investor in the Zanzibar trade, was against the sale of pews in the First Congregational Society Church to African Americans in 1849.[173] In the context of these examples—and the complexities imbued in the Society's parades, collection, and display of objects (discussed in subsequent chapters)—the East India Marine Society's decision to exclude people of color from visiting the museum is not hard to fathom. While attempting to offer authentic American experiences of international exchange in a museum that claimed to be free to the public, barring people of color entrance during half of its existence brought this goal into question.

By the time of the *Salem Register*'s article in 1850, the city's mercantile prowess was all but at an end. Salem was unable to fight the advances of the Industrial Revolution like many other American towns. The coastal trade began to wane as canals and railroads replaced ships as the means to transport goods from cities to the interior and vice-versa.

[173] Emmerton details the events that led to the rental of the pew by congregant John Stone to the family of local African American businessman James Sherman in a letter to the Executive Committee. He tells the committee that he contacted William Brown, apparently in charge of these matters, "[l]earning that a colored family has taken possession of pew No. 18 without the knowledge or consent of any authorised person, and such an introduction to our society being a great innovasion [sic] upon its propriety, I have conferred with all the standing committee, whom views like mine are that there are non authorized to make such a change in the customs of the congregation without an appeal to a proprietors meeting, I wish you to notify Mr. Sherman's family with all delicacy that they may vacate the pew." Brown then informed Emmerton that he had contacted Sherman, and although he reluctantly said he "supposed he must give up the pew," it was still occupied by the family as Sherman was adamant that he had rented it for the year. Emmerton, therefore, asks the committee to consider what steps can be taken, as they agree "with me that no one was authorized to admit colored persons to seats with the society." Letter From Ephraim Emmerton to Dr. George Choate, G.G. Newhall, James King, J.T. Allen, and Nathan Fry, May 31st, 1849. Emmerton Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 24, Box 1, Folder 4.

By the 1840s, the wharves in Salem were being used to warehouse goods such as stone, coal, wood and fish from the commercial fishing industry.[174] The East India Marine Society's intellectual clout was also diminishing as Salem's maritime sector began supporting Essex County industries around the mid-19th century.[175] Society members had always been businessmen, but in the early days of the organization they were cutting edge mariners mapping unchartered waters and bringing back one-of-a-kind objects. Now, their scientific curiosity was amateurish in comparison to the professionalization of the field occurring in the country and the world. In the preface to *The Scarlet Letter*, Nathaniel Hawthorne illustrates the demise of Salem's waterfront in the 1840s when he was working at the Customs House on Derby Street:

> In my native town of Salem, at the head of what, half a century ago, in the days of old King Derby, was a bustling wharf,—but which is now burdened with decayed wooden warehouses, and exhibits few or no symptoms of commercial life; except, perhaps, a bark or brig, halfway down it melancholy length, discharging hides; or, nearer at hand, a Nova Scotia schooner, pitching out her cargo of firewood,—at the head, I say of this dilapidated wharf...before the last war with England, when Salem was a port by itself; not scorned, as she is now, by her own merchants and ship-owners, who permit her wharves to crumble in ruin.[176]

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[174] A. Friedlander, *Salem Maritime National Historic Site: Historical Research 1626-1990* (East Orange, NJ: Cultural Resource Group, Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., 1991), 25.

[175] Salem had started to change as early as the 1840s. In a letter from George A. Perkins from Fishtown, Cape Palmas, West Africa to Henry Wheatland, dated November 20th, 1848, he notes, "I was rather surprised to hear of your new organization of the Society, tho the two societies are not so different as would at first appears…I am told that Salem has been much improved within 3 or 4 years & is now quite a pretty place. Railroads & Factories must make more business for the town—I hear there has been a new R.R. brought with Salem 'down to neck gate.' Something was needed to stir up the lower part of the town.-I am told too that Mr. Philips has enlarged his wharf & also that there is a new bridge across the 'South River' at what was Union Wharf. I should perhaps find it difficult to recognize Salem if set down in some places in it. Henry Wheatland Papers, 1629-1903. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS # 464, Box 1, Folder 4.

[176] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter, A Romance* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia's Electronic Archive of Early American Fiction, 1850), 4-5. Hawthorne's depiction of Salem during this period is echoed by the Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham. "When I was in Salem, from 1847 to 1855, this splendor had departed. Derby Street was deserted, the great warehouses were tenements for laborers. Hawthorne has described the custom-house in his famous preface to the 'Scarlet Letter.' The sailors had disappeared; the commerce, owing mainly to the shallowness of the water in the harbor, had gone to Boston

Though Hawthorne's description was tinged by his bitterness towards his profession and the city, it does denote the end of Salem as a leading commercial port in the United States.[177]

Due to the East India Marine Society's strict nautical qualification for joining the Society, membership declined. Whitehill points out that in 1851:

> The East India Marine Society had been in existence for fifty-two years, and not one of its founders survived…the last survivor of the group that had assembled in the autumn of 1799 to found the society was Nathaniel Silsbee, and he had died in July 1850. With the rapid decline of Salem's foreign trade from the forties onward, few new members were qualifying to take the places of the founders and patriarchs…The wave had fast receded, and the East India Marine Society now was more concerned with charitable benefits than with toasts, processions and dinners.[178]

As a result, the Society was forced to seek financial support. Several ideas for salvation were thrown about at quarterly meetings during this decade, such as charging admission to the museum, but the public and charitable nature of the organization led extant

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and New York. But traces of the old glory still lingered. Here and there a great merchant was seen on the streets." Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), 41-42.

[177] A mid-century view of Salem comes from the *Salem Observer* of December 29th, 1849. Written by "A Native of Old Salem" this article traces the city's decline but also offers optimism for it to rise again. "Salem had, in 1800, 9,157 inhabitants; in 1810, 12,617; in 1820, 12,731; in 1830, 13,886; in 1836, (when it became a city,) nearly 15,000; in 1840, 15,062; in 1845, 16,697. We may expect that the population will be found, by the census to be taken in 1850, to be nearly or quite 17,500.—Thus it will be seen, that the population has nearly doubled since the commencement of the present century…In 1809, there were, belonging to the port of Salem, 50 ships. 55 brigs, 11 barques, and 40 schrs and sloops ;—upwards of 150 vessels in all." Still, the author notes this was the high point of the city's trade, and it did not recover to its pre War of 1812 numbers. "After peace was declared in 1815, business revived again, but was not prosecuted with so much vigor as before…From 1815, to the period after the introduction of railroads into our State, (nearly twenty years,) the commerce of the place gradually declined, as the old merchants died off or retired front business. The introduction of railroads into the State, since 1830, has carried most of the country trade to Boston, that formerly came here. This gave the finishing stroke to most of our *foreign* commerce, so that *now* all that is left of the East India trade is only what is furnished by the one or two vessels engaged in it…Salem stands about the sixth or seventh of the New England cities. Boston, Providence, Lowell, Portland and New Haven, (and perhaps Worcester by this time) being in advance. In respect to its shipping interest, Salem *now* stands 4th or 5th on the list." Still, the author sees the construction of interior roads and railroad lines as a sign of better days to come.

[178] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 32-33.

members to scrap these propositions. Ultimately, the Society realized it could not continue to support its brethren and maintain their museum with diminishing funds, and chose to focus on the former.[179]

In 1865, the East India Marine Society voted to "stop the insurance on curiosities of the Cabinet when present policy expires" and "to look into the matter of admission fee or 'sale of curiosities, invest proceeds, divide interest among indigent members and families.'"[180] (Appendix D, Document 6) It appears that the conversation at this meeting leaked out of the Hall, as the *Salem Register* of November 30 published a scathing editorial based on a rumor involving P.T. Barnum purchasing the Society's collection, noting that it:

> has naturally caused considerable sensation in the community and especially among the families of deceased donors. One would suppose that the mere idea of disposing of this collection as suggested was a libel on the very respectable gentlemen who hold the Museum in trust, and that the bones of the noble old mariners who won such renown for themselves, their seaport and their country, by its establishment and encouragement, and who to their latest breath took such a pride in its prosperity, would rattle in their coffins at the bare mention of such a sacrilege…What particular pressure may have induced the suggestion which has occasioned so much comment we do not know…In any event we have confidence that the wisdom of the members can and will devise some method which will prevent, the everlasting disgrace of the disposal and removal of the Museum. If an appeal to the community is necessary let it be made, for we know that the people of Salem will never suffer the memory of their maritime fathers to be dishonored by such an act, if they are allowed to do any thing to avert such a stigma. The idea that this unique collection—the result of the enterprise, the toils, and sacrifices, and disinterested liberality of two or three generations of Salem's honored sons, who have borne the country's starry banner to the remotest bays of the wealthy India, and illuminated the annals of American seamanship and commerce—is in

[179] An ad in the *Salem Oracle* of April 1st, 1848 notes the "East India Marine Museum" is "Open to Visitors, *free of charge*, from May 1 to Nov. 1, from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., and from 3 to 5 P.M." By this time, the museum was not open during the winter months as it had been in prior years.

[180] Portions of the report presented at the November 29th, 1865 meeting were published in the *Salem Register* of December 4th. All parts of this report were accepted, except for the sale of the collections, which was tabled.

> the remotest danger of being associated with the Joice Heths, and Feejee Island Mermaids, and the heterogeneous humbugs of a metropolitan show room, is too monstrous to be tolerated for a moment. Gentlemen of the East India Marine Society, let not the pride and boast of your Hodges, your Carpenter…and hosts of other honored and familiar names, have such an inglorious and ridiculous termination. No amount of pecuniary consideration could compensate for such a calamity.[181]

While this editorial is filled with humorous hyperbole and obvious disgust, the rumor of Barnum's takeover proved to be mere conjecture and the empty promises of public relief for the East India Marine Society did not come to fruition.

A year later, however, the Society's collection was saved by a timely event.[182] Trustees of the Essex Institute, looking to expand its growing museum, caught the ear of philanthropist and Essex County native George Peabody (1765-1869).[183] Through a complex negotiation, Peabody made a $140,000 gift to form a new organization—The Peabody Academy of Sciences.[184] East India Marine Hall and the collection of the Society were acquired; the Essex Institute's natural history collections were moved into it so they could focus on Essex County history; and a new institution was born in the mold

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[181] "The Salem East India Marine Museum," *Salem Register,* November 30th, 1865.

[182] The Society survived a calamity that could have destroyed many objects in the museum. On the night of May 18th, 1866, a fire broke out in a shed behind East India Marine Hall and spread to the adjacent Lynde block on Essex Street, which was completely burned. The museum objects were saved without harm, but the building suffered some water damage. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 53. The *New-Orleans Times*, incorrectly noted on May 17th, 1866, that "The East Indian Marine Hall, at Salem, Mass., has been destroyed by fire."

[183] Peabody, born in South Danvers, MA, grew up in a poor family. He made his fortune in banking and finance, and used his money later in life to support many American institutions, primarily in New England. His childhood town was renamed Peabody in his honor. For more on his life, see Franklin Parker, "The Legacy of George Peabody: Special Bicentenary Issue," *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Autumn, 1994).

[184] The impetus for Peabody's gift was a proposal from Dr. Henry Wheatland on December 14th, 1866, on behalf of Essex Institute, to purchase East India Marine Hall and land at $60.00 per share, making an aggregate for the 250 shares the sum of $15,000.00. At this time, the assets of the East India Marine Society were $11,907.65, which included 121 shares of East India Marine Hall Corporation stock. Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 194-5.

of the natural history/anthropology museums that were developing in America.[185] From 1867 to the present, several incarnations of the East India Marine Society museum maintained and expanded the Society's internationally renowned collection of art and objects. Although renamed a few times, the institution started by a group of worldly mariners just before the dawn of the eighteenth century exists today as the PEM.

When the Transcendentalist poet Jones Very penned "The East India Marine Museum" in 1865, he probably did not know he was both memorializing an institution that was on its deathbed and proclaiming its immortality.[186] While recounting the East India Marine Society's glory days in the first half of the poem, he ends his verse with a few lines that hit upon the mythological elements of the Society that would help it endure to this day. Very proclaims that the Society's legacy "From age to age might still be handed down, / And distant generations might behold/ And guard the trust, more precious far than gold." Unlike its contemporaries, the East India Marine Society museum survived, even if the Society that founded this institution did not. In addition, the collection has remained intact, apart from a few exceptions. Above all, the current mission of the PEM—"collecting, stewarding, and interpreting objects of art and culture in ways that increase knowledge, enrich the spirit, engage the mind, and stimulate the

[185] Ibid. George Peabody's trust was as follows: "I direct that the sum of Forty Thousand Dollars, of the amount I have above given, shall be applied to the purchase of land in the City of Salem, the purchase of the East India Marine Hall, and the erection, fitting up, and furnishing of such buildings thereon as shall be necessary for the purpose of this Trust. I further direct that the remaining sum of One Hundred thousand Dollars be forever kept invested by my said Trustees and their successors as a permanent fund, and only the income thereof be used for the purposes of this Trust." Appendix I, 202, "Funds Given to the Peabody Museum 1867-1949."

[186] The poem also ran in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of December 20th, 1865. "THE EAST INDIA MARINE MUSEUM, at Salem, is probably the finest collection of instructive curiosities in the State, and is a monument of the former commercial activity of that city. From the Salem Gazette we take the following sonnet, by Jones Very, doing but justice to its treasures, and to the care and toil by which they were purchased."

senses…to create experiences that transform people's lives by broadening their perspectives, attitudes, and knowledge of themselves and the wider world"—speaks to the museum's roots. While part of the new vision for PEM over the last two decades, one which embraces twenty-first century museological thinking, these guiding principles adhere to those set forth by its founders.[187]

[187] PEM does recognize this cyclical distinction. Since 2000, the following text is boldly displayed on the western wall of East India Marine Hall: "members of the East India Marine Society [...] brought the art and cultural objects they saw and admired as they circled the globe in search of opportunity. These adventurers and entrepreneurs were among the first Americans to recognize the remarkable diversity of people in the world and the extraordinary objects of their creativity. Today, this room [...] is a reminder of the legacy left to us by those whose portraits line these walls."

CHAPTER TWO:

"For the laudable purpose of affording relief": The East India Marine Society as a Benevolent Organization

In 1800, East India Marine Society member Captain George Hodges (1765-1827), brother of then President Benjamin Hodges, donated two nearly identical punch bowls to the Society commissioned in the port of Liverpool, England (fig. 12).[1] On the inside bottom of each bowl, the words "Salem East India Marine Society Instituted 1800" is inscribed, surrounded by a vinelike cartouche (fig. 13). The inside rim is also decorated with a flowery vine design. The outsides of the bowls, like cardinal points on a compass rose, are decorated with four scenes that fuse the Society together with maritime commerce and American patriotism, reflected in the benevolent and fraternal characteristics of this organization.

Starting in the late eighteenth century, artists in European and Asian ports produced specialized goods for American sailors, an emerging and distinctive clientele. Some of these objects contained symbols and scenes reconfirming national pride for the newly formed United States in a manner akin to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century armorial export porcelain crafted for European nobility to reinforce their elite status. One port that catered to American merchants at the dawn of the New Republic was Liverpool, England, an important center for trade in the Atlantic world. Potters in this region produced cream-colored vessels, now known as Liverpool ware, to document a mariner's

[1] George Hodges is the donor listed in the original manuscript catalogue for object number 119, but Benjamin Hodges is incorrectly identified as the donor in both the 1821 and 1831 catalogues, where the bowls are renumbered as 554. In addition, the 1831 catalogue incorrectly notes that these bowls were made in Canton.

engagement in this trade. With a ship portrait emblazoned on one side of a pitcher or bowl, the other side was adorned with romantic, patriotic, and Masonic motifs.[2]

On the south face of each bowl, is a scene of the engagement between the U.S. frigate *Constellation* and French frigate *L'Insurgente*, an encounter that marked the first American naval victory over a foreign nation in 1799 (fig. 14).[3] Beneath the scene is the inscription: "L'Insurgent French Frigate of 44 guns & 411 men, striking her colors to the American Frigate Constellation, Commodore Truxton, of 40 guns, after an action of an hour & a half in which the former had 75 men killed & wounded & the latter one killed & three wounded, Feb. 10th, 1799." This transfer is one of the earliest American historical scenes on Liverpool pottery, and the battle took place in the West Indies, the locus of colonial American trade.[4] Its overt national and maritime symbolism, one that reflected growing American antipathy towards France following the XYZ Affair, was probably a favorite amongst Federalist-leaning members of the East India Marine Society who naturally supported trade with Britain over France.[5]

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[2] The finer pieces of Liverpoolware were hand painted, but the great demand for these items led to the use of pre-made transfers to produce the vessel's image. A design was engraved on a copper plate, which was then used to print the design on tissue paper; the tissue paper was used to transfer the ink onto the pottery before glazing and firing. Prior to the development of this method, all pottery decoration was done by hand. See Robert Henry McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo-American Pottery* (Portland, ME: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1942) for further information on the development of this industry.

[3] The *Constellation* was one of the first six American frigates constructed from after the Congressional Naval Act of 1794, and the first one to venture to sea. McCauley notes "on the larger prints, the name 'Constellation' plainly appears across the stern of the frigate bearing the Stars and Stripes," as it does in this bowl. McCauley, *Liverpool Transfer Designs on Anglo-American Pottery*, 19. The battle took place during the United States' Quasi War with France.

[4] Ibid, 18.

[5] McCauley notes that "the British potters took great delight in commemorating this conflict between the United States and England's old enemy, France. They depicted the scene inside and outside of bowls and also on large jugs bearing the slogan, 'Success to the Infant Navy of America' and 'Success to the Wooden Walls of America.' Ibid, 19.

Next to this transfer—east on one bowl and west on the other—is a depiction the American bald eagle encircled by sixteen interlocking rings, each bearing the name of one of the states in 1800 (fig. 15).[6] The crest of the United States Great Seal, a shield draped in the "star spangled banner," covers the eagle's breast and the bird's talons grasp an olive branch and a bundle of arrows. Above the eagle's head hovers a semicircular arc of thirteen stars—a reference to the original American colonies—that appear to shoot up from behind the bird like fireworks. The bird's beak grasps a ribbon with the words "E. Pluribus Unum". Two stars appear on each side of the eagle's neck and one hovers above its head.

The transfer on the north face of the bowls, a circular print, depicts several stages in the construction of a ship (fig. 16).[7] The top portion shows the felling of trees in a forest, logging, and wagons transporting logs. The bottom contains images of shipbuilding in a shipyard, possibly in Salem.[8] Three ships are under construction in the foreground just above the waterline; the one in the center contains three flags—an American ensign, a launching pennant, and one with an American eagle flying off her bow just above the ship's figurehead. The middleground shows men working in the shipyard, possibly working on masts, and the background contains the roofs of a town behind the shipyard's fence. Dividing these two scenes is the following verse from poet

[6] Both "Tenassee" and "Masachusetts" are misspelled. McCauley cites this as evidence of Liverpool potters' "amazing ignorance of the New Republic." Ibid, 41.
[7] A pitcher in the collection of the Winterthur Museum, formerly part of the collection of the well-known Liverpoolware collector S. Robert Teitelman, contains both this transfer and the scene of the *Constellation* and *L'Insurgent* along with the words "Success to the/Infant Navy/of/America" underneath the spout. See S. Robert Teitelman, Patricia A. Halfpenny and Ronald W. Fuchs II, *Success to America: Creamware for the American Market* (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors Club, 2010).
[8] Ibid, 121.

Robert Treat Paine's (1773-1811) "Ode. Adams and Liberty", written for, and sung at the fourth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, 1798:[9]

> Our Mountains are cover'd with imperial Oak
> Whose roots like our Liberties, ages have nourished
> But long e'er our Nation submits to the Yoke
> Not a Tree shall be left on the Field where it Flourished
> Should Invasion impend, every Tree would descend
> From the Hill tops they shaded our shores to defend.
> For ne'er shall the Sons of Columbia be slaves
> While the Earth bears a Plant, or the Sea rolls its Waves.

This portion of one of the most popular political songs of the time, sung to the tune of the English drinking song "To Anacreon in Heaven" that is also the melody used for "The Star-Spangled Banner," alludes to the vast natural resources of American shipbuilding that will never be used again by foreign entities.[10]

The final image is one that depicts America's standing in the Atlantic world (fig. 17). The central focus of this image is an oval map of the United States from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River, based on a map published by John Wallis of London in 1783, including the "Gulph" of Mexico, Louisiana, and the modern day Atlantic Provinces of Canada.[11] On the left side of this map is George Washington in his full

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[9] Paine was the second son of Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

[10] www.potw.org/archive/potw233.html. According to Paine's biographer, Charles Prentiss, "[t]here was, probably, never a political song more sung in America, than this; and one of more poetical merit was, perhaps, never written…The sale of this song yielded him a profit of about seven hundred and fifty dollars. It was read by all; and there was scarcely, in New England, a singer, that could not sing this song. Nor was its circulation confined to New England: it was sung at theatres, and on public and private occasions, throughout the United States; and republished and applauded in Great Britain." Charles Prentiss, "Sketches of the Life, Character and Writings of the Late Robert Treat Paine, Jun. Esq.," in *The Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Robert Treat Paine, Jun. Esq.* (Boston: J. Belcher, 1812), xlvi-xlvii.

[11] Historian Kariann Akemi Yokota, in her study using material culture to illuminate where "a uniquely American identity emerged" before and after the Revolutionary War, notes that Wallis "was commonly recognized as the first to produce a map recognizing the independence of the United States of America," though some disputed his claim. "Published at his 'Map-Warehouse' on Ludgate Street in London on April 3, 1783, it was entitled *The United States of America laid down from the best authorities, agreeable to the*

military dress, his head and eyes transfixed on the map as if inspecting it. Next to him stands Liberty, who holds her characteristic staff with Liberty cap perched on top, and her left arm and left index finger extend towards the Great Lakes region. Perhaps this is a foreshadowing of Westward expansion and the future conflict in this area during the War of 1812, as a similar version of this transfer notes in a key to the figures that Washington is "securing Liberty to America."[12] The winged figure of Fame emanates from a cloud hovering above Washington and Liberty, who blows a trumpet and carries a wreath bearing a scroll with the name "Washington." On the right of the map is Benjamin Franklin, seated and flanked by Wisdom and Justice. According to the key on the similar version of this print, they are dictating to Franklin as he writes in an open book on his lap and gazes at the map. Pine trees extend in an arc upwards from behind these figures, and the top of one pierces an early form of American flag.

All these transfers combine to form a patriotic tableau visible when the Society used these bowls. Their literal use, punch bowls designed to hold a festive beverage, allude to the fraternal nature of this organization. More than any other marine society of the day, the East India Marine Society marked its early days with annual parades and dinners filled with drinking and numerous toasts that touched upon the visual motifs that encircle these bowls. With the name of the organization in the center of the bowl, and the

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Peace of 1783. As expected, this Briton enjoyed tremendous success with this map. Wallis was only too happy to profit from commemorating America's military success against his own nation. Once again, American consumers, eager to express their patriotic pride, turned to British manufacturers to supply the objects of their desire. While this object overtly celebrated the new nation, profits from its sale went to London." Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 31-32. These bowls, therefore, are another example of British merchants profiting off of American independence.

[12] McCauley notes that this transfer is usually marked "F. Morris, Shelton," and the earliest example is a jug bearing the date 1796. McCauley, *Liverpool transfer Designs on Anglo-American Pottery*, 87.

transfers radiating outward, they fuse together American maritime commerce and patriotism with this new marine society; an organization dedicated to supporting the maritime labor force fueling the economy of the New Republic. As the country was overwrought by industrialization in the second half of the nineteenth century, the bowls were displayed in the Peabody Academy of Science as part of the relics of the East India Marine Society; symbols of the Society's past glory days and its influence on the mercantile supremacy of the city and nation.[13]

In the early days of the Republic, marine societies littered the eastern seaboard from Maine to South Carolina, with organizations in Portland, ME (1796); Portsmouth, NH (1808); Newburyport (1772), Marblehead (1798), Salem (1766), Boston, MA (1742); Newport (1752) Providence, RI (1798); New York City (1770); Philadelphia, Baltimore (1798); and Charleston (1806).[14] All of these organizations adhered to one major principle—providing relief for the widows and families of sailors and those sailors who had fallen on hard times—and many supported improved navigation of their local ports. In addition, the structure and operation of each marine society was relatively similar.[15]

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[13] Today, these punch bowls continue to take center stage in East India Marine Hall, presented in a small case in the middle of the room just below the wall label introducing the Society and the Hall to museum visitors.

[14] The Baltimore Charitable Marine Society stated its benevolent purposes in a more artful manner than other marine societies: "Charitable purposes seldom fail of answering the desired effect: Numerous wants are not easily nor readily supplied; individuals, inadequate of themselves apart, to, the noble talk, combine together in societies—strength is gained, and the hand of charity can stretch to a great distance—Aid a falling brother—save a sinking family—and prove fathers to helpless orphans. Such is the principles on which this society is established. Charity desires the happiness of mankind, and rejoices at their prosperity; and for such benevolent purposes, this society was formed, and the following bye-laws made and ordained for the good order and government of said society." *Rules and Bye-Laws of the Baltimore Charitable Marine Society* (Baltimore: W. Pechin, 1798), 7.

[15] Several of these marine societies used analogous terms, such as "the box", the device used to collect and hold charitable funds, or contained similar articles such as the prohibition of drunkenness as many originated with the Boston Marine Society in 1742 (then the Fellowship Club). It is likely, therefore, that the Boston Marine Society's by-laws became the template for subsequent marine societies in American

Members were comprised of local captains of vessels or supercargoes who paid an initial fee for joining and subsequent charges at each meeting, all of which was invested by the society in order to support the organizations' charitable purposes.[16] Also, the executive counsel of these societies consisted of a President, Committee of Observation, Treasurer, Secretary, and other officers who were chosen annually by the other members. In an article devoted to the East India Marine Society in the *Salem Observer* of February 20th, 1892, the author notes the importance of these organizations to maritime towns: "For they of old went forth brave of heart and full of confidence, that should they meet the fate of many that go down to the sea in ships, and nevermore return, their families, wives, and the dear ones at home would receive the fostering care and benefits of the society which they in their wisdom had founded."[17]

Marine societies grew out of an early modern conception of a maritime labor force in Anglo-America. During the colonial period, sailors were seen as an essential part of commercial society, and after the Revolution, as key figures in the United States economy. While British endeavors to maintain the health of this segment of the colonial

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ports, recognized during the centennial of the Boston Marine Society in 1842. During this festive occasion, a letter was read from then East India Marine Society President Charles M. Endicott expressing his regrets that he could not attend the celebration. At the end of this letter he proposed a toast, "*The Boston Marine Society*—The great progenitor of all similar societies throughout the Union—may the prosperity of its members be as universal as their enterprise and liberality are unbounded," a firm confirmation of the Boston Marine Society's status as the founding American marine society. *Gleanings from the Records of the Boston Marine Society, Through its First Century, 1742-1842. Compiled by Nath'l Spooner* (Boston: Boston Marine Society, 1879), 172.

[16] Some societies allowed non-maritime individuals to become members. The Newport Marine Society's bye-laws state "[b]ut in advancement of the benevolent design of this Institution, persons of any other profession, may be Elected; provided the number of such members shall, at no time, exceed one-third part of the whole Corporation." *Charter of the Marine Society of the Town of Newport in the State of Rhode-Island* (Newport, RI: Mercury Office, 1806), 11. The Providence Marine Society and Portland Marine Society also allowed for this exception.

[17] "The 'East India Marine Society,'" *Salem Observer*, February 20th, 1892. Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 4, 1890-1903. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

society trickled overseas, it was not until American independence that Alexander Hamilton and other Federalists attempted to create laws and services to support sailors, such as the Marine Hospital network in 1798.[18] As marine societies flourished during these early days of the United States, it can be inferred that governmental support was not seen as adequate to support the maritime sector of colonial America.

American marine societies, however, differed from their European counterparts. The Marine Society in London (1756), Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin (1775), and others were formed initially to increase conscriptions in the Royal Navy, as well as support sailors. Afterwards, their main focus was educating, maintaining, and apprenticing orphans of naval and merchant seamen. A proposal for an American version of this type of marine society was published in Philadelphia in 1798, when John Fenno (1751-1798), the founder of the pro-Federalist newspaper *Gazette of the United States*, penned a *Plan for Establishing a General Marine Society Throughout the United States, and Systems of Regulations Therein; Written at Sea, in the Year 1794*.[19] There were some

[18] Gautham Rao, "The Creation of the American State: Customhouses, Law, and Commerce in the Age of Revolution" (University of Chicago, 2008. United States—Illinois: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*), 226. Rao states: "The mariner was a most vexing figure in early republican America. He owned the labor that quite literally powered overseas commerce…But this labor was beset by risk. So often did mysterious and deadly disease infect merchant seamen, that they became living symbols of insalubrity in medicine and culture. Injury, too, was a problem. Sailors worked long days under dangerous conditions, hauling, lifting, packing, and unlading heavy agricultural and commercial parcels. Mariners even faced unique geopolitical risks…The problem of maritime labor was that the more the mariner went to sea, the greater was his chance of falling victim to one of these risks. Because the early republican United States was a maritime nation, deeply dependent upon foreign markets for credit and capital, the problem of maritime labor affected national politics, law, and commerce. The problem forced Americans to exert national authority over the sphere of maritime labor. From 1789 to 1816—and indeed beyond—merchants and federal officials struggled to negotiate viable solutions to the problem of maritime labor." Ibid, 224-225.

[19] Rao notes that in 1794 "Fenno proposed a 'General Marine Society' of the United States to give sailors 'protection and secure their safety.' 'Unless a supply of them is preserved,' he inscribed on the cover of his pamphlet, 'no wealth will be able to procure them.' Fenno noted with envy that Great Britain's labor policies had produced over 30,000 merchant and naval mariners from 1756 to 1794. He proposed to

European marine societies, however, that shared similar founding principles to its American counterparts. The Glasgow Marine Society (1758) was formed "to rescue from misery and want, such seamen as shall become old, decayed, lame, or maimed…and to make some provision for their poor widows and children."[20] This Society also viewed their benevolent mission as a way of encouraging young men to seek a life at sea, to "excite able hands to enter into the said service, as well as to encourage their good behaviour."[21]

The East India Marine Society was not the oldest of its kind in Salem. That distinction goes to the Marine Society at Salem, or Salem Marine Society, formed in 1766, "to relieve such of their Members as thro' Misfortune at Sea, or otherwise, or by Reason of old Age or Sickness, stand in Need of Relief, & the necessitous Families of deceased Members; and also to communicate in Writing, to be lodged with the Society, the Observations they make at Sea of any Matters which may render Navigation,

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incorporate a voluntary association consisting of a president and twenty-four directors—who gained seats by virtue of large donations. Fenno's scheme was divided into two basic headings. First, he proposed to create something akin to an American press gang, which would 'provide and bind out, receive and recommend proper boys as apprentices to vessels of the United States.' Second, Fenno specified the Society's functions 'to provide for the health, protection, and regularity of the seamen of the United States.' This included caring for 'all maimed and disabled seamen' who had served no less than 'seven years in the merchant's service, without being in any foreign employ at that time.' 'The want of marine hospitals has long been felt and lamented in the United States,' explained Fenno. By creating his proposed General Marine Society, 'It is conceived this would stimulate some men who get soon tired by efforts of which the reward is uncertain.'…Fenno's scheme for a General Marine Society was simply impractical because of its outlandish funding scheme. Ibid, 235-238.

[20] "Annals of Glasgow Marine Society," in James Cleland, The Annals of Glasgow: Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Rise and Progress of the City (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1829), 352.

[21] Ibid. Another rationale for the formation of this organization was to increase funds. "And considering, that the funds of that Society in Glasgow, known by the name of the Seamens' Club, being very small, arising only from part of their own wages, are nowise sufficient for answering the purposes above mentioned: For these reasons, we…do hereby join ourselves, and all others who shall be pleased to concur with us in so laudable a design, into a voluntary charitable society, by the name of the Glasgow Marine Society, for the ends above mentioned; and for raising the necessary funds for this Charity, and for the good government of this Society." Ibid.

particularly on this Coast, easier & safer."[22] Inscribing the motto "Where Virtue Reigns, the Unfortunate Find Relief" in their seal, this benevolent society was open to only Salem sea captains until 1790, when ship owners were eligible for membership. With over two-hundred members on their rolls before the creation of the East India Marine Society, the Salem Marine Society supported the local maritime community both financially and by implementing projects such as the placement of buoys in Salem Harbor and the construction of a lighthouse on Baker's Island.[23] Unlike their brethren Society, the Salem Marine Society was more proactive in addressing dwindling membership. In the 1918, membership was opened to the grandsons of members, which was extended to great-grandsons in the 1930s and great-granddaughters in the 1990s.[24] Today, the Salem Marine Society has a robust membership and is an active charitable organization promoting and maintaining Salem's maritime legacy.[25]

Even though the Salem Marine Society predated and distinguished itself from the East India Marine Society, many residents and people outside of the city confused the two organizations as late as 1846. An article in the January 19th *Salem Register* attempts to distinguish the two, while also perhaps alluding to the bravado of the East India Marine Society:

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[22] Salem Marine Society, Laws of the Salem Marine Society, with the Several Acts of General Court Relating to the Society, &c., and a List of Members (Salem, MA: Observer Steam Book and Job Printing, 1873), 5.

[23] In spite of growing membership, 1 in 4 members withdrew from the Salem Marine Society until 1835. At this point in time, it was a rare occurrence. Smith, *A History of the Marine Society at Salem*, 36.

[24] The first female members, Joan Vaughan Ingraham and Selina F. Little, were elected on October 27th, 1994. Other marine societies, such as the Boston Marine Society, allowed a certain percentage of non-maritime members from their inception.

[25] For more on the history of the Salem Marine Society, see Smith, *A History of the Marine Society at Salem*.

> Among the many useful institutions with which our city abounds, one of the oldest and best is THE SALEM MARINE SOCIETY—and yet so quietly and unobtrusively are its duties performed and its charities dispensed, that, out of the immediate sphere of its influence it seems to be scarcely known to the public at large—or we should rather say, perhaps, that the community generally are by no means aware of the extent of its benefactions. For generous impulses, the sailor's genuine modesty restrains them from giving publicity to their good deeds. Our citizens, however, ought to feel an honest pride in all their charitable institutions, and thinking that a slight notice of the Marine Society would not be uninteresting, we have prepared a little sketch of its history and operations.
> It should be premised that this institution is totally distinct from the East India Marine Society which formed and owns the noble Museum that has acquired so wide a renown. A very large proportion of the members belong, in fact, to both Societies, but their funds and operations have no connection whatever with each other.[26]

While no records exist to suggest anything but cordial relations between the two Societies,[27] an address by Salem Marine Society Master Nathaniel Brown—also a member of the East India Marine Society—notes on the centennial of the organization, "Oftentimes, too, has the society been called upon to express its opinion upon the value of charts, the rig of vessels, and other matters pertaining to commercial affairs, and in

[26] "The Salem Marine Society," *Salem Register*, January 19th, 1843.

[27] The East India Marine Society also had relations with the Boston Marine Society. During the January 18th, 1855 meeting, a communication of Robert Bennett Forbes was read along with a report of the Boston Marine Society on the subject entitled "Seaman and Marine Disasters." A unanimous vote was passed stating "this Society concur in the view expressed by the Committee of the Boston Marine Society, in relation to the causes of Marine disasters, and the want of proper discipline on board our Mercantile Marine, and also the remedy therefore as suggested by the said Committee, and recommend that the same be adopted." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The Society also supported resolutions of the Boston Marine Society and New York Marine Society, specifically in 1899 in relation to the New York Governor's proposal of appointing a naval officer to oversee the Sailor's Home at Snug Harbor in Staten Island, NYC, an institution devoted to merchant marine sailors. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Further resolutions were passed by the Society in relation to national maritime issues. At the October 12th, 1912 meeting, the now Trustees of the East India Marine Society resolved "That the action of the President of the United States, William H. Taft, in regard to the bill before Congress regulating the tolls on American ships using the Panama Canal be and hereby is approved!" Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Two years later at the April 8th, 1914 meeting, the Society voted their opposition to the Seaman's Bill before the US Congress, and in January 1915 the Society voted that their opposition to the government ownership bill be recorded. Ibid.

connection with our younger brother, the East India Marine Society, it has contributed much valuable thought and experience for the benefit of our fellow men. That the members of our society always manifested that patriotism and love of country we all admire is proved…For ostentatious displays and parades the Marine Society was never noted."[28]

Maintaining two marine societies in one port would appear to be redundant. On the contrary, as Salem and the country expanded its international presence, it was justified. The Salem Marine Society was focused primarily on improving the port of Salem, but this organization did not reflect the port's new global cachet at the dawn of the nineteenth century. As eighteen of the thirty men who signed the original articles at Benjamin Webb's tavern in October 1799 were Salem Marine Society members, their signatures symbolized the need for an appropriate institution to support their overseas interests.[29] Incorporated by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1801 like other

[28] *Salem Register*, June 12th, 1871. During the centennial celebration of the Salem Marine Society, a toast was given to the East India Marine Society. "'*The Salem East India Marine Society*. Famed for the rare excellence of its Museum, respected for the character of the men who compose it, and beloved for its charities,—may the good work it has accomplished in the past be an incentive for doing much in the future; and our brothers shall always have our sympathy and support.' Benjamin H. Silsbee, Esq., President of the East India Marine Society, responded happily, speaking of the friendly relations existing between the two societies, and attributing to the broad principles of charity the true cause of the long life of this society. He concluded with a sentiment, which was acknowledged by John Webster, Esq., who recalled some pleasant things within his remembrance as to the characteristics of Salem thirty or forty years ago, and the changes which have taken place in navigation and the working of ships." Salem Marine Society, *Laws of the Salem Marine Society*, 34.

[29] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 41. Lindgren, on the other hand, believes Elias Hasket Derby "had personally provided insurance for his masters; when he died, they were forced to develop new arrangements for relief and protection." Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 183 footnote 11, citing Richard H. McKey Jr., "Elias Hasket Derby: Merchant of Salem, Massachusetts, 1739-1799" (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1962), 387-88. Lindgren's theory is at odds with the nature of marine societies' charitable giving and the fact that the Salem Marine Society, which was more inclusive based on its less strict stipulations for membership, existed for thirty-three years in Salem. Anya Zilberstein offers yet another view of the formation of the East India Marine Society. She humorously, and perhaps too generally, describes it as an institution that "primarily offered fraternity for

marine societies, "for the laudable purpose of affording relief to disabled Seamen, and to the indigent Widows and Families of deceased Members and others," the East India Marine Society was also uniquely designed for "promoting a knowledge of navigation and trade to the East Indies."[30]

To further distinguish themselves from the Salem Marine Society, the East India Marine Society limited membership to Salem supercargoes and masters with worldly cachet—those who ventured beyond either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. This founding provision for the newly formed Society created an exclusive maritime club, one that attracted the pioneering mariners in the town and the country. Among the early members were those who opened American trade across the globe, such as Benjamin Hodges, who arrived at Salem with tea from Canton in 1790 in command of the brig *William and Henry*; Captain Jonathan Lambert, who enthroned himself as the self-appointed ruler of Tristan da Cunha and who had taken the brig *Hope* to Mozambique in 1789; and Nathaniel Bowditch.[31] This provision excluded the majority of mariner's who belonged to the Salem Marine Society. As Whitehill notes, "Such a man as Joseph Peabody, who had gone to sea as a boy before the Revolution and had amassed such a fortune that, when James Monroe came to Salem in 1817, 'the President waited upon' him, rather than the reverse, could not meet the requirements of the new society, for he

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members and a form of accident insurance to support widows and children." Anya Zilberstein, "Objects of Distant Exchange: The Northwest Coast, Early America, and the Global Imagination," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 64, No. 3 (July 2007): 595.

[30] "An Act to Incorporate Benjamin Hodges and Others into a Society by the Name of the Salem East India Marine Society," in East India Marine Society, *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society*, 3.

[31] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 4. For more on Lambert, see Edwin B. Hewes, "Jonathan Lambert, of Salem, King of Tristan D.Acunha," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 1935): 1-6.

had never rounded the Cape of Good Hope himself, although many of his ships had."[32] The reverse was quite the contrary. Of the 591 members of the Salem Marine Society in 1914, 146, roughly one quarter, were members of both institutions.[33]

East India Marine Society members were consciously concerned with their exclusive status. They voted at their May 2nd, 1821 meeting that "the President & Committee procure a handsome & appropriate engraving for a blank certificate of Membership, to be regularly filled up & assigned signed for the use of each of the Members of the Society, " and during the September 5th, 1821 meeting, a committee was formed to "take into consideration the propidity [sic] of adopting for the Society a Signal Flag (somewhat similar to that of the Marine Society of N. York), & to report at the next meeting—Israel Williams, Stephen Phillips, Stephen White."[34] (Appendix D, Documents 2 and 3) Neither object was created. The Society also implemented measures to handle foreign disputes that might tarnish the image of the Society. In order to check the activities of unruly members who might promote a negative image of the Society abroad, Article XXII was codified "[t]o prevent all injuries from false and malicious charges of misconduct in Foreign Voyages." This article states that if "the members agree upon all complaints" brought forth by one member, the Society will "institute an inquiry by a special Committee of five persons, which Committee shall report the result to the Society

[32] Ibid, 3. President Monroe visited the Society during his stay in Salem.
[33] At this point, there were 402 members admitted to the East India Marine Society under the original requirements for membership. In 1910, the East India Marine Society was reincorporated as the "Trustees of the East India Marine Society," which effectively terminated the election of new members according to the navigational requirements.
[34] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. The report on adopting a signal flag was accepted at the November 7th, 1821 meeting, but the subject was never brought up again.

and if the Society acquit the member complaining of such injuries they agree to furnish certificates of their approbation and recommendation signed by the President and counter signed by the Secret[ary]."[35] While this article provided the East India Marine Society with a form of public relations assistance, there is no record that it was ever invoked.

Though distinct in many ways from other marine societies, the East India Marine Society was firstly a charitable organization and created articles to ensure they had the financial stability for benevolent services. Upon admission to the Society by a vote of three-fourths of the members present, cast in a mahogany voting box (fig. 18), new members were required to pay twenty-five dollars, equivalent to the buying power of $471 today.[36] Afterwards, they were assessed fifty cents at each of the six meetings held annually—on the first Wednesday of January, March, May, July, September and November.[37] In addition, members who did not have a legitimate excuse for missing a meeting outlined in Article XIII of the by-laws, such as sickness or being away on a voyage, were fined twenty-five cents.[38] Failure to pay fines after two years, if not away

[35] East India Marine Society, *By-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society*, 10-11. This article was renumbered as XX in 1808, and slightly revised. The word "unfounded" was inserted in place of "false and malicious," and the committee of five members was to be chosen by ballot and two-thirds of Society members present were needed for an acquittal.

[36] Historical currency conversion based on http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp. The Society purchased a "mahogany balloting box & 100 ivory balls" for $10 in 1802 from William Gavet. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 4. There is a receipt for fixing the box in 1820 for $1.25 in Ibid, Folder 22.

[37] Whitehill notes that the " annual meeting and dinner was held in January until 1804, when, by a vote passed on 11 July 1804, it was changed to the first Wednesday in November." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 135 footnote 7.

[38] Article XIII states: "If any member duly warned shall neglect to attend at the time appointed for a meeting, he shall pay twenty five Cents unless prevented by absence from Town, sickness or some just occasion, which may be accepted by the members as an excuse." East India Marine Society, *By-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society*, 7.

from the state of Massachusetts or the victim of "shipwreck or unavoidable misfortune" outlined in Article XIX, could result in expulsion from the Society.[39]

All of this money helped to fill the Society's coffers for future charitable donations.[40] According to Article XX:

> [u]pon the decease of any member his proportion of the Stock shall become the property of the surviving members, but shall his Widow or children require assistance, it shall be afforded to her or them, as the Society shall please to provide, regard being had to the amount of the subscriptions or donations of the deceased member, but if any member apply for Assistance, it shall be granted only at the will of the Society from the Stock, or by private contributions at their discretion.[41]

By 1808 when the first East India Marine Society Treasurer, Captain Jacob Crowninshield (1770-1808) retired, the Society had amassed approximately $4,408, equivalent to $82,000 today.[42] In 1823, when Nathaniel Bowditch resigned as East India

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[39] According to Article XVIII "[e]very member who shall neglect to pay the Assesment [sic] for two years if he is been within this Commonwealth and for four years, if within the United States, and a proper Bill of such Assesment [sic] has been delivered to him, or who shall disturb in any way the harmony of the Society, may be discharged by a Vote of three fourths of the members present, and shall be excluded from any benefit of the funds or other stock of the Society." Ibid, 9.

[40] Stephen Wheatland, president of the East India Marine Associates of the Peabody Museum of Salem in the 1940s provides an indepth history on the financial structure of the Society in "The Salem East India Marine Society: A Report of its Funds and How They Were Acquired," Appendix H in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 189-201. Wheatland summarizes the basic financial structure of the institution and lists the investments made over the course of the Society's history. According to Article XI of the East India Marine Society By-Laws, member dues were "to be received as a Capital Stock, to be afterwards applied to such purposes as two thirds of the members may approve." Wheatland also notes that after " a member had been in the Society for twelve years his assessments were to cease. However, in 1819 the By-Laws were changed so that after a member had been in the Society for twelve years, paying 50 cents a meeting, he was to pay assessments of 25 cents a meeting thereafter. The records of the Society were always meticulously kept and the amounts due and collected from each member were carefully noted in a ledger account of each member, in Nathaniel Bowditch's handwriting much of the time to 1820…Bowditch was Secretary in 1802 and Inspector of Journals for eighteen years to 1820." Ibid, 189. In addition, according to Article XXI, "[n]o part of the Capital Stock shall be at Interest unless secured by Bond or Mortgage of Land of at least double the amount and free from all incumbrances whatever and within the Town of Salem." Ibid.

[41] East India Marine Society, *By-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society*, 10. This article was slightly modified and renumbered as XIX in the 1808 articles.

[42] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 190. Before the opening of East India Marine Hall, little charity was expended from the Society's funds. Wheatland notes "the rent of the Hall in the Salem

Marine Society President and moved to Boston, their funds—invested in bank stocks and insurance stocks—had increased to $7,984.66, $78.00 which was distributed to beneficiaries.[43]

The East India Marine Society not only provided relief to the families of members, but also to members themselves when they fell on hard times. During the September 5th, 1810 quarterly meeting, the President & Committee of Observation ordered that "all demands upon Joseph Phippen…a member of the society, stating that by misfortune he has been unable to pay the assessments due to the society…be suspended…for the time being, agreeable to article 17 of the Bye Laws."[44] The Society officers also waived the dues for Jonathan Carnes, William Mugford, and John Burchmore for the same reasons at the January 19th, 1819 meeting.[45] Of the handful of members who sought assistance from the Society, none was more surprising than Jonathan Carnes who had prospered during the early yeas of the pepper trade. In addition

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Bank building—built by Colonel Pickman on Essex Street, not far from the present East India Marine Hall—was arranged at $80.00 a year ($160.00 a year had been paid previously); and a modest distribution of $7.00 each was made to about nine beneficiaries. Another year, $12.00 each was distributed to certain beneficiaries." Ibid. Jacob Crowninshield brought the first elephant to America in 1797, was a Congressional representative, and invited by Jefferson to become secretary of the navy (he declined this later post due to illness). Crowninshield was one of the few Republicans in Federalist leaning Salem, which Susan Bean believes was due in part to the family rivalry with the Derbys who were Federalists and his family's success in the French and Continental markets supported by Jefferson's platform. Bean, *Yankee India*, 70.

[43] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 190. $7,984.66 is equivalent to $150,000 today, and $78.00 would equal $1,736.

[44] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Similarly, during the November 7th, 1810 meeting it was voted "that the President & Committee, be authorized & directed, to inquire into the situation & necessities of Capt. George Girdler Smith, A member of the society; and to grant him such assistance from the funds of the Society, from time to time, as a they shall judge best." Ibid. Two days later, the Society's minutes note "in conformity to Art. 19 of the Bye Laws, & into the vote of the society of the 7th int. It is ordered by the President & Committee that an order be drawn on the Treasurer, by the President, for Fifty Dollars, to hey from the funds of the Society for the use of Capt. George Girdler Smith."

[45] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

to being absolved from paying dues, he received distribution funds until his death in 1827.[46] Carnes is but one example demonstrating that the dangers of the maritime experience extended beyond shipwrecks and storms to include unstable markets and poverty.

Beyond the Society and the maritime community, the East India Marine Society used its prominent position in Salem to offer relief to the town. During Thomas Jefferson's Embargo in 1809, an unpopular act in New England, the suspension of mercantile activity had a profound effect on all residents.[47] The Society voted at their November 2nd, 1808, annual dinner to suspend their normal festive procession through the town's streets, as they likely thought it would appear inconsiderate to their maritime

[46] Mugford and Captain Samuel Lambert also received such funds well into the 1830s, and James M. Fairfield received money at this time. Sometimes members' requests for assistance were denied. In May of 1836, Captain James Barr Jr. asked for relief after losing his chart, nautical instruments etc. in a fire in New York City. The Committee of Observation voted against his request as they were not furnished with a detailed list of his damages and had, on good authority, been informed that Barr had obtained relief through subscription in New York. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The Committee did investigate whether Barr's requests were admissible under the bye-laws, and found that it was acceptable.

[47] Distaste for Jefferson in Salem is evident in the writings from this period. In the diary of William Wait Oliver of Salem, he describes Jefferson as "the Negro President" in an entry from August 5th, 1802. Oliver is taking issue with the news that Jefferson "had made a number of removals, and appointed others to succeed among the number William Lee of Marblehead, to be collector for the District of Salem & Beverly—quite a compliment to the Salem Mercantile Interest, that they must have a collector from another town; which can not be accounted for any other way, than this that the President's brain (if any he had for certain it is, he cant have much now) is so adled [sic] by the teizing [sic] of office seekers—the interception of Genevian Renegades, & the creaking of Irish Patriots, scape-gallowesses & Raggamuffins - that poor soulhe did not know what he was about. Although I pitty him for his weakness, it makes me smile when I think what a miserable pack of subordinates he has…O Tom! Tom Jefferson, if you should live to see the fourth of March 1805 and the Government & Country not annihilated, your Phisognamy, will, I expect, resemble that of a horses head more than any thing else." Diary of William Waite Oliver, 1803, 1812. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# DIA 128. In the log of East India Marine Society member George Cleveland, kept onboard the ship *Margaret* during the second voyage of a Salem ship to Japan under Dutch Charter via Batavia (Jakarta) from November 1800 to June 1802, he notes at the end of his entry on November 25th, 1801, "This day compleats twelve months since we left that land, where genuine Freedom, and equal rights are the order of the day." Below this line is a note dated February 6, 1804, "When the writer of the above remark left America on this voyage, neither that country or himself knew the blessings of a Jefforsonian Administration, or he certainly would not have said anything about 'equal rights.'" Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1749.

brethren who were struggling, but they still drank and delivered seventeen toasts during the night.[48] Still, the Society decided to be proactive in the face of the town's tough economic times. Despite the opinion of some local inhabitants like Bentley, who thought "the poor never were better fed in their lives…The young seamen, mates and captains are the sufferers, the poor are fed to surfeiting and would be glad of an eternal embargo on their labour if they could be better fed for nothing" the East India Marine Society voted at a special meeting on January 12th, 1809 to have a Grand Charity Concert on the twenty-sixth, "the expense of musick [sic], lights [to] be paid from the funds of this Society."[49]

On January 21st and 25th, 1809, the *Salem Register* ran an article advertising the concert and providing the full musical program. They proclaimed:

> For the Benefit of the Poor. The Salem East India Marine Society, from their knowledge of an uncommon degree of suffering in this town, arising from the extraordinary circumstances of the times, and from a desire of aiding the general disposition of their fellow-townsmen to acts of charity and benevolence, have determined, on Thursday evening next, to give a GRAND CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Music, at the Museum in Essex-street, for the purpose of raising a sum of money, by the sale of admission tickets for the immediate relief of the distressed. As all expences [sic] of the entertainment will be defrayed by the Society, those who purchase tickets may have the pleasure of being assured, that every cent they pay will go into the charity fund; which will be distributed by a special committee, without deduction, according to the best information they can obtain respecting those who are exposed to want and suffering. Although charity is the prime object, yet the Society are determined to spare no pains or expence [sic] to produce such an entertainment as will exhilarate the feelings of the

[48] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 22.
[49] William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* Vol. III (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), 412-413; Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Almost $200 was incurred by the Society for all sundry expenses revolving around this concert. The East India Marine Society's treasurer's accounts detail the expenses for the concert. Among the costs incurred by the Society was $16 to Thomas C. Cushing for 520 program booklets and 10 packs of tickets, $19 to Parker & Cushing for carpentry work on the hall in advance of the concert, and $99.50 was paid for the hiring of the musicians. Treasurers Accounts 1809. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 11.

> company for the evening; for which purpose they have engaged the best performers from Boston.[50]

Ornately decorated tickets (fig. 19) were available for purchase for $1 at the Salem Bank, the Fire and Marine and Union Marine Insurance Offices, and the Post Office. Attendees were entertained by a full program of symphonic and vocal works (fig. 20), including a Franz Joseph Haydn symphony; the overture to the romantic opera *Lodoïska* by French violinist and composer Rodolphe Kreutzer; piano sonatas; a violin concerto by Johann Wenzel Anton Stamitz or his sons Carl Philipp and Anton Thadäus Johann Nepomuk; and Thomas Augustine Arne's (1710-1778) "The Soldier Tired."[51] Many of the vocal works were performed by Catherine Graupner, one of the leading Boston soloists of her day and wife of J.C. Gottlieb Graupner, leader of the Boston Philharmonic Society (1809-1824).[52]

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[50] "For the Benefit of the Poor," *Salem Register*, January 21st, 1809. Whitehill quotes this article as well.

[51] James Hewitt, conductor and musical director for the New York Park Theatre orchestra until 1808 and then organizer of concerts in Boston, likely performed the Stamitz concerto. Thomas Arne, born in London, was the composer of *Rule, Britannia!*, and his version of *God Save the King* is still the national anthem of Great Britain. This selection was one aria from his 1762 opera *Artaxerxes*, and was a popular selection for performers in the nineteenth century. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Artaxerxes_(opera).

[52] Christine Ammer, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music* (Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2001), 15. Catherine (Hiller) Graupner (d. 1821), who immigrated to the United States in 1794 as part of a London theater troupe, married the oboist J.C. Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836) in Charleston in 1796. Graupner, born in Hanover, Germany, also lived in England and reportedly played in Joseph Haydn's concerts in 1791-1792 that were the focus of his *London* symphonies. The newly married couple moved to Boston and worked in the Federal Street Theater. Graupner, a composer, was one of the most important music businessman in Boston, according to musicologist David Nicholls, selling instruments and publishing music. He was the leader of the Boston Philharmonic Society (1809-1824) and a founder of the Handel and Haydn Society. David Nicholls, *The Cambridge History of American Music* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 188. In 1799, they worked with another well known musical family, the von Hagen's, at a benefit concert in Salem. Musicologist Richard Crawford notes "by placing on the concert's second half patriotic numbers of local and recent origin, they evinced a readiness,…to rouse Salem's listeners into a state of pride in their American identity." Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: Norton, 2001), 89-90. Graupner also performed at a concert at Bowen's Columbian Museum on March 14th, 1798. Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 306.

The *Essex Register*, reviewing the concert a few days later, noted that the "[m]usical entertainment…must have exceeded the warmest expectations of the amateur."[53] The paper wrote favorably about Graupner's performance, believing that she "distinguished herself in the glees by great brilliancy and expression of voice."[54] It is likely that the Graupners arranged the concert once hired, as most of the works performed by Catherine Graupner were on the bill of other concerts in Salem and Boston around the turn of the century.[55] The glee "Sailor Boy," in particular, was a work published by Gottlieb and likely chosen for this audience given its allusions to shipwreck and loss. Still, the *Register* comments that Mr. Hewitt's violin concerto was even better than Graupner's performance, as it "was truly admirable and fascinated every tasteful hearer."[56] The concert was very well attended and the East India Marine Society collected $564.00, with the *Register* concluding "[i]n short, the whole performance left nothing to wish, whether with regard to its design, execution, effect, or the benevolent appropriation of its profits.[57] In regards to the East India Marine Society, the *Register* proclaims "[t]he members…displayed great alertness and anxiety in accommodating the companys [sic] and by their urbane assiduities added much to the pleasures of the evening. They deserve well of their country."[58] They spent some of the concert money on twenty-five cords of

[53] "The Charity Concert," *Essex Register*, February 1st, 1809.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Crawford, America's Musical Life, 89-90; Sonneck, Early Concert-Life in America, 306.
[56] "The Charity Concert," *Essex Register*, February 1st, 1809.
[57] Bentley, on the other hand, simply noted in his diary on January 29th, 1809: "Last week a Concert of Music was attempted in the Museum of the East India society. The expences [sic] paid by the society & the tickets sold for the benefit of the poor, amounting to a sum exceeding 500 dollars." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 427. Just over two hundred years later, the Boston Landmarks Orchestra conducted by maestro Charles Ansbacher played a concert in East India Marine Hall in September 2010.
[58] Ibid.

wood distributed to forty-seven people, and the remaining $452.23 was dispersed to 117 individuals.[59]

The Society also attended to other matters of national interest during this period, further solidifying this organization's connection to the country at large. During the war of 1812, the naval battle between the HMS *Shannon* and the USS *Chesapeake* occurred just off the coast of Salem on June 4th, 1813. During the conflict, the *Chesapeake*'s commander James Lawrence (1781-1813) was mortally wounded, and many wanted his body brought ashore. The minutes for the July 7th, 1813 meeting record that:

> the secretary read a letter from Mr. Jonathan W. Treadwell Secretary to the Committee of arrangement for the funeral of Capt. Lawrence—the question was taken by Ballot—shall this Society attend the funeral of the late Capt. Lawrence & decided in the affirmative, yeas 32, nays 19, Voted, That the President be requested to communicate to the Committee of arrangements for the Funeral of Capt. Lawrence, the Vote of the Society.[60]

In 1817, when President James Monroe planned a visit to Salem, the East India Marine Society was quick to act. At the July 8th meeting it was voted "[t]hat the President of this

[59] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 26.

[60] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Historian James Ellis notes in relation to the partisan fight over the battle and its outcome that "Josiah Quincy enraged a good many people with one of his moves. After the fight, but prior to learning the fate of Lawrence, the Senate considered a resolution commending the officer for his earlier capture of the *Peacock*. Quincy blocked the measure, asserting 'in a war like the present,' it was not 'becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military and naval exploits.' The Republicans bellowed Quincy's action amounted to 'moral treason.' An incensed Captain George Crowninshield Jr. of Salem responded in a bold way. He hired the brig *Henry*, manned her with fellow shipmaster members of the Salem Marine Society, obtained governmental permission, and set out for Halifax under a flag of truce to recover the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow. He returned in 11 days with the two corpses as well as seven *Chesapeake* crewmen. Meanwhile, the town planned a stately funeral for August 23 even though political feelings ran high. The chairman of the Proprietors' Committee of the North Meetinghouse refused the use of their building for the service, because the committee did not have the authority 'to open the House for any other purpose than public worship.' In fact, he made sure their bell would not peel as the procession passed. As telling, the East India Marine Society decided to attend only on the strength of a 32 to 19 vote. Despite pockets of partisanship, a majestic but melancholy observance proceeded." James H. Ellis, *Ruinous and Unhappy War: New England and the War of 1812* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2009), 132.

society be requested to wait on the President of the United States, & in the name of the society, to invite him to visit the museum with his suite; and also to wait on the Governor of the Commonwealth with a similar invitation; and at such time as they shall appoint for the purpose, the officers of the society do attend them to the hall."[61]

While using its resources and position for relief and support of local and national causes, the East India Marine Society expended great resources for its own purposes. Another unique article in the Society's by-laws, Article XVII, states "[t]he President and Committee may order a Publick [sic] Dinner to be provided for the members annually on the first Wednesday in January and the expenses shall be paid by such members as receive the notification." This article, not present in the by-laws of other American marine societies, is more akin to a fraternal organization rather than a benevolent society, and puts social intercourse on the same platform as charity and collecting. As a friendly association of mariners, the East India Marine Society valued celebration and festive occasions. During the first two decades of their existence, around the anniversary of the Society's founding, members would parade throughout Salem before retiring to their quarters for a lavish dinner accompanied by excessive drinking, smoking, and numerous toasts. These rich semiotic events, another material form of exhibition and spectacle, reveal a great deal of information about the Society, the United States, and the global connections that existed at these moments in time.

[61] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. The Society was also asked by the town to join in the festivities for the 50th Anniversary of the country during the 4th of July, 1826, which they heartedly accepted, but a June 1828 letter making a similar request was voted "to lie on the table." Perhaps the late date of such a request offended the members?

On the first Wednesday in January—and after 1804 the first Wednesday in November—the East India Marine Society members moved in procession through the streets of Salem after their business meeting where they collected assessments and elected officers (fig. 21).[62] They carried portions of the museum collection, such as the palanquin donated by four members for these annual parades, and some members dressed in outfits collected abroad or donated by East Indian merchants (fig. 22).[63] To foster a spirit of American patriotism, the Society hired musicians and local military outfits to accompany the parade, and afterwards, to dine with the members.[64] Large crowds gathered annually, even in January 1804 when the weather was cold and the streets were icy. William Bentley notes, "After business & before dinner they moved in procession…Each of the brethren bore some Indian curiosity & the palanquin was borne by the negroes dressed nearly in the Indian manner. A person dressed in Chinese habits &

[62] Whitehill correctly concludes that this change was due to the icy streets that William Bentley notes on January 4th, 1804, had "limited the distance" of the procession. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 16. Due to this change, two anniversary celebrations were held in 1804 as the next recorded festivities were in November 1804. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 3.

[63] In 1803, the *Salem Register* of January 6th describes the parade as follows: "Yesterday, the East India Marine Society moved in procession over Washington Square, and returned by Essex-Street, accompanied with a band of Musick [sic], to their Hall. in which an elegant dinner was provided by Capt. Benj. Webb. The conduct of this Society has been highly honorable to them. They have paid a constant attention to the object of their institution. They have collected the journals of the Voyages which have been performed since their establishment, and have provided a Library for that purpose of mercantile and nautical information, also a very valuable collection in natural history, besides coins, and things useful to the Traveller. The arrangement of their Hall assists the display of their curiosities, and their well directed researches promise honor to themselves, and benefit to their country."

[64] In 1807, the cost of musicians and military accompaniment was $193.00, no small expense. Records/Minutes 1799-1824, special meeting of 16 September 1807. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. During the November 1804 parade, Major John Saunders and the Salem Light Infantry escorted the Society through the town's streets. In 1806, the Salem Artillery, commanded by Lt. Russell, was part of the festivities, and in November 1807, the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry was invited to be part of the procession. William Bentley notes in regards to this celebrations that "[o]n Wednesday last the East India Society celebrated their 4 Anniversary. They appeared with the Eastern dresses & were escorted by the Mechanic Light Infantry & had the Cadet Band. They had an elegant dinner in their hall." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 328.

mask passed in front. The crowd of spectators was great."[65] The following November, Bentley remarks that "a Band of Music and the Cadet Company added to the entertainment and ceremony of the day," and "the Society marched in procession ... up Essex Street and down Federal Street and through Washington Square and back to their hall."[66] Salem newspapers reported on this annual event, and their articles were often reprinted in out-of-town publications to increase national coverage. In 1806, the *New York Herald*, via the *Salem Register*, remarks, "[a]s they passed the Derby Wharf, a salute was fired, and the colours on all the vessels in the harbour and the wharves were displayed."[67]

Local coverage of the East India Marine Society parades was often favorable, noting the "harmony and conviviality" of these displays in the spreading of global knowledge. The *Salem Gazette* in 1805 describes how Society members "met at their Museum, and passed in procession from thence through the town...exhibiting in characteristic dresses, instruments, etc. of distant nations, equal proofs of bold enterprise and steady industry in our nautical and mercantile citizens, and recalling to grateful

[65] Ibid, 68. According to a list of expenses in the Society archives, the palanquin bearers were paid $6.25 for their services. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 6.

[66] Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 121; Records/Minutes 1799-1824, 7 November 1804. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[67] This article was reprinted in the *New York Herald* of November 26th, 1806, but not recorded by Bentley in his diary. Internal minutes record that "[a]fter collecting the fines and assessments the Society formed a procession, under escort of a division of the Salem Artillery, commanded by Lt. Russell, and moved through the principal streets in the town to the Concert Hall. After refreshing at Concert Hall they proceeded to their hall accompanied with the invited guests, where they partook of an elegant entertainment provided by Mr. Christopher Osgood." Records/Minutes 1799-1824, 5 November 1805. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

remembrance the man (the late E. H. Derby, Esq.) who here led the way to that commerce which has so greatly enriched the town."[68] In 1807, the same paper announces:

> According to practice they displayed in procession the dresses and instruments which have been brought from the distant regions they have visited, and which in some measure inform us of the customs, manners and arts of their inhabitants . . . [and]…that the object of this society is not a mere ostentatious parade, but the promotion of nautical and commercial knowledge, which the journals and observations deposited in the library by the member[s] on their return from distant voyages fully testify.[69]

In essence, Salem newspapers buoyed the patriotic sentiments displayed by the Society.

Other contemporary interpretations were not as favorable. The *Salem Gazette* of January 9th, 1801, notes that "[t]he Salem East-India Marine Society…walked in procession from their Museum to the Sun, where they dined in elegant style. One of the

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[68] *Salem Gazette*, November 8th, 1805. In the *Salem Register* of November 11th, 1805, at the end of an article on the political climate of Europe and the connections between Spain and their territories in Florida and Mexico, and just after a description of a recent geological donation to the American Philosophical Society, the author states: "We feel obliged on all proper occasions to notice the attention which has been paid to the collections of the East India Marine Society. The late anniversary has suffered the members of that Useful Institution that its design has not been forgotten. That a few years has not extinguished the zeal with which they commenced their labours in collecting and arranging the most important aids to a history of the globe. Their friends abroad have not refused the best testemony [sic] of their approbation, by useful donations, and by valuable additions. For their greatest success we join in the witness of their fellow citizens."

[69] *Salem Gazette*, November 6th, 1807. In between these two meetings, as United States mercantilism was feeling the effects of the Napoleonic Wars and American ships were subject to capture by British vessels for alleged infringement of blockades, the Society held its annual dinner with its normal pomp and circumstance. The *Columbian Centinel* of November 8th, 1806 reports: "The Salem East India Marine Society held their anniversary on Wednesday last [5 November 1806]. As usual, they passed in procession from their Museum through the town, having an elegant escort in a detachment of matrasses from Capt. Brooks' company, under Lt. Russell. Passing the Derby Wharf, the stores on which were elegantly dressed with colors, a salute was fired in honor of the Society. On returning to the Museum, they sat down to a generous entertainment, which in its arrangement and decorations displayed much skill and taste. After dinner, a number of excellent and appropriate toasts were drank." This article was also reprinted in the *Boston Commercial Gazette* on November 10th, 1806. Toasts 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 were published in the *Bombay Courier* of May 16th, 1807. "The Toasts given at a late meeting of a New England Marine Society, while they threw the rose of a grass body of their people, are fostidiously [sic] technical, that the reader will probably be ammused [sic] in glancing at the specimens which we select from an account of the proceedings of the Meeting." It was noted that after the toast to "The Enemies of Our Country," a salute of 16 guns was fired from a full rigged ship in the Museum. This was most likely done using the model of the *Friendship*, made in 1803 and donated by William Story. It contains fully operational miniature cannons that were crafted by Sumatran artisans.

Members was attired in a superb Mandarin dress, presented to the Society by Capt. William Ward, which attracted considerable attention."[70] In 1802, Bentley sneered "[t]he dressing of one of their company in a Mandarin's dress was no compliment paid to themselves on the occasion. Might they not rather have given the dress to one of their Servants or have exhibited a figure to the wondering multitude."[71] Bentley's criticism might reflect his personal issues with the Society already discussed, but perhaps they stem from a negative view of Canton merchants who sequestered Western merchants to a complex on the Peal River known as the Foreign Factories.[72]

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[70] *Salem Gazette*, January 9th, 1801.

[71] Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. II, 361. A week and a half later, the *Providence Gazette* published an article on January 17th concerning the East India Marine Society that offered more praise on the Society than Bentley's remarks imply: "Salem, January 12. East-India Marine Society. This Society was formed in November 1799, and at present consists of 53 members, (50 of them having commanded ships from this town in the East-India trade.) Although the institution is only in its infancy, yet there is already a very handsome collection of natural curiosities and foreign coins. The funds of the Society are increasing, and it is expected will in time form a considerable capital stock, and which is directed by their constitution to be employed in useful purposes. The grand object of the institution is to promote a more perfect knowledge of the East India commerce—to record useful observations, and correct the charts of the East-India seas, where they stand in need of correction. The association is formed upon liberal and philanthropic principles, and is intended to commemorate a happy recollection of past scenes, and promote a friendly intercourse among the members." The 1801 dinner was also covered by the *Salem Gazette* on January 9th, where it was noted that "The *Salem East-India Marine Society* held their annual meeting on Wednesday. They walked in procession from their Museum to the Sun, where they dined in elegant style. One of the Members was attired in a superb Mandarin dress, presented to the Society by Capt. William Ward, which attracted considerable attention. After dinner a number of appropriate and patriotic toasts were drank."

[72] Finamore states, in relation to American trade in China, that "sailors experienced prejudicial treatment at Canton, marginalized in a compound on the outskirts of the city. When they were granted permission to trade, it was with members of the co-Hong who were the Emperor's appointees and some of the richest men in the world. Although museum visitors saw Chinese trade goods as a product of American ingenuity, they were, in fact, purchased at great cost—in the 1824-1825 season, America's trade at Canton consisted of only 3% furs, 3% opium, and 73% silver specie." Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 44. Johnston, however, believes that the prejudice was coming from the sailors' side. "But what did the mariners think about their Asian trading partners? Their journals and logs and their letters home leave no doubt that they believed in their own cultural superiority. They saw themselves as recently released from the bondage of British colonialism that had controlled their mercantile exchanges, and, as we have seen, they believed mightily in the right to free trade. They were continually frustrated by the elaborate Chinese trading system, which confined outsiders to a small area of Canton and insisted that all commerce filter through designated trading posts called hongs. Language barriers were great, as was suspicion on both sides. In general, the American seamen saw the Chinese as dishonest, superstitious, cruel,

The *New-England Galaxy* of 1823 offers a similar critique of the annual parades.[73] While noting that the East India Marine Society was "one of the most useful and honorable associations in the country," he believes that their "dignity is by no means impaired, by the omission, at their annual festival, of the grotesque and masquerade procession, which formerly paraded through the streets of Salem, to the infinite wonder and delight of all the boys in the place."[74] Like Bentley, the *Galaxy* believes the Society member's "masquerade" in the dress of other cultures to be a disservice to their status. The paper notes that in the procession:

> the officers were usually dressed in Eastern costume, armed with battle-axes, spears, and other warlike weapons—there was also a palanquin, in which was a boy, apparelled [sic] with the most gorgeous habiliments, borne by black fellows, sweating under the unaccustomed burthen; and attended with fan and Hookah bearers, and every other accompaniment to an East Indian equipage; and, to crown the whole, one of the servants of the Society, who was ugly enough by nature, was arrayed in such a hideous style, with his wooden shoes and cap, that he wanted only the addition of a pair of horns, to have enabled him to pass for Juggernaut, or rather, Beelzebub himself. All these things however, are now done away; the procession is omitted; and the dinner is the only part of the celebration which is preserved.[75]

This characterization was far from flattering, focusing on negative connotations of the Eastern objects used in the festivities.

Another period account of the East India Marine Society parades comes from the letters of an anonymous mariner that originally appeared in the *New England Galaxy* and

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and corrupt, as well as oppressed by the authoritarian rule of the emperor. But they sailed to the other side of the world because they valued Chinese inventiveness and craftsmanship, particularly in the production of porcelain and silks—technologies that could not yet be replicated in Europe or America—and because they wanted tea." Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic," 75-76.

[73] This article is a review of Society member and United States Navy Lieutenant John White's narrative of his voyage to Cochin-China

[74] "White's Voyage to the China Sea," *From the* Galaxy—*by request*, published in the *Essex Register*, June 30th, 1823.

[75] Ibid.

Boston Courier.[76] In one letter concerning Calcutta entitled "Letter No. VIII", the mariner suggests some antipathy towards the Society on these occasions:

> For several years there was a procession and dinner, but the ridicule of the press has ended the processions, while the dinner is wisely retained. The procession was as good as Abolition itself, which it resembled, as much as Asia is like unto Africa. The officers had mandarin cloaks, and other oriental garbs, and the man that attends in the museum was robed like a Chinese, and carried a tail like a streamer, sweeping the ground. The palankeen [sic] was borne by four blacks, in trowsers [sic] and turbans. A boy sat within, dressed like a nabob, and another, like a slave, carried the hooka [sic] by his side. The hooka [sic] is an enormous pipe, with a long flexible tube, that resembles a snake. These good old times are over, the exhibition discontinued, and a Salem mariner is apt to look grave when the procession is mentioned, and to watch an opportunity to change the conversation.[77]

The mariner views white sailors wearing East Indian dress, and the hiring of African American men as Indian palanquin bearers, as a form of "Abolition."[78] To him, this racial and cultural role-play was a form of appreciation for other cultures or trading partners, and also a means of displaying the town and the country's prominence on the world stage.[79] To the unidentified local mariner mentioned at the end, however, we are left to

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[76] Silas Pinckney Holbrook, *Sketches, By a Traveler* (Boston: Carter and Hendee,1830). Holbrook notes that "[t]he articles were written merely for a newspaper, without thought of other publication—would that they were better." Holbrook also states "some amendments, however, have been made, and many, it may be, are required. But as the writer was indebted for some parts, to the journal of a friend, he cannot be responsible for any errors but his own; and therefore he cannot claim for all his sketches the authority of a guide-book." Ibid, 35-36.

[77] Ibid. Preceding this passage, the author notes "I returned to the city in a palankeen, which is a very pleasant vehicle, though at first apt to remind the stranger of his coffin. You have seen it caricatured on the stage in Boston, but the veritable Bengal palankeen you will find only in Salem...If you would see all the dresses, and many of the productions, of the East, visit at Salem the Museum of the East India Marine Society. It is a noble collection, and is one among many of the advantages of the India trade to Salem...The Marine Society is composed of weather-beaten and storm-proof captains or supercargoes, who have doubled the southern cape of Africa or America." Ibid.

[78] According to a list of expenses in the East India Marine Society treasurer's accounts, the palanquin bearers were paid $6.25 for their services. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 6.

[79] Nicole Rousmaniere expresses a similar sentiment concerning these processions: "The objects, or perhaps more appropriately 'specimens', of cultures so foreign to Salem's own were divested of their original meaning and function and reinvested with a newly-created identity that reinforced Salem's own

wonder whether he shared the author's sentiments or held an opposing view akin to William Bentley.[80]

Scholars have expanded upon nineteenth-century descriptions of the Society's annual procession, and with the benefit of historical context, view the parades as an Orientalist trope used in forming an American identity at the time. Gender scholar Christine Garlough, like the mariner, stresses the performance and entertainment aspects of these parades, which she identifies as among the earliest known American performances about India.[81] She sees them as "an intrinsic element of the customs, rituals, and practices of everyday culture…an aspect of the vernacular. Consequently, paying attention to local performances is a way to understand how people make culture, work within power dynamics, and create identity."[82] As individuals from India came to Salem during this period, Garlough notes that Salemites were "intrigued by their everyday encounters with these people from 'the East,' their traditional customs and everyday performances," which was expressed in the form of objects brought back such

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sense of being a burgeoning centre in a newly emancipated country." Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-century America," 26.

[80] In 1855, Society President Charles M. Endicott recounts these parades in a history of the East India Marine Society sent in a letter to the publishers of the *Monthly Nautical Magazine*. "In its early days the citizens of Salem were annually gratified with the novel and interesting spectacle of its procession through their streets, with its palanquin supported by bearers in East India costume, preceded by the president, dressed in the rich robes of a Chinese mandarin, and accompanied with its music and military escort. The sight was an imposing one. Salutes were fired upon our wharves in honor of the Society as it passed, and the stores on many of them were elegantly dressed in colors. But in this utilitarian age the practice has been entirely discontinued, and the spectacle has even become, with most of us, among the dull things of memory." Endicott, "East India Marine Society, Salem," 63.

[81] Garlough's analysis is part of her ethnographic study of contemporary South Asian American woman using cultural performances as a means of public discourse. Christine L. Garlough, *Desi Divas: Political Activism in South Asian American Cultural Performances* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2013), 56.

[82] Ibid.

as textiles or tales from the mariners traveling to this region.[83] This Orientalist showcase using "stereotypical folk costumes and material arts of the 'East'" were "popular entertainment for the townspeople, creating a performative context in which they publicly celebrated their economic ties to the 'Orient,' as well as engaged in a carnivalesque manner with the 'mystery of the exotic Other.'"[84]

Similarly, literature historian Anirudra Thapa categorizes these parades as an example of public American Oriental displays in the antebellum period, "avenues of performative racialism" that "reenacted the class and caste hierarchies prevalent in the Oriental world."[85] In his opinion, these processions played larger political roles. They rendered "distant cultures and locations into a pleasurable spectacle for the popular gaze…in the Western metropolises" where "the Orient elicited romantic nostalgia for the 'oriental simplicity of mind' and its 'blissful passivity' and 'barbaric gorgeousness.'"[86] In

[83] Due in part to the growing Eastern trade that resulted in Indians coming to Salem, Garlough states that, "Some were able to marry African American women and blend into this community as they made new lives for themselves. However, by far, most of the earliest South Asians in America worked as indentured servants." Ibid. Stephen Phillips, an East India Marine Society member, reportedly had an Indian sikh as a servant.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Anirudra Thapa, "The Indic Orient, Nation, and Transnationalism: Exploring the Imperial Outposts of Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literary Culture, 1840-1900." Texas Christian University, 2008. United States—Texas: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, 30. Thapa's analysis is part of her larger study on literary culture in the United States that "goes beyond the critique of Orientalism in showing how the discourse of Orientalism, in the specific context of the nineteenth-century United States, complicated internally stratified racial, gender, and ethnic differences at home. By locating the Asiatic Orient within U.S. national discourses, it also challenges the traditional interpretation of U.S. continental expansion as domestic or hemispheric formations. Moreover, it establishes the roots of a transnational imaginary within the nationalist project of nineteenth-century U.S. culture and demonstrates how the so-called transnational turn in American studies may not necessarily be a post-ethnic or post-national development." She views the East India Marine Society as an example of "[t]he presence of oriental goods and artifacts in Western metropolises" that "coincided with colonial encounters. Often collected as the evidence of conquest and exotic relics of distant cultures, such oriental objects became a part of the cultural capital. For instance, as early as in 1799, Boston's prominent businessmen established the East India Marine Society in Salem with the main objective of 'promoting a knowledge [sic] of navigation and trade to East Indies.'" Ibid, 22-23, 29.
[86] Ibid, 19.

the 1840s, the United States Congress played off these established notions when debating the annexation of Oregon and California, and some members of government "utilized oriental imageries to justify U.S. continental expansion."[87] Through the multiple lenses of the unidentified Mariner, Bentley, historical newspapers, and modern scholarship, the East India Marine Society parades are not ordinary festive pageants. Rather, they are complex cultural statements that blur the lines of American identity as seen by transnational American mariners. On one hand, they boldly proclaim that "Jack Tar" is the preeminent agent in defining what it means to be American, but on the other, the viewer is left with a distorted view of who is included and excluded from this perception of United States citizenry.

When the public spectacle ended, the internal one began. The East India Marine Society members entered their hall with invited guests, including the military outfit that accompanied the Society on their parade and a local religious official, and all present sat in fanback chairs around a great crescent-shaped table in the centre of the hall.[88] Bentley notes in 1804:

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[87] Ibid, 19. Thapa argues that the rhetoric of Thomas Hart Benton and Henry William Seward, specifically the term "Asiatic markets" and "yellow races" of Asia were used "to justify the annexation of California. I maintain that the construction of Pacific coastal states as strategic locations for U.S. global reach provided the necessary rationale for the continental expansion… as such discourses shifted their focus from an anti-colonial nationalism to benevolent imperialism." Ibid, 19-20.

[88] Robinson, *Visitor's Guide to Salem*, 88. By this point, the members of the Society would have been sitting in fanback chairs per a receipt dated December 23, 1802 for 3 ½ dozen at $20 per dozen ($70 total) from John Barry. Correspondence, ByLaws, Minutes, and other papers, 1802-1869. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 3. In regards to the invitation of clergy to the annual dinner, Whitehill recounts that "[a]t a special meeting called for 27 December 1799 to consider joining the Masonic and military societies in making 'arrangements for notising [sic] that Great and good man George Washington in a proper manner,' it was voted that 'one of the clargemen [sic] of the town be invited by the President to dine with the Society when ever they dine together (and that they are to be invited agreable [sic] to age)." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 16-17. Whitehill attributes Bentley's criticism of East India Marine Society members wearing Canton dress in 1801 to the fact that his turn to dine with the

> Several gentlemen were invited to dine. The toasts were of the moment, & without any offence. The dinner was rich & elegant. The company very seasonably retired & all was quiet before four o'clock. The Instrumental Music was provided in Town, for the first time & consisted of the Bass Drum, Bassoon, Clarinet & flute, & was very acceptable.[89]

A sumptuous display of food was consumed. Benjamin Webb, the owner of the tavern where the Society first met, catered the first few dinners, and John Remond (1786-1874) organized later meals.[90] Remond, a native of Curaçao and the patriarch of one of the most influential African American families in the antebellum period, catered many important events in Salem such as the dinner on the occasion of the Marquis de Lafayette's second visit to Salem on August 31, 1824.[91] His work for the East India Marine Society adds another layer of complexity to the organization and the country. While people of color were not allowed access to many public spaces, such as the Society's museum from 1833 to 1865, they could prepare the food that white people ate.[92] On the other hand, African American caterers like Remond created a monopoly over an industry that few whites would enter, one W.E.B. Du Bois noted "as remarkable a trade guild as ever ruled in a medieval city. [The caterers] took complete leadership of the bewildered group of

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Society "agreable [sic] to age" did not come until 1804, noting an air of "asperity in his description of the second annual dinner of the society." Ibid, 17. Bentley was not invited back to dine with the Society until November 4th, 1818, a dinner that also included Timothy Bigelow, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Henry Clay was invited to this dinner, and while he could not attend, he did visit the museum as noted in the *Salem Register*, reprinted in the *Baltimore Patriot* of November 11th, 1818.

[89] Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 68.

[90] Wheatland notes that these dinners cost $3.00 per member, "collected from those who attended." Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 190.

[91] For more on Remond's life, see George Schwartz, "'The Chief Spirit…Our Venerable Fellow Citizen'," 118-129. Remond also catered the dinner marking the 200th Anniversary of the First Settlement of Salem; and a public dinner on Thursday September 3rd, 1829 in honor of Judge Joseph Story.

[92] This was true for other professions, such as a barber.

Negroes, and led them steadily on to a degree of affluence, culture and respect such as has probably never been surpassed in the history of the Negro in America."[93]

While celebratory gatherings, one of the first dinners was marred by partisan politics. During the January 1802 dinner, Bentley notes:

> A late ebullition of party spirit appeared last week at the annual feast of the East India Marine Society. A Committee for the Toasts were chosen, and the Toasts selected. The Master, knowing that the Ex-Secretary [Timothy] Pickering and the Ex-Senator [Benjamin] Goodhue were at Table, consented that the Secretary N. Bowditch should read them at his pleasure. He omitted a part of some and the whole of others.[94]

After this incident "The Offended…required a publication of the Toasts for the public judgment" and threatened to conduct "a meeting on the subject," leading Bentley to declare, "[t]he Society will undoubtedly be injured."[95] Unlike later dinners, these toasts were not published, and perhaps this episode was impetus for their subsequent publication in local newspapers.

Salem was predominantly a Federalist town in the early days of the New Republic, but William Bentley and one of the important mercantile families at the time, the Crowninshields, were among the few local staunch Republicans.[96] At this time, the *Salem Gazette* supported Federalist viewpoints while the *Salem Register* sided with

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[93] Sharron Wilkins Conrad, "Nineteenth-century Philadelphia caterer Thomas J Dorsey," *American Visions* Vol. 15, No. 4 (2000): 36.
[94] Bentley, The Diary of William Bentley, Vol. II, 408.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Lindgren states: "In this scramble for fame, fortune, and power it is not surprising that masters were bitterly divided on political matters. 'Republicans and Federalists' in the early nineteenth century, one Salemite recounted, 'could not take the same newspaper, could not dance in the same ballroom, and it would seem, from a glance at localities, could hardly live in the same part of town.'" Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 193.

Republican policies.[97] Still, Bentley's editorial contributions to these Salem newspapers are among the few that remain pro-Republican during the unpopular 1809 Jeffersonian embargo and the War of 1812.[98] As one of the lone voices for his party, the sting of the events at the Society's 1802 dinner stayed with him for a time. Bentley notes on February 25, 1802:

> I am indebted to Capt. B. Hodges & Capt R. Stone for an ample vindication of me in the affair of the debt of honour against Col. Derby & Major Pickman. Derby has become the Bully of the Town, always fighting & always beat. He has lately fought with his Brother in law West, on the Wharf. He quarrelled [sic] bitterly on the subject of the toasts of the E.I. Marine Society & then was forced to confess he did not understand the subject. He has now been publickly [sic] silenced for his impertinence in the affairs of the Gazette & the Register. He cannot write a line in any language, so that nothing is expected from him but the blows.[99]

This criticism did not fall on deaf ears, and 1802 would mark the last time politics would effect the annual East India Marine Society dinner.

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[97] The major Salem newspapers during the antebellum period, which changed names, editors, and owners several times, were the *Salem Gazette*, which Joseph B. Felt notes was "first issued by Mr. Cushing, January 5, 1790…In 1796, June 3, the *Gazette* began to be issued. The days for its publication were Tuesdays and Fridays. This is the first instance of any such print's being published in Salem twice a week…Before the union of political parties under the classes of Whig and Democrat, the *Gazette* supported the cause of the Federalists"; the *Salem Register*, formerly the *Impartial Register* (1800-1802) *Salem Impartial Register* (1802-1807) and the *Essex Register* (1807-1841), which Felt recalls, "[p]rior to the amalgamation of distinct parties in politics, under the names of Whig and Democrat, the Register sustained those who called themselves Republicans"; the *Salem Observer*, first started in 1823 and according to Felt, had "taken no particular part in politics"; the *Salem Mercury*, later the *Essex County Mercury*, a weekly half sheet started in 1831 and printed on Wednesdays at the *Gazette* office; and the *Commercial Advertiser*, first started in 1832 and renamed the *Salem Advertiser and Argus* in 1841, shortened to simply the *Salem Advertiser* in 1844 which "supported the Democratic side of politics" according to Felt. Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, Vol. II, Second Edition (Salem, MA: W. & S. B. Ives, 1849), 18-22.

[98] Even though there were some Republicans in Salem, Whitehill comments that "there was never an immoderate enthusiasm for President Jefferson in Salem, even before his Embargo had interrupted the course of foreign trade. In fact even today—in 1949 when he has been buried at Monticello for nearly a century and a quarter—it is possible to hear the name of Thomas Jefferson denounced in Salem with the vigor of an Irishman evoking 'the curse of Cromwell' or a member of the Liberty League describing the late Franklin D. Roosevelt." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 17.

[99] Bentley, The Diary of William Bentley, Vol. II, 416.

The March 3rd, 1802, meeting appointed a committee "to examine and report any additional bye law that may be necessary" and submitted alterations to the Society's by-laws.[100] They recommended a new article, Article XXI when published in the 1808 by-laws, stating "Politics shall not on any occasion be introduced into the Society." In addition, to prevent further public embarrassment from leaked internal dealings, they added the following to Article IV concerning the responsibilities of the President—"No publications shall be made of any of its doings, without the express consent of the President and being duly signed by him."[101] Both measures were approved. Unlike the town and the country at large, the Society agreed to keep politics away from their quarters, and further solidified an American identity in their minds when they declared in an 1810 toast, "Party Spirit—it has no place within these walls. May it be forever banished from our Shores, & the public homage be paid alone to the wise of the virtuous." It would not be the last time partisanship entered the Hall, however. Whig-leaning Caroline King and a friend cut out the names of President Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren from the Society' museum guestbook after their visit to Salem in 1833.[102]

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[100] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[101] Ibid. Whitehill notes that "[o]f the twenty-one members present at the 5 May meeting, twenty voted for the amendments and one [obviously a Republican] voted against them. Votes from members absent in May were taken in July and September, and finally on 3 November 1802 it was announced that these salutary amendments to the by-laws had been adopted. Thereafter the society kept out of politics, at least as far as toasts were concerned." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 18.

[102] Whitehill notes: "The culprits were not identified until 1937 when the memoirs of Caroline Howard King (1822-1907) were posthumously published, and the admission made that she, aged 11, and her friend Lucy Saltonstall, had as 'small Charlotte Cordays in spirit,' armed with scissors, surreptitiously cut the signatures of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren from the Museum Visitor's Book and burned them!" Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 137 footnote 8. It appears that the true culprits were known by Society members beforehand, though. A *Boston Daily Globe* article

With politics removed from Society meetings and dinners, toasts continued unencumbered from partisan beliefs. To accompany them, a variety of beverages, mostly alcoholic, were available for consumption. Numerous bills and receipts in the East India Marine Society archives illustrate the large sums of money spent for such provisions. At least 100 cigars and various types of liquor, punch, and lemonade was bought for each meeting, with two gallons of punch bought for the late 1810s meetings.[103] On January 6th, 1808, $2.17 was expended for a gallon of brandy and candles, and $4.00 for lemonade.[104] Whitehill notes that "the bills for the November 1808 annual meeting amounted to $17.00 to 'wine, punch, ginn [sic], rhum [sic] and brandy before dinner and Segars [sic]' and $250.00 for one hundred dinners at $2.50 each, but five days before $53.50 had been paid

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from December 16th, 1899 notes, "Former Mayor Robert Rantoul called the attention of those present to many of the relics and especially to the register, where appeared the names of many prominent visitors. The old story of the cutting out of the register of the name of Andrew Jackson was recounted, and Mr. Rantoul declared that the work was not done by an autograph fiend or by any of Pres. Jackson's enemies, but by two schoolgirls." King's full account can be found in King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 31-36. She proclaims that "[i]n old times political feuds ran high, and were conducted with great virulence and bitterness," and notes with distaste: "to think that this dreadful President should be allowed to admire our wonderful carving of Heaven and Hell, should dare to laugh at our two hundred and fifty tiny silver spoons enclosed in a cherry stone, should perhaps shudder at our terrible Laocoon, or be thrilled by the pathetic old helmet picked up on the field of Waterloo with its bullethole and ominous dark stain…We felt that our beloved Museum would be desecrated by his presence and hoped that the group of stately orientals opposite the door, would rise up in a body and forbid his entrance." Ibid.

[103] Whitehill states that the opening of East India Marine Hall "seemed to have a chastening influence upon sociability, for at the first meeting held in it, it was 'Voted—That the Society discontinue the smoking of Segars [sic] in this Hall.'"[103] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 29. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[104] Noted in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 29. On January 2nd, 1828, the present members voted "unanimously that the Society dispense with the use of Lemonade, at all their future meetings," but a move "to dispense with the use of wines and all spirituous liquours" was rejected. As Whitehill recalls, "[l]emonade always had been expensive, but it is clear that once one starts on the path to prohibition, however harmless the first steps may seem, there is bound to be trouble." Ibid. Further efforts to curb alcohol consumption came seven years later. During the January 7th, 1835 meeting, it was voted "that all wines, liquors, etc usually provided for the use of the Society at their meetings be from this time discontinued." Whitehill humorously adds "[t]his was clearly going too far, and on 4 March 1835 it was 'Voted—that six bottles Champaigne [sic] Wine be provided for the use of members at the meetings hereafter,' and on 6 May of the same year the prohibitionary vote of January was rescinded 'and placed on the same footing as before.'" Ibid.

for six dozen of Madeira, two gallons of brandy and half a gallon of gin."[105] These ingredients suggest that the Society was crafting a beverage known as Peabody punch, attributed to Joseph Peabody who purportedly created the recipe for this highly alcoholic drink on his last voyage in 1791 to the West Indies.[106] This beverage was a global concoction as many ingredients—Jamaica rum, cognac, madeira, limes, guava jelly, and green tea—were from international ports of trade.[107] Held within and ladled from the two creamware punch bowls, this worldly concoction took on added meaning as the elixir produced by mercantilism and enterprise, and the cocktail of American identity.

Close inspection of the toasts delivered at East India Marine Society meetings in the first two decades of the nineteenth century reveal a great deal about the Society and

[105] Ibid, 19. In an 1899 report concerning the history of the Society in lieu of a centennial dinner, it states: "It is very probable that some of the famous East India Madeira wine was furnished at these banquets—for it was customary at that day for their ships bound to India to call at the island of Madeira and take on board a number of casks of it, and carry them the voyage around to Salem, to ripen and improve. For a long series of years after this importation was discontinued, small lots of this wine [?] were periodically put up at auction, in dusty and cobweb covered bottles, by a famous old caterer." East India Marine Society, *History of the Salem East India Marine Society*, 20-21. This "old caterer" is most likely John Remond, who collected fine wines and spirits that he auctioned off later in his life.

[106] Augustus P. Loring Jr., "Mr. Joseph Peabody of Salem, Massachusetts and His Punch," *The American Neptune* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1942): 42. Loring was a Trustee of the Peabody Museum of Salem and a descendent of Joseph Peabody.

[107] East India Marine Society Member George Cleveland notes in his diary, when discussing his mother's ancestry and the Tavern her grandfather John Pratt owned on Essex Street named "The Tavern": "There was an excise at that time, on Wines & Spirit, and it was the custom to make up semi-annual returns, showing the quantity sold. From these accounts, it appears, that the quantity of ardent spirits sold at the Tavern did not average less than 1500 gallons, and of Wines 500 gallons per Annum. And this, too, more than 80 years ago. This appears to be a very large quantity, but as I have no means of comparing it, with the sales of Taverns here at the present day, of course I cannot tell what progress we are making in our temperance reform, but should suppose that we stood on better ground than our predecessors. It was the custom of these days and has been practiced since I can remember, for people of good character to have their punch daily in the forenoon, either at their own houses, or by calling in at the Tavern for it. This custom appears to be almost entirely abolished; and at the present day, in this part of the country at least it would not add to the reputation of any man, to be swallowing potations of punch before noon, either at home or abroad." Diary of George Cleveland, 1838. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# DIA 44.

the country at the time (Appendix A).[108] Beyond the expected annual toasts to the Society for its accomplishments, a handful of themes are repeated. Toasts were given in honor of mariners, the maritime experience, American patriotism and commerce linked to mercantilism, and other subjects. To accentuate these verbal sentiments, music was played just after a toast. As Whitehill notes, "[a] toast to 'the memory of Washington' would be given, and the band would play the Dead March from Saul; Christopher Columbus would be honored to the strains of the Hessian Grenadier March; and the Navy would be commemorated by the playing of Hull's Victory."[109] Also, to further bind the sea to American identity, maritime metaphors are sprinkled onto some toasts or overtly used.

Many of these toasts given during the annual dinners of 1804, 1806-1811, and 1815-1816, addressed the connections between maritime trade and American identity.[110] Commerce plays a large part in many toasts delivered over these years, used by the

[108] Johnston interprets these toasts akin to those of other contemporary organizations. "Toasts at fraternal organizations during the Early Republic signaled far more than momentary sentiment in the midst of a social event. They were prepared and written out in advance by committee and often sent to the local newspaper to publish. They presented the elite perspective on important social, political, and intellectual currents of the day." Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic," 75.

[109] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 26.

[110] Bentley, too, transcribed these toasts in his diary, and notes: "This day the East India Marine Society paraded & had their public dinner. The Palanquin, Holker & Dresses were exhibited in the procession, which attracted great notice. A Band of Music & the Cadet Company added to the entertainment & ceremony of the day. An elegant dinner was provided in the splendid room in which they display a large collection of natural & artificial curiosities with most happy effect." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 121. The *Salem Gazette* of November 6th, 1804, also published a description of the procession and dinner that day. "On Wednesday last the *Salem East India Marine Society* celebrated their fourth anniversary. The meeting of this respectable body composed of men who have personally traversed the seas beyond Cape Horn or Good Hope, exhibits a spirit of commercial enterprise which we believe no other town in the United States can boast of. According to practice they displayed in procession the dresses and instruments which have been brought from the distant regions they have visited, and which in some measure inform us of the customs, manners and arts of their inhabitants. In the hall appropriated to their elegant museum, they partook of a social feast, and chose their officers for the ensuing year. We would here remark, that the object of this society is not a mere ostentatious parade, but the promotion of nautical and commercial knowledge, which the journals and observations deposited in the library by the member on their return from distant voyages fully testify."

members as synonym for mercantilism. In 1804 "Commerce with all the nations. But the love of our country our best happiness" was proclaimed at a time when the United States profited in the East Indies trade while Britain and France where at war, while "Commerce without violence & no war upon the sea" notes the risks American ships faced of capture by either warring nation. In 1807, it is linked to agrarianism and a strong nation in "*Commerce and Agriculture*—Their mutual dependence confirms our country's independence," and similarly in 1809, "Agriculture, Commerce & Manufactures grand Pillars of national existence [sic]."

Beyond maritime industry, Society members expressed ebullient national pride through toasts to the country, its founding principles, military heroes, and iconic symbols of the United States. In 1810, the group gathered declared "Our Country—may it ever be the seat of Liberty, secured by good & wholesome Laws, uprightly & ably administered." With an engraving of the "Apotheosis of Washington" hanging from the walls, President George Washington was acknowledged in 1808 with "The Memory of Washington; may his Virtues and Patriotism be followed as well as admired by every American," and two years later, "The Memory of Washington—may his undeviating patriotism & integrity be ever imitated by the Rulers, & revered by the People of our nation."[111] Beyond American patriots were the pillars of the nation. In 1807, the Society toasts "*Our Constitution*—May she never be '*hove down*' while she is able to swim." A year later, this written "rock" for the nation is likened to a ship's anchor, "The Constitution of the United States

[111] This engraving, number 358 in the 1821 and 1831 printed catalogues, was done by John James Barralet (1747-1815) in 1802. Among other objects related to Washington in the museum's collection was a small bust donated in 1820 (number 255), and Chief Justice John Marshall's (1755-1835) five volume biography *Life of Washington*, published in 1804 (number 1540).

of America, may we ever prize it as our principal safeguard from confusion and anarchy, and hold to it as to the sheet Anchor of our political salvation." In 1811, constitutional principles are lauded with "Am. Rights as Freemen—May we be proud in possessing [sic], active in exerting, & zealous in defending them." Also, in an undated toast possibly delivered in 1817 or 1818, the Society exclaims "The American Flag—May the world know that it is not good to insult it." The dearth of toasts to local issues or organizations helps to emphasize the power of these patriotic sentiments.

To acknowledge the accomplishments of their maritime brethren, the Society delivered toasts to past explorers that paved the way for their current success. The first recorded toast was delivered to Vasco da Gama (c.1460-1524) in 1804, for opening Western trade with the East Indies as the first European to reach India via the sea. While no portrait of this Portuguese explorer hung in the Society's museum, his accomplishment was viewed as worthy of praise at six subsequent dinners, and he was acknowledged as a model for all sailors to follow. "Vasco da Gama, What genius performs may genius immortalize" was proclaimed, and followed by the maxim that all Society members should keep to heart as a principle of their organization—"May each mariner record, so that Enterprise may discover." Other explorers honored at meetings were James Cook and Jean François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse (1741-1788?), who both died during voyages of exploration. In 1807, the Society toasted "*Cook and La Perouse*—Martyrs in the cause of science—may a similar *fate* never attend those who shall dare to emulate their *fame*." Christopher Columbus was also honored in 1809 with

"May the enterprize which directed his steps never be extinguished in the Country he discovered," echoed in similar toasts delivered in 1811 and 1815.

Unlike da Gama, however, Cook, La Pérouse, and Columbus were immortalized through objects in the museum. The East India Marine Society owned copies of both Cook's and La Pérouse's voyages for inspection, the first volumes acquired by the Society. In 1803, Cornè was commissioned to paint a portrait of Cook to hang in the museum (fig. 23). He based this work, which still hangs in the Hall to this day, on the frontispiece print to William Anderson's 1781 volume *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World Undertaken and Performed by Royal Authority* donated by Jacob Crowninshield in 1801 (fig. 24).[112] Corné also painted a version of William Hogarth's etching *Columbus Breaking the Egg* for the Society, which depicts a purported episode where Columbus challenges his critics at a dinner party (fig. 25).[113]

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[112] This portrait, number 388 in the 1821 and 1831 printed catalogue, was donated by Society member Thomas Wren Ward (1786-1858) in 1803. Signed "M. Cornè pinxit Salem, 1803," a bill in the Society archives notes that Cornè charged thirteen dollars for the painting, which also included a five dollar charge for the frame and two dollars for two brushes. According to 2004 and 2005 correspondence from Richard Kelton in the PEM Maritime Department files, Cliff Thornton, President of the Cook Society, believes that Cornè based his painting on an engraving by a Mr. Thornton after Basire's engraving from 1777, which was the frontispiece to the Alexander Hogg's octavo unofficial publication of Cook's Voyages from the 1780s. The caption on the Thornton engraving notes it is from the original picture in the possession of G.W. Anderson Esq., which is either William Hodges painting or Basire's engraving. George William Anderson coordinated the accounts of Cook's three voyages that were published by Hogg. The East India Marine Society owned Anderson's volume on Cook's voyages, No. 1535 donated in 1800 by Jacob Crowninshield, so it is likely that Cornè used the Society's volume when painting this portrait.

[113] Cornè charged the Society twenty dollars for this work based on a receipt dated August 1805. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 7. After being told that anyone could have discovered the New World, Columbus asked his dinner companions if they could stand an egg up on its smaller end. Following their unsuccessful attempts, Columbus took his egg and struck it gently against the table to slightly flatten one end, and the egg stood upright. "Now, gentlemen," he is reputed to have said, "you can all do it!" William Bentley was not overly impressed with Cornè's painting. On December 1st, 1809, he writes, "Went with my young females H[annah] C[rowninshield], H. H[odges] & M[ary] W[illiams], to see Corney's Bay of Naples. Found it only a copy of the Common plates at the entrance neither showing the City nor Basin & without one stroke of originality. The Claim on the public notice was from a display of the American Ship Constitution dressed in flags of all nations with the six Gun boats lent

This painting is the most literal encapsulation of the Society's toasts.[114] As Finamore notes, it was a "potent didactic message for the members of the East India Marine Society" since "Columbus was a hero who had accomplished for the first time what others would repeat later with ease."[115] Along with two bricks from Columbus' house in Genoa donated in 1822 and 1824, only a positive view of the explorer was displayed for visitors to see. Through all of these objects, the words delivered at annual dinners echoed for years to come.

In addition to honoring exalted European mariners, the East India Marine Society saluted sailors associated with their institution. Toasts were delivered to deceased members, those who died overseas—"Our brethern [sic] who have fallen in a foreign land, May the sympathy of a brother never be waning for those whose graves are watered by the tears of a stranger" (1806)—and absent members who were plying American trade routes—"Our absent Bretheren [sic], We wish them happy returns, enrich'd themselves, & enriching their employers." (1811) Also, all American mariners were recognized in 1807 with "*Our Seamen*—May their country ever *deserve* and *find* protection in their bravery." These examples highlight the Society acknowledging not just the economic importance of their profession, but also the principles of brotherhood and support that they and all marine societies were founded on.

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by the King of Naples in the affair of Preble ag[ainst] Tripoli. Just such a parade he made of Columbus & his egg which proved, as this painting, to be only on a larger scale, the Etching of Hogarth, without the addition of a single stroke of the pencil. A copy of the last is now in the Museum of the East India Society, Salem. These things seem to speak the infancy of the Arts." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 481.

[114] The toast to Cook also had a literal connection to other objects in the collection—pieces of the rock in Hawaii where he was killed. Five examples were donated to the East India Marine Society over four decades.

[115] Daniel Finamore, "Letter to the Editor," *Natural History*, Vol. 102, Issue 3 (March 1993).

The sea itself was a literal fixture for many toasts as well. Some were overt recognitions of it as the medium for enterprise and exchange. In 1806, the ocean is acknowledged as "The nursery of valour, enterprize, honour and wealth." While many toasts expressed positive sentiments for the sea's ability to create global networks, it was also recognized for its capacity to keep people apart. As Europe continued to wage war in 1809, the members gathered exclaimed "The Atlantic Ocean may it ever separate us from the calamaties [sic] of Europe" and repeated the sentiment in subsequent years. The sea was also praised for its ability to foster knowledge. In an undated toast, it is acknowledged as "The current of information setting the right way, without the undertow of prejudice." This declaration is one of the few toasts that recognizes an unbiased way of thinking.

Society members also toasted local clergy almost every year, an acknowledgment of the role religion played in the East India Marine Society and in the lives of sailors during the early republic. Some toasts connect religion with maritime enterprise, such as in 1804 "The Clergy. May our reputation abroad, prove their duty at home," and four years later, religion is associated with learning and American ideals—"The cause of Religion & learning, may it never be forgotten that the strength of every Free Government is intimately connected with the wisdom & virtue of its Citizens." Most often, though, the clergy are acknowledged for their guidance. Using a maritime metaphor, the toast "The Reverend Clergy—the faithful pilots who conduct us through the stormy sea of life to the haven of peace and happiness" was delivered at several dinners with only minor adjustments.

While often viewed as a superstitious lot, many mariners did express religious convictions from time to time. The logs and journals kept by East India Marine Society members and Salem mariners from the late eighteenth century contain phrases hoping for God's blessing for their voyage among other things. This practice may be a holdover of Puritan convictions at this time but continues into the early nineteenth century. Society member Jonathan Porter Felt (1785-1860), master of the ship *Monk* during a voyage from Salem to Spain, Gibraltar, Malta, and Brazil from October 1810 to June 1812, made proclamations in his logbook, such as at the end of his entry on March 9 when he asks "[m]ay God in his great goodness be pleased to grant us a fair wind, that he may get along for unless it is fair I see no chance as there are so many dull sailors in the fleet."[116] John Endicott (c.1763-1834), master of the ship *Catherine* on a voyage to India from 1822-1823, wrote at the bottom of the cover sheet of instructions for East India Marine Society journals, "[m]ay God Prosper the good Ship & all onboard on her intended Voyage & return them back to Salem in safety."[117]

While these examples may be solely based on personal experiences and beliefs, they can also be viewed as part of larger local and national movements. Wyer Trumball of Salem, an educated young man whose siblings went to sea, notes in his diary from 1813:

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[116] Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 916. In his entry on April 5th, 1811, Felt proclaims, "I am twenty six years old, praised be God for his great goodness to me during the last year, as well as years before." There are other examples in this log. The *Monk* was owned by Society member William Orne.

[117] Journal of the Ship *Catherine*, John Endicott master, from Salem to St. Helena, and India, and back to Salem, 1822-1823. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VIII, Vol. 8, No. 72.

> In the spring of 1810 there was a remarkable attention to religion in Salem. Meetings were held every evening in the week. I was induced at first to attend by curiosity; but I soon began to like attending constantly. I now felt somewhat interested in religion, by seeing others bowed down under a sense of their sins. My attention was particularly excited on hearing that some of my young acquaintances were under concern…[118]

Trumball's reflections may be evidence of the Second Great Awakening in the United States and its local influence.

The toasts given during these years mark the high point of the East India Marine Society's festive events. Due to the Embargo, the annual meetings in 1809, 1810 and 1811 proceeded without parades before dinner, but during the War of 1812, both were omitted. When the war ended in 1815, they were revived for a four-year period before ceasing to be a regular part of the annual meetings.[119] The last extravagant dinner was

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[118] Diary of Wyer Trumball (1794-1817), 1813. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# DIA 247. Trumball lost two brothers and his mother in the span of one year from September 1810 to August 1811. The rest of the diary is filled with personal conversations with Christ for the abolishment of his sins. Before the passage quoted, he acknowledges: "About the middle of March 1810, I trust I was called out of Satan's kingdom into the light & liberty of the ~~sons of God~~ glorious gosple [sic]…Ever since I can remember, I have had many serious feelings. But as I grew older, my heart grew harder apace; & I often found myself quarrelling with scriptures that I did not understand. A sudden death, or some dreadful providence has caused me to tremble; but serious feelings did not last long, I wished to put them off to a more convenient season. I had a great dislike for religious conversation…I used to be surprised that Christians could spend a whole evening together in conference…" Ibid. After attending religious meetings, he states that "[r]eligious company & conversation were now my chief delight…I continued to enjoy religion for some months, till at last I grew stupid & cold. And altho' I have had frequent revivings, yet I have lived very far from God, to the injury of my soul." Ibid.

[119] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 26. Bentley describes the 1818 dinner in a diary entry made on November 5th, 1818 dinner: "Yesterday we had the annual dinner of the East India Marine Society. It began in 1799. The Circumnavigation of Africa is the condition of admittance. It keeps up a Correspondence of its members, has a valuable deposit, & elements of a Library. Hon. B. Pickman is president & Speaker Bigelow was present. The dinner was good, the music & songs good & the toasts appropriate, but we were not allowed a copy for publication. The dinner was in the Hall of the company opposite the Salem Hotel & was prepared by Mr. Stetson the Keeper. Everything was worthy of the Day." William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* Vol. IV (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1914), 558. The *Boston Intelligencer & Evening Gazette* of November 14th, 1818, citing the *Essex Register*, also notes: "On Wednesday last, was the annual dinner of the *East India Marine Society*, in their Hall opposite the Essex Coffee-House, Salem. The Society was formed in 1779, and has embraced among its members some of our most valuable citizens. It consists of *Circumnavigators* of Africa, and has a correspondence of all its members upon the subjects belonging to *Navigation* and *Commerce*. It has besides

held on October 14th, 1825, to dedicate the opening of East India Marine Hall. This banquet was recognized as an important local and national event. President John Quincy Adams, Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story (1779-1845), Boston Mayor Josiah Quincy (1772-1864), and numerous other dignitaries attended.[120] The *Essex Register* notes that "[t]he President of the United States appeared in fine health and spirits, and as it is known that his visit to our neighborhood was one of filial duty to his venerable parent, the Society and the town consider that the effort he made to visit us on this occasion, was one of marked attention, for which he has our cordial acknowledgements."[121]

A procession consisting of the East India Marine Society members, invited guests, the Boston Brigade Band and three constables, commenced at two o'clock from Hamilton Hall on Chestnut Street, and proceeded through Cambridge, Essex, Newbury, Brown and

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and invaluable deposit of every thing relating to coins, foreign customs, to natural history, and the arts of life. For this deposit it has a splendid apartment for their full display, entirely appropriated and generously filled…The Hon. Dudley L. Pickman, is President, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives T. Bigelow, gave his presence on the occasion. This is their nineteenth anniversary."

[120] This was not John Quincy Adams' first visit to the museum. Bentley notes on September 21st, 1818: "Last evening the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, was in Salem. The visit had been asked by Mr. Silsbee, our member of Congress. In the morning I had notice of his arrival & he was at my door. After a friendly visit I went with him to the Museum & Athenaeum." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. IV, 548. Adams returned to Salem in 1827. On September 26th, he "visited the Athenaeum, the Essex Historical Society & chamber, and the Marine Society's Hall—to the curiosities of which there have been few additions, since I was present at the opening of it two years ago." John Quincy Adams diary 37, 11 November 1825-24 June 1828, *John Quincy Adams Diary: An Electronic Archive* (Boston, Mass.: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2014), page 295. www.masshist.org/jqadiaries.

[121] "East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 17th, 1825. In an article entitled "Museum Helpful in Wartime" in *The Salem Evening News* of August 20th, 1969, news staff writer John Cowe remarks "[s]ome people think that as a result of seeing this museum and recognizing its value, Adams became the prime mover in establishing the Smithsonian Institution later when he was in Congress." Peabody Museum of Salem Publicity 1965-1966, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. Cowe also humorously remarks, in regards to the East India Marine Society: "It is easy in this modern day to imagine the crusty old merchants meeting in their club room-museum Hrumph, hrumphing and hrumping their way about from one deep leather chair to the next, grumbling about the weather and the decline of trade revenues. Capt. Joseph Hammond, guardian of the society, found the clubroom much too cold, even though there were fireplaces. The captain had to be kept warm, so he was housed with a little oil heater in a big glass case facing the American bison." Ibid.

St. Peter's Streets before arriving at the new hall.[122] The *Essex Register* notes that "[t]he occasion drew together a vast concourse of citizens as spectators, who lined the streets through which the procession moved."[123] All members of the Society wore silvered copper anchor badges, made especially for the occasion and used in future meetings and processions, inscribed "E.I.M.S." across the anchor stock and fouled by brass cord (fig. 26).[124] Once inside, the Society and their guests, approximately 123 people, were treated to a sumptuous dinner complete with green turtle soup. The *Salem Observer* glowingly recounts "a splendid dinner was served up by John Remond, which for variety, elegance, and *taste*, was allowed by very competent judges, to surpass everything of the kind witnessed in this country."[125]

Lengthy accounts of the opening of East India Marine Hall ran in local and national newspapers. Several stories published many of the fifty-one toasts delivered that

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[122] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 26-28.
[123] "East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 17th, 1825.
[124] A committee report delivered at the November 2nd, 1803 quarterly meeting first considered making badges for Society members, noting in their opinion "the President & Committee of Observation be requested to procure Silver Medals for the members." East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3. A receipt in the treasurer's accounts dated October 11th, 1825 records that William Ropes Jr. was paid $4 for 50 tin anchors at $.08 cents a piece. Treasurer's Accounts 1825. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 27. More anchors were produced in 1848 when the Society was invited to take part in the festivities marking the introduction of Cochituate water into Boston. A receipt dated October 24th, 1848 notes that Smith C. Chamberlain was paid eighteen dollars for making 40 silver anchors (at forty-five cents each) plus two dollars for gold lace on each. East India Marine Society, Treasurer's Accounts 1848. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 5, folder 16. At the May 1803 quarterly meeting, the Committee of Observation is "requested to consider upon a Medal or Certificate and report to the Society next meeting." No membership certificates seem to have been produced, so these badges were the only physical emblems of belonging to the Society. At the January 1st, 1896 meeting, Charles Beadle requested that a new anchor badge be made with the name of the member on the reverse. A committee was formed to research the cost, etc., but the matter was "laid on the table." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.
[125] *Salem* Observer, October 19th, 1825. A receipt in the Remond Family papers, housed in the Peabody Essex Museum's Phillips Library, lists dinner for 123 people, fourteen musicians, one turtle, etc., at $546.13. Remond Family Papers, 1823-1869. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS #271.

night "interspersed with appropriate music by the band," which mirror those delivered during earlier dinners (Appendix A).[126] In addition to the customary toasts honoring distinguished guests, past members, and Salem merchants, were additional exclamations of American patriotism.[127] "Civil and Religious Toleration—produced and supported by commercial intercourse" was declared, as well as "American principles—Like the Northern Lights, their radiance shoots across the political sky—Despotism beholds it trembling 'with a fearful looking for of a judgment to come.'"[128] After the annual toast to Vasco da Gama was one to "The Merchants of the United States—May they inherit the spirit of Cosmo de Medicis, and learning and arts bear testimony to their munificence." Also, there were two subsequent toasts regarding the Indian trade—"The trade to India—No commercial nation has been great without it, may the experience of ages induce us to cherish this rich source of national wealth," and "The Fair of America, and the wealth of India—In pursuit of each a Good Hope is half the voyage."

The day after the opening of East India Marine Hall, the *Salem Observer* published a laudatory piece on the Society resembling the praiseworthy tome penned by the anonymous author X to the *Salem Gazette* twenty years earlier. The *Observer* notes the value of belonging to the East India Marine Society—stemming from its strict nautical provisions and "from the respectable standing, which it has already attained, and

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[126] "East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 17th, 1825. The complete list of fifty-one toasts are published in Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 8-11.
[127] The *Essex Register* notes that "President Adams gracefully proposed: 'The Cape of Storms. To the Navigators and Merchants of Salem, may it prove the Cape of Good Hope.' After fifteen more toasts—Mr. Justice Story of the Supreme Court and Mayor Quincy of Boston having given two each—the President of the United States, having a long journey to Washington ahead of him, retired from the hall, and the company settled down to drink another twenty-five." "East India Marine Society," *Essex Register*, October 17th, 1825.
[128] Ibid.

the advantages, which it holds out"—in contrast to "the very general and almost indiscriminate admission of members into many of our societies for historical, literary, & philosophical purposes," which "has served to render the honor cheap and little valued; has lessened the sense of responsibility of the minds of the members to contribute to the objects of such institutions; and in the end has commonly produced a total indifference to their great purposes, and effectually defeated their usefulness."[129] Part of the Society's value, in the opinion of the paper, is linked to their museum that has "already become extensive and valuable; and perhaps are not exceeded, we believe not equaled, by any similar establishment in the country," but its national status also derives from "[t]he charitable purposes of the institution."[130] The *Observer* proclaims that:

> It is noble then for them to unite in the relief of those, who seem to have a peculiar claim on the proverbial generosity of their fellow sailors; and in the dark and stormy night of shipwreck, or when sinking under the paralyzing or wasting influences of foreign & sickly climes, it must be an ineffable consolation and balm to the aching heart of an affectionate husband and parent to know that he does not leave them friendless…We cannot regard without strong interest the effects of such an establishment as this upon the mercantile character of the town.[131]

[129] "East-India Marine Society, *Salem Observer*, October 15th, 1825.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid. The piece concludes by praising the character of the Society members. "The Salem merchants have long been distinguished for their enterprise and intelligence. May they maintain that character. This institution by creating a spirit of emulation and provoking and exciting to inquiry must do much towards it. Many of the most eminent merchants of this town have been men, who have been trained at sea, and cradled on its waves; and have risen by regular gradations from the forecastle to the quarter deck; and from thence have been transferred to their home establishments of plenty, respectability, and independence. Such a course where it succeeds, is sure to form habits of enterprise, industry, shrewdness, & intelligent inquiry; and by an intimate acquaintance with foreign countries and the regular courses of business, it gives them very singular advantages in the prosecution of an extensive trade. Whatever then contributes to improve the character of masters and supercargoes, to make them intelligent, inquisitive, and enterprising, as this Society is eminently adapted to do, deserves the praise and patronage of every friend to a liberal, enlarged and honorable commerce." Ibid.

The effusive, positive press coverage for the opening of the Hall did not sit well with all in the nation. The *Richmond Enquirer* of October 21st exclaims:

> The importance which too many of the Eastern papers attach to titles is disgusting to every republican. 'It is a custom more honored in the breath, than the observance.' A Salem paper of the 14th in giving an account of a 'sumptuous public dinner' to be given on that day in celebration of the 26th anniversary of the East India Marine Society, produces the following list of these 'Vitularies [sic] of Dignitaries of the Empire.' The sinner (says the Salem Editor) 'will be in their new and elegant Hall. The occasion will derive interest and dignity from the presence of many distinguished personages invited as guests…Truly a most *excellent* and *honorable* company! This absurd custom seems to be growing upon our public Journalists. In truth, man-worship in various modes is too much the order of the day. Titles, dinners, toastings and spoutings 'have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished.[132]

While chiding this form of hero-worshipping, the *Enquirer* does not extend its criticism to the reason for the gathering. The *Enquirer* admits that the East India Marine Society "by whom all this goodly company is brought together, deserves of itself one moment's respectful notice," as "it is composed of persons who have *actually* navigated the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, as masters or supercargoes of vessels belonging to Salem. It was founded as far back as 1799—in 1821, it consisted of 142 members, of whom 121 were residents of the town."[133]

While the East India Marine Society museum was at its apex in the 1830s and 40s, its ability to support benevolent activities was starting to wane. As opposed to other marine societies, the East India Marine Society expended funds to construct a museum and take care of a collection of objects. This included the payment of staff, conservation of the collection, publishing catalogues, and cleaning the museum. The Society appears

[132] *Richmond Enquirer*, October 21st, 1825.
[133] Ibid.

to have anticipated the future costs in operating this institution during the planning of East India Marine Hall. While no records of the of the East India Marine Hall Corporation survive, the entity formed to pay for the construction of the Society's permanent home, Thomas Sumner's original architectural drawings have survived.[134] They reveal cost-cutting modifications, such as the removal of third floor north and south pavilion windows in favor of a simpler circular window on the gable of the Essex Street side (fig. 27) and the removal of an entrance on the west side (fig. 28).[135] Smith notes these changes highlight "the growing prudence on the parts of the East India Marine Society and of the Hall Corporation during the preliminary phases of planning and construction. The Society required for itself a spacious hall on the second floor; the Corporation sought convenient rooms at ground level from which income producing rents could be derived."[136]

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[134] Monkhouse, "Thomas Waldron Sumner," 20-21. Monkhouse speculates: "As the drawing of the Essex Street elevation of East India Marine Hall has been cut down, this probably accounts for the loss of Sumner's signature in the lower right corner. Owing to this trimming of the drawing, plus disappearance of the East India Marine Hall Corporation papers, Sumner's authorship went unnoticed until the recent discovery of an article in the Salem Evening News for 14 August 1924 in which it is noted that Sumner designed both the hall and the Independent Congregational Church in Barton Square in Salem. The close similarity between Sumner's signed drawings for the church and the hall confirmed his authorship of the latter building." Ibid, 22 footnote 16.

[135] Ibid, 15. Monkhouse notes: "Though outside the context of Thomas Sumner's architectural career, it is perhaps worth mentioning here that his Essex Street elevation for East India Marine Hall did produce at least one offspring, and this was the granite-faced Mariner's Church on Fore Street in Portland, Maine. Built between 1828 and 1829 from the designs of an unknown architect, it was at the time Portland's largest building. Although its main purpose was to provide a chapel for seamen, shops on the ground floor and office space above were included to produce income that would free the building of debt within fifteen years. After serving in recent years as a warehouse, it has been restored to accommodate shops and offices, and so continues to stand in Portland as a striking parallel to East India Marine Hall." Ibid.

[136] Smith, *East India Marine Hall*, 26. Smith also notes: "Stripped of these features, with a gable roof substituted for the pavilions, the granite and brick facades of East India Marine Hall began to take on substance during the late summer of 1824. The contractor was William Roberts, whose other work around Salem was to include the Bowker Block on the opposite side of Essex Street, St. Peter's Church, the Salem Jail, the old granite Railway Station pulled down during the mid-1950s, and portions of the Custom House on Derby Street." Ibid.

Still, the level of charitable disbursements in the 1830s, compared to the prior decades, disturbed Society members. In 1831, $112.00 was distributed among fourteen beneficiaries, and two years later, $142.00 was shared among seventeen people. This was noted in their minutes as "trifling…a mere apology for Charity."[137] Capital Funds were $9,135.57 in 1834, but 74 shares were tied into the East India Marine Hall Corporation, totaling $7,012.21.[138] In addition, the Society paid an annual $200 to the Marine Hall Corporation for rent. At an 1834 meeting, a proposal was put forth to charge twenty-five cents admission to visitors, children half price, when not accompanied by a member. Like many similar measures, it did not pass as the majority of Society members deemed it antithetical to the public nature of the museum and the charitable principles of their organization.[139]

In 1835, Nathaniel Bowditch donated the copper plate of his 1806 chart of Salem harbor, along with one hundred and ten copies and the copyright, to be sold "for the benefit of the beneficiaries of the Society."[140] Still, funds continued to decline at the end

[137] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.
[138] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 191.
[139] The report delivered at this New Year's Day meeting noted: "The Museum, from a small cabinet of curiosities, has become one of the largest collections in the country, and has obtained a celebrity, that strangers from all parts of the world visit it; to gratify them it would require too great a sacrifice of time, and too heavy a tax on the members in returning to the old regulation [that visitors should be accompanied by a member]." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. Whitehill states that "[t]his resolution was adopted and the treasurer was authorized to furnish tickets of admission and to place them at John M. Ives's book store, the price of admission to be twenty-five cents, children half price. The parochial and small-minded character of this resolution proved so distasteful to the majority of the society that it was revoked, and admission remained free, although not without a certain amount of complaint in meetings from decaying members who were looking after their own future interests. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 51-52.
[140] The original copper plate used to strike these prints and the printed copies were given object number 4592. The Treasurer's records from August 1835 note that eighty-seven impressions of charts of Salem Harbor were sold for $43.51, and the records of December 31st, 1846 note that sixty-seven charts of Salem

of the 1830s. In 1837, Capital Funds only increased to $9,861.57, but that included $1,000.00 from the will of Nathaniel Bowditch, the first legacy bequest given to the East India Marine Society.[141] As the prior year's treasurer's report noted $600.00 to $700.00 owed by Society members, they were forced to enact extreme measures. The East India Marine Society President and the Committee of Observation were ordered to "collect the sums now due from such persons as in their opinion are able to pay the same." Rather than aiding in collecting negligent funds, it forced the Society to expel members under Article XVI.[142] In 1839 some members were expelled from the Society for non-payment

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Harbor were sold for $33.50. Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 192. It is interesting to note that the Society had the plate altered. The minutes for the January 7th, 1835, meeting where the letter accompanying Bowditch's donation is read, notes a vote of thanks to George Smith of Boston, "for his kindness & liberality in gratuitously engraving various additions and alterations on the Plate of Bowditch chart Salem Harbour, which has by the liberality of Dr. Bowditch, now become the property of this Society." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. At the July 6th, 1861 meeting, it is recorded that "Mr. Henry Whipple wishing to purchase or have the loan of the same, some objection being made by the members, respecting the legallity of selling of it, Voted, That it be refered to the President and Committee for consideration." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[141] Bowditch also left money for the Salem Marine Society and the Salem Athenaeum even though he was not a rich man. The other bequests given to the Society were Seven shares of East India Marine Hall Corporation [Stock] "in trust to be divided by them or a Committee of their body, sixty-five dollars in every year among the poor members of said Society until the whole is divided" by Jeremiah Briggs in 1844; $125.00 by Miss Mehitable Higginson in 1846; $1,000.00 from Dudley L. Pickman in 1847; and $10,000.00 from the will of John Robinson, who died in 1846, in 1849, "to be held in Trust by said Society and to be invested and kept at interest—the income to be appropriated and distributed annually or oftener for charitable purposes according to such regulations that said Society now or may hereafter have established for that purpose—but in case this fund should from any cause whatever be appropriated for any other use than what is herein intended, by a fair construction of this document, then it is to revert and go to my heirs at law for their use forever." Wheatland notes, "In this year the income received from 99 shares of the East India Marine Hall Corporation stock valued at $8,900.00 out of the total assets of $10,553.20 was $425.00. The rent of the Hall was $200.00 and the care of the Museum left nothing for charitable grants, so the Robinson bequest was very welcome to those interested in making distribution to the beneficiaries." Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 199-200.

[142] This article, originally numbered XVIII in the first by-laws of the Society published in 1800, states: "Every member who shall have been within this Commonwealth, and have neglected to pay his assessments for two years—or, within the United States, and have neglected the same for four years, and after an account of such assessments shall have been delivered to him, or who shall in any may disturb the harmony of the Society, shall be liable to be expelled therefrom, by the votes of three fourths of the members present. But no expulsion shall take place at the same meeting at which it is proposed, nor until

of assessments, although every consideration was given to the their ability to pay.[143] In all, between 1839 and 1867 (the first time no assessments were required), nine members were expelled for non-payment of assessments ranging from $16.00 to $60.00 each.[144]

Dwindling funds were also a direct correlation to declining membership. After the Society was formed in 1799, membership increased by 115 over the next two decades, with almost the same increase, 110 members, coming between 1820 and 1830. After that point, membership plummeted. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-five members were added, and after 1843, the apex of the total living members at one hundred and thirty-six,[145] membership sharply declined.[146] Seventeen new members were added in the 1840s, and only twelve members joined from 1850 to 1860. In the last seven years of the Society's ownership of their museum, a paltry four mariners joined.

The pomp and circumstance associated with the early days, thus, declined as a result of dwindling funds, but the East India Marine Society attempted to maintain a public presence. On April 19th, 1841, the Society was part of a local procession held in

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the member complained of shall have been notified of the same, which shall be done by delivering him a written notification signed by the Secretary, or leaving the same at his usual place of abode, at least one month previous to the vote being taken." The 1808 article, while similar to the original version, added the protocols for voting on expulsion.

[143] Although Wheatland claims this is the first instance in the Society's history, it is incorrect as William Ives was expelled in 1809.

[144] Only four members had been expelled prior to this period.

[145] At the November 1st, 1843 meeting, Richard S. Rogers put forth a resolve to amend the 3rd and 9th articles of the bye-laws relating to meetings that was unanimously passed by those thirteen members in attendance (but required further votes of members not in attendance as a majority of whole numbers was required to amend the bye-laws, thus 68 of the 136 living members): "that the annual meeting of the Society for the Choice of officers shalle [sic] be held on the first Wednesday of November, instead of the first Wednesday of January, and that there be no regular meetings of the Society from the said first Wednesday in the November until the first Wednesday in May following." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[146] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 193. In 1852, one hundred and eleven living members remained, and by 1864, membership had fallen to seventy-four living members. Ibid.

memory of the late President William Henry Harrison.[147] Plans for an 1837 dinner were shelved, but on November 3rd, 1841, the Society decided to hold an anniversary celebration.[148] On this occasion, The *Salem Gazette* noted that the Society had "revived the old custom, established at its foundation, of an anniversary dinner, and partook of a dinner got up in Mr. Dow's best style."[149] The toasts, however, were more somber and reflective than usual (see Appendix A), with five memorial reflections for past members and a final sober toast, "*Our Meeting this Evening,* As it is the first festive meeting here, to some of us, may it be the last to none of us." Only twenty-three members attended the proceedings that November night.[150]

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[147] Whitehill notes "they wore mourning badges in addition to the society's anchor emblem" on this occasion. He also states that they "did not feel disposed to journey to Boston in August 1850 for the funeral ceremonies arranged by the City Council for President Zachary Taylor." The East India Marine Society was not alone, though, as the Salem Marine Society, too, declined participation in the procession for the late President Taylor. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 29-30. The minutes for a special meeting on Saturday April 17th, 1841, notes the invitation of the Mayor of Salem for the East India Marine Society to join the funeral procession. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[148] The next attempt at a festive dinner came in 1869 to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the Society, which was almost unanimously approved. Following the research of a committee, it was found to be too expensive and the vote of approval was removed at a special meeting on October 1. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. At the April 1st, 1874 quarterly meeting, "The expediency of an annual social gathering of the society with the view to promote its interests was discussed informally for over half an hour, and was urgently advocated by Mr. H.L. Williams, but nothing for action was proposed." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Regular banquets were not held again until the reformation of the East India Marine Society as the Trustees of the East India Marine Society in 1910.

[149] "The Salem East India Marine Society," *Salem Gazette,* November 9th, 1841.

[150] The *Gazette*, too, echoes the reflective mood of this occasion. "We understand there are now living only three of the original members of the Society, who attended the first meeting for its organization and the adoption of its constitution, in October, 1799…There are many in the community who can well remember the novel and interesting spectacle of its annual processions through our streets, with its palanquin supported by bearers in East India Costume, preceded by the President, dressed in the rich robes of a Chinese Mandarin, and accompanied with its music and military escort. The sight was an imposing one. Salutes were fired on our wharves in honor of the Society, as it passed, and the stores on some of them were elegantly dressed in colours. But those days have almost become, with all of us, among the dull things of memory. At that time every person, almost without exception, who was eligible, was proud to have his name enrolled upon the catalogue of its members…We understand that, by reason of feeble health, only

The last public event the Society took part in was in Boston on October 25th, 1848—the celebration of the newly integrated Cochituate water supply into the city.[151] On this occasion, like in the days of old, the East India Marine Society was "escorted by the Salem L[ight] Infantry and Salem Band, together with the bearers of the Palanquin, in the costume of the country, also a native Arab and Chinese in their Orientall [sic] dress, bearing the Banner and Umbrella for the Palanquin," and proceeded "to the northern entrance of the Tunnell [sic] and took the cars appropriated for their reception."[152] In Boston, the Society "formed again at Lewis's Wharf in Boston and the Procession marched into State Street, proceed[ed] by the Military, and Band and also accompany'd by the two Ships, on the Car, and by the Palanquin carried by the bearers."[153] Three years later, during Salem's celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of National Independence on July 4, 1851, *The Salem Observer* notes the parade contained "a wagon carrying on a platform, the two models from the East India Museum: the 'Constitution'

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one of the three original members was able to attend the late festival. But it was a gratifying spectacle to witness that time had not in any degree diminished that interest in its concerns which was ever felt by its early founders; and we cannot but indulge the hope that the same spirit which actuated them may be transmitted to their successors to the latest time." "The Salem East India Marine Society," *Salem Gazette*, November 9th, 1841. The lone original member who was still alive to attend the meeting was Nathaniel Silsbee.

[151] The Salem Marine Society was part of this event as well.

[152] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[153] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The East India Marine Society spent Ninety-seven dollars for this expedition, and members were assessed two dollars each. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 31-32. Whitehill notes that "[t]he official report of the celebration called particular attention to 'the old Palanquin, which has not been before seen in public for about forty years... carried by six stout negro bearers, dressed in white oriental costume, with white turbans. Inside was a fair young boy reclining in oriental style.' *Celebration of the Introduction of the Water of Cochituate Lake into the City of Boston. October 25, 1848* (Boston, 1848), 14, cited in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 40. In regards to the boy reclining in the palanquin, the *Boston Daily Bee* of November 1st, 1848, citing the *Salem Gazette*, states that "[s]ome of the Boston papers insist, that 'a young lady reclined' in the palanquin of the Eat India Marine Society, in the procession on Wednesday last. The boy who filled that place, never had the reputation, in Salem, of being a 'girl boy.'"

and the 'Friendship.'[154] The ships were followed by a procession of some twenty boys in sailor costume. The East India trade of Salem was represented by the Palanquin from the Museum, in which half a dozen East Indians, in costume, were carrying a pretty little boy, also dressed in Oriental style."[155] What was missing from this procession, oddly, were Society members, who declined to take part in the parade.[156]

In September 1855, it was reported that income of the Society was not sufficient to meet current expenses, since a large part of its funds were invested in East India Marine Hall, "which was not at present occupied" by businesses on the ground floor. They voted to call a Special Meeting to discuss the situation, and stopped employing a doorkeeper.[157] At the next meeting in November, the Society voted to dispense of the

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[154] Whitehill notes "The models of the ship Friendship, given to the museum by Captain William Story in 1803, and the frigate Constitution, given by Captain Isaac Hull, U.S.N., in 1813. How the models survived this kind of junketing about remains a mystery, but they did!" Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 138-139 footnote 31, 39-40. In reference to the model of the *Constitution*, made by the crew of the ship for Hull, Whitehill notes: "They took such poor care of the model that by the spring of 1814 it was in need of repair, and among the receipted bills of the society is one of May 1814 which indicates that the *Constitution* model was repaired by British prisoners of war, at a cost of twelve dollars. The circumstances of the damage are not entirely clear, as the East India Marine Society was neither dining nor parading during the War of 1812. However, John Robinson, *The Marine Room*, page 61, states that it is said that the model was damaged at a banquet given to Commodore Bainbridge in Hamilton Hall, when a salute in his honor was fired from miniature guns. Bentley, Diary, IV, 200, and George M. Whipple, 'History of the Salem Light Infantry,' Essex Institute Historical Collections, XXVI (1889), 174-175, state that the Salem Light Infantry celebrated their eighth anniversary in September 1813 with a parade and with a dinner at Hamilton Hall, at which Commodore Bainbridge and other invited guests were present. It appears to have been a very elaborate dinner with a quantity of toasts and speeches, but there is no definite reference to the presence of the Constitution model." Ibid, 140 footnote 9. This story is also noted in an article on the model from the *Salem Observer* of October 16th, 1897, which also mentions that Bainbridge was "fresh from the capture of the 'Java.'"

[155] The *Salem Observer*, 1851.

[156] Whitehill points out that "[s]eemingly there was no ill will, for they lent their ships, their costumes and their palanquin, but it was the boys of the Bowditch School that showed them off." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 52.

[157] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 193. Whitehill notes, "A number of keys were provided for the members so that they might visit the museum with their friends even though no one was regularly in attendance there." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 52. News of this act ran in the *Salem Register* of May 7th, 1855, informing readers that, "the public will regret to learn that circumstances have compelled the East India Marine Society to dispense with the services of a door-keeper."

"Duties of Superintendent" during the winter. The Treasurer's reports for 1858 show that, "gross income for 1851-52-53 was $2,767.11 or $922.37 a year average, and gross income for 54-55-56 was $1,770.86 or $590.23 average, or $332.10 less, a falling off of over 1/3 which is accounted for by less rent from Building, less dividends, less assessments from members who are decreasing in numbers.'"[158] In order to continue operating their museum, the East India Marine Society petitioned the General Court of the State of Massachusetts for aid. The Legislative Committee on Education noted in its report on the Society's petition, dated April 4th, 1859, that the "collection is unequalled in value in this or perhaps it might be said in any country" and has been "from the first open to the public without fee or charge of any kind…visited by persons averaging 10,000 per year."[159] Still, the petition was dismissed as it "came to the Committee after all the bills granting aid from the proceeds of the sale of land in the Back Bay had been finally

[158] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 193. At this May 5th, 1858 meeting, the Treasurer N. Griffin notes the decrease in income "which accounted for by less Rents for the Building, and, dividends from some of the investments, and from assesments, from a less and still decreasing number of the members, and most of which is on the decreased pay, and if we continue to receive les each year hereafter, which must be the case, the income will not meet the expenses, and our investments must be disturbed, which is not the wish of the Members of the Society so far as it can learn. All the remedy that we have for the increase of income is an admission fee to the Museum of the Society." William D. Waters presented a motion on charging an admission fee, which was laid on the table for further consideration, which stated "that an admission fee to the Museum of this Society of ten cents, be collected from each and all Visitors, admissable according to the rules, over five years of age, except those personally introduced by members of the Society, And the Collector, make returns and, pay over to the Treasurer the amount received monthly." At the next meeting on May 18th, 1858, the minutes record a "fully attended" meeting and "several spirited debates" concerning charging admission. Eventually, John B. Silsbee made a motion to table the question for one year. A year later, the Society voted to indefinitely postpone the discussion. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[159] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 193. Full version at the end of the Records/Minutes 1853-1896 along with original letter request. The notion of appealing to the state for funds did not end with the East India Marine Society. The Peabody Academy of Science considered this on several occasions during periods of expansion. Based on directors and trustees reports, e.g. in 1896, reference was made to other major metropolitan centers and the support from government to institutions such as the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Museum of Natural History and Metropolitan Museum of Art in NYC, and the Industrial Art Museum and the Textile Museum in Philadelphia. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

reported.'"[160] In addition, they noted "as the S. E. I. M. Soc. could not comply with the condition inexorably attached by them to all their bills granting aid to institutions, namely that of raising by subscription, an equal sum.'"'[161]

Without outside funding, the Society voted in 1865, to "stop the insurance on curiosities of the Cabinet when present policy expires."[162] In addition, at the November 1865 meeting, the idea of charging admission was brought up again, and extended to look into the "sale of curiosities" in order to "invest proceeds, divide interest among indigent members and families."[163] While the idea of charging admission was again voted down, the Society would explore alternative methods to raise funds, as they declared "the Society is dying out and many members need assistance, more than can be obtained from present funds."[164] The motion to look into the sale of the collection was tabled, and as an alternative, the Society voted on February 21, 1866 to bestow honorary membership to anyone donating $100.00 or more.[165] Only one person, John Robinson, took advantage of this option, becoming a member in 1869.

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 194.
[163] The full text of the report of the committee, portions of which were published in the *Salem Register* of December 4th. The Treasurer also reported on November 7th "that a large amount of the funds of the Society had already been expended to admit persons to the Museum free of expense, and as the great object of the Institution was to assist the widows and children of deceased members and their families, he would respectfully submit that a fee of 10 cents be paid by all visitors regardless of age at the opening of the Hall next season." Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] This was actually proposed at the May 2nd, 1866 meeting as an addition to Article I in the Bye-Laws, approved at the July 11th meeting, but had provisions. "Honorary Members shall be intitled [sic] to the same priviledges [sic] of the Museum as are possesed [sic] by the regular members, but shall not be intitled [sic] to be present or vote at the meetings of the Society or to be recepitants [sic] of Charities. Honorary members shall be elected in the same manner and under the same conditions as is prescribed for the election of members in the article following this." Also at this meeting, it was voted "[t]hat permits for admission to the museum shall be dated and signed by the member giving them, shall show the number of persons to be admitted by it, written on it, and shall be good for only three days from its date."

With no other recourse, the Society agreed to the proposal of George Peabody and members of the Essex Institute to purchase East India Marine Hall and its collections. As John Robinson notes in 1885, "the thoughtful originators and promoters of the institution which, after flourishing for three-quarters of a century, transfers to younger hands the care and continuance of its scientific collections, reserving for itself its noble charities, which will continue as long as the institution shall exist."[166] By choosing benevolence over collecting, the Society staid true to its founding principle "For the laudable purpose of affording relief to disabled seamen, and to the indigent Widows, and families of deceased members and others," one that was quintessentially American.

Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. The subject of honorary membership was first discussed at the January 1824 meeting, and a committee comprised of Dudley L. Pickman, George Cleveland, and William H. Neal reported at the following meeting in March that: "The subject of honorary members is one of much difficulty & delicacy, & one on which much diversity of opinion exists in the Society. Whether admission should be exclusively of persons not inhabitants of this town or whether all should be equally eligible—whether this mark of attention should be shown to those only who had discovered a disposition friendly to the Society, or be extended to all scientific & nautical men distinguished on their respective pursuits—whether the number should be limited in its whole extent, or annual increase or whether the whole should be left at the distinction of the Society, as to qualifications & numbers, probably [next line illegible per a repair]…and the committee on deliberate consideration be able to propose to the Society anything on this subject which in their opinion would not be essentially informative to the Society. They therefore recommend that no [word illegible] proceedings be had concerning the same." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[166] Robinson, "East India Marine Society."

CHAPTER THREE:

"May each mariner record, for that enterprise may discover": The East India Marine Society's Scientific Exploits

The course of American science would have taken a much different route if not for the work of Nathaniel Bowditch. More than any other figure in the New Republic, Bowditch helped put the United States, and the East India Marine Society, on the map for his work in maritime navigation and mathematics. At this time, American scientists were usually doctors, lawyers, or clergymen by trade, and not the professionals that would characterize this field in the following decades.[1] As historian of science A. Hunter Dupree notes:

> While this diffusion and amateurishness severely limited the amount of work any individual might do, it also meant that men of affairs, often in their own persons, brought science into high councils. Thus a leading scientist could be president of a country that would be hard put to find a professional to hire as a chemist or a metallurgist…Physics and astronomy had become sufficiently advanced to convince ship captains and army officers that science could do something for them. Natural history had a close if not always fruitful alliance with medicine.[2]

The early Republic was marked by a continuity of European understanding in the natural sciences, and according to Dupree "ideas stemming from science, in particular the laws of Isaac Newton, were tremendously influential in shaping the mental outlook of

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[1] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 8. According to John Cloud, in his revisitation review of this volume, "Half a century later the book remains a landmark…Why read *Science in the Federal Government* now? I can think of two reasons. First, it has never been surpassed as a one-volume summary of the early history of all the major American government scientific bureaus and their contentious relations to other scientific enterprises, presidents, and the Congress. Second, Dupree is one of the best writers in the history of the field, magisterial yet democratic." John Cloud, "Discerning the Relation between American Science and American Democracy: A. Hunter Dupree's *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities*, Book review, *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Jul., 2007), 589-591.

[2] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 7-8. Dupree notes that "[m]edicine provided perhaps the nearest approach to a scientific profession. But the physician of that day had no scientific basis for much of his work, and the research he did was usually collecting objects of natural history." Ibid, 8.

cultivated men."[3] While there was an amateurish quality to American science, it proved beneficial for the formation of learned organizations and the spread of scientific practice among many people.[4]

Bowditch was emblematic of East India Marine Society members and many American scientists in the early days of the Republic. While he never developed his own scientific theories, he corrected and improved upon established principles and made them accessible to a wider audience. Born in Salem on March 26, 1773, the fourth child of Habakkuk and Mary (Ingersoll) Bowditch, young Nathaniel was proficient in mathematics and science beyond his years, but due to financial troubles, he left school at the age of ten and took an apprenticeship with a Salem ship chandler on Essex Street.[5]

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[3] Ibid, 6. Dupree notes that "[t]he natural law to which the colonists appealed in 1776 and the faith in reason which they trusted for deliverance from both political and clerical despotism sprang in part from science and established a climate congenial to its growth. The great experiment, the republic itself, was a product of rationalism and attuned to the supposed laws of nature." Ibid, 8.

[4] Dupree states, however, "[i]f educated Americans were still Europeans, they were also colonists, depending on the mother country for both equipment and ideas…Even the natural resources of the North American continent were studied more authoritatively by European travelers such as Andre Michaux than by residents…Science was not separate from philosophy, the arts, or literature in either organization or personnel. Within the framework of natural philosophy and natural history, the particular fields of physics and chemistry, botany, zoology, and mineralogy were clear, but nobody imagined that a man should devote his whole time to one of them. Indeed, almost none of the members were even professional scientists." Ibid. In addition, the new American republic was seen as a potential model for scientific practice and support.

[5] Reflecting on education during Bowditch's day in comparison to the 1830s, George Cleveland notes in his diary: "The course of instruction at that day, was very humble; we were taught to write a good hand…Arithmetic, and we each of us, read daily, a verse, or two, in the Bible. This was all that we were taught, as the school consisted of upwards of 100 boys & there was no usher. I believe a year or two before I left the school, spelling was introduced, as an additional exercise…When I reflect, upon the advantages enjoyed by children of the present day, in obtaining an education, compared with those, at the time of which I have been speaking, what a vast difference is presented,--and now much superior in every respect, we should naturally suppose the present generation would appear;--and yet it is not very perceptible, altho' there must be a considerable improvement. Where much is done for others, the desire to do for themselves, appears to be weakened…The little knowledge I possess myself, I have derived almost entirely from my own exertions, as my school education, from the account I have given of it, was meager in the extreme…If my Father had been in a situation to have given me an expensive education, it is very doubtful whether I should have improved the advantages it afforded,--or whether, I should not have been like a majority of the sons of our men of wealth, satisfied with having it said, I had been well educated, (that is, had the advantages of good instruction,) and had my name enrolled on the college catalogue." Diary of George Cleveland, 1838. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# DIA 44.

Living above the chandlery, he compensated for his lack of formal schooling by feeding his fascination for reading, studying and making crude navigational instruments. Edward Holyoke and William Bentley took a keen interest in Bowditch at this time, allowing him to borrow books from the Salem Philosophical Society Library.[6] Using this library, Bowditch taught himself both Latin and French by comparing bibles written in these languages with their English equivalents, and therefore was able to both read and understand important scientific works of the time. At the age of seventeen, while reading Isaac Newton's *Principia*, Nathaniel uncovered a mistake in the calculation of a comet's orbit and informed a Harvard professor of this error, who dismissed Bowditch as a novice.[7]

In 1795, Bowditch embarked on the first of five voyages to the Far East. His short career at sea would profoundly contribute to his most noted works. He used the majority of his free time onboard ship aiding his fellow sailors, teaching them celestial navigation, and most importantly reading and correcting Englishman John Hamilton Moore's 1772 book *The Practical Navigator*, the leading navigational text of the time. During his years at sea, Bowditch found over 8,000 errors in Moore's work, the basis for his *The New American Practical Navigator* published in 1802. Since he made this book accessible to the average seaman, it became an invaluable tool for generations of mariners to come. Salem mariner William Augustus Rogers (1792-1821), on a voyage to

[6] This library contained the collection of the Irish chemist Richard Kirwan, part of the cargo captured by the Salem privateer *Pilgrim* in the Irish Sea in 1791.

[7] From an early age, Bowditch valued his personal integrity and fought to uphold it when doubted by others. As a six-year-old, he was discouraged from studying mathematics in school due to his young age, but he persisted and finally received a problem intended for more experienced mathematician. When Nathaniel solved it, the schoolmaster accused him of cheating, but Nathaniel proclaimed his innocence. When the master threatened punishment, an elder brother testified to Nathaniel's mathematical capabilities.

India onboard the *Tartar* in 1817, notes in his journal, "[t]his day employed myself in acquiring a knowledge of practical navigation, which with the class and explicit direction of Mr. Bowditch is easily acquired—With this gentleman, who now boasts the highest point of elevation in the mathematical world, I am well acquainted, and although he has for many years past, and still continues to devote his whole attention to study, he yet maintains a security of temper and polite refinement of manners which win the esteem of those who converse with him."[8]

When he retired from a life at sea, Bowditch made contributions to the field of astronomy with his massive translation of Pierre Simon La Place's (1749-1827) *Mécanique Céleste*.[9] Bowditch first read this text on his fifth voyage at sea onboard the *Putnam*, and believed that translating it would provide a compendium, in the words of Bowditch in the preface to the first edition, "more accessible to persons who have been unable to prepare themselves for this study, by a previous course of reading in those modern publications, which contain the many important discoveries in analysis, made since the time of Newton."[10] At the time, Bowditch was one of only three people in the United States who could read and understand the text, which applied Newton's theory of

[8] *Tartar* (Ship) Log. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 935, 3. The *Tartar* was bound for India. Rogers was a Harvard law student who went on three trading voyages to the East Indies in the hopes of financing a law practice that he hoped to set up in Salem. He came from a merchant family filled with East India Marine Society members. His brother Richard commanded the *Tartar*, and it was owned by his older brothers of the firm N.L. Rogers & Brothers, one of Salem's most important mercantile firms in the first half of the nineteenth century in the India, Zanzibar, and Australia trades. Bean, *Yankee India*, 137.
[9] La Place's works was published in Paris between 1799 and 1805 (with a segments of a fifth volume released between 1823 and 1825).
[10] Nathaniel Bowditch, "Introduction by the Translator," in Marquis de la Place, *Mécanique Céleste*, Volume I, Translated, With a Commentary, by Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1829), v.

gravitation to astronomy.[11] The final product, with annotations one-and-a-half times longer than the original work, marked the entrance of American thinkers into celestial mechanics and the end of the Newtonian age in American science.[12] In addition, Bowditch worked for three years on a survey of the harbors of Salem, Beverly, Marblehead and Manchester, producing a reliable hydrographic chart in 1806 at a time before governmental charts were made.

Bowditch also made important strides outside of the scientific community. He was the first insurance actuary in this country, acting as president of the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company. In 1823, after resigning as East India Marine Society President, Bowditch was a "money manager" for wealthy individuals who made their fortunes at sea.[13] Bowditch redirected their wealth from maritime investment to

[11] Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making*, 112. Bowditch took notes on La Place's book while on his fifth voyage and translated the majority of the text from 1814-1817. Even though Bowditch finished translation of *Mécanique Céleste* in 1817, he did not publish the first volume until 1829 when he had accrued enough money to privately fund the publication, thus ensuring that mistakes would not be made in the final production. Although Bowditch did not add new theoretical concepts to La Place's work, he supplemented the text with analysis and correction of problems within the theories presented. For every two pages of La Place, Bowditch provides three pages of commentary, along with numerous diagrams and tables that complement La Place's theories. Furthermore, Bowditch updated *Mecanique Celeste* since its first publication, and compensated for the carelessness of La Place by finally crediting the information sources La Place used when producing his work.

[12] Bowditch's translation influenced Maria Mitchell (1818-89) of Nantucket, a well known astronomer, and Benjamin Pierce (1809-80) of Salem, Harvard's first modern mathematics scholar. Mildred Berman, "Salem's Stellar Scientist: Nathaniel Bowditch," *Sextant: The Journal of Salem State College*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (1996): X.

[13] At their July 2nd, 1823 meeting, the Society passed a vote that thanked Bowditch "for his assiduous and distinguished services which are exhibited in the highly respectable and prosperous condition of the Society and its affairs, and the Secretary in communicating this vote is directed to add that as the name of Bowditch has elevated the character of his native town and endeared him to his townspeople, their regret at his contemplated removal is proportionally great; and that whatever changes may yet await him, he has the ardent and affectionate wishes of the members of this Society, that they may tend only to increase his future usefulness and add to his individual and domestic happiness." Quoted in Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 190. Bowditch served as East India Marine Society President from 1820-1823.

manufacturing investment, creating the mills that built up Lowell, Massachusetts.[14] Many honors were bestowed on Bowditch throughout his life. Harvard presented him with an honorary degree and also made him Doctor of Laws in 1816. He turned down several offers for professorships—at Harvard, the University of Virginia, and West Point—due to his dislike of public speaking. Upon his death in 1838, Bowditch had been elected to every major American and European scientific society, including the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1799), the American Philosophical Society (1809), and the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh (1819). At the time of his death, the Salem Marine Society reflected on the life of Nathaniel Bowditch. "[A]s long as ships sail, the needle point to the north, and the stars go through their wonted courses in the heavens, the name of Dr. Bowditch will be revered as one who helped his fellow-men in a time of need, who is a guide to them over the pathless ocean, and of one who forwarded the great interests of mankind."[15]

During the January 3rd, 1827, quarterly meeting of the East India Marine Society, the members in attendance voted that "a Portrait of Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch be procured at the expense of the Society & deposited in the Society's cabinet."[16] The Society

[14] From the early days of the United States, the promotion of domestic manufacturing was a Federalist cause only supported by Republicans during the 1809 Embargo and War of 1812. Chipley, "William Bentley, Journalist of the Early Republic," 340.

[15] Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, "Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch," in *Mécanique Celeste by the Marquis De La Place*, translated, with a commentary by Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D, Volume IV (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1839), 72.

[16] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. A committee consisting of Jonathan B. Osgood, William Fettyplace & Mr. J.W. were instructed to inform Bowditch of this vote and request him to sit for his Portrait. Seven years later during the November 5th, 1834 meeting, the same committee was requested "to consult with Mr. Osgood relative to a Portrait of Dr. Bowditch for the Society." They reported to the Society at the May 6th, 1835 meeting, "That they have after a great lapse of time, succeeded in fulfilling the vote of the society—That the Portrait has been executed by Mr. Charles Osgood a native of Salem and is in

originally commissioned Gilbert Stuart (1775-1828) to paint this portrait, but due to delays and Stuart's death in 1828, local portraitist Charles Osgood (1809-1890) executed this work and it was officially presented to the Society on May 6, 1835 (fig. 29). In an attempt at formal analysis of the finished portrait, the committee appointed eight years earlier to obtain a likeness of Bowditch reported that he is:

> seated in a chair of crimson velvet at a table on which rests the right arm. The position is easy and natural and the size exactly that of life. In the foreground are two volumes of La Place's *Mécanique Céleste*, and on pedestal above is a bust of that celebrated astronomer and mathematician copied from the only one in this country. The drapery is handsome and appropriate, and the taut-ensemble [sic] reflects great credit upon the artist.[17]

After reading this report, the committee recommend that the portrait be placed "in the most conspicuous & appropriate situation in this Hall," and according to Bowditch's son Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, anyone who visited the museum from that day forth, who enters "its spacious hall…is arrested by it full length portrait of its late President…inviting the attention of the visitors."[18] Following Bowditch's death in 1838,

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this Hall. In the opinion of the Committee, it is an elegant painting & an excellent likeness of the original, who is represented seated in a chair of crimson velvet at a Table on which rests the right arm. The position is easy and natural and the size exactly that of life. In the foreground are two vol. of La Place's Mechanique Celeste and an pedistal [sic] above is a bust of that celebrated astronomer & mathemation [sic], copied from the only one in this country. The Drapry is handsome and appropriate, and the taut-ensemble reflects great credit upon the artist—The committee recommend the following. Vote, That the Officers of this Society be requested to place the Portrait of Dr Bowditch, in the most conspicuous & appropriate situation in this Hall." Ibid.

[17] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. During the November 5th, 1834 meeting, the same committee was requested "to consult with Mr. Osgood relative to a Portrait of Dr. Bowditch for the Society."

[18] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. Bowditch, "Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch," 73. In "Art. VI.—THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY," published in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, of September 1843, the author believes that the portrait was appropriately hung. "It is a fitting place for the presence of such a man, amid the trophies of the commerce to which he was a most distinguished benefactor. It may not, perhaps, be inappropriate to conclude this brief sketch of a valuable

at a special meeting on April 12th, the Society passed several resolutions noting the their debt to Bowditch for "much of the usefulness and celebrity to which it has attained; and the surviving members of the Society will ever hold in grateful remembrance, the services and liberality of one, with whom they consider it, the highest honor to have been associated."[19] By enshrining Bowditch's likeness in their museum, the first portrait of a member to be hung on the walls alongside paintings of Captain Cook and Admiral Nelson, the East India Marine Society acknowledged his place, and the Society's, in international science.

The majority of scholars writing about the East India Marine Society have naturally focused on their museum and the "artificial" objects they collected. As already noted, this founding principle was not clearly stated until the publication of their first museum catalogue in 1821. In comparison, the Society's scientific advances in navigation and collections of natural history have only received minimal attention even though discovery is explicitly and implicitly woven into the fabric of the organization. In addition, the provision for membership in this organization was bound to cutting edge

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institution by the recommendation to the establishment of similar societies in our more prominent sea-port towns." Ibid, 268.

[19] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Volume 6, No. 22, New Series (May 31, 1838): 343, notes a meeting held to establish a subscription for the erection of a monument to Bowditch at Mount Auburn Cemetery, attended by members of the East India Marine Society. "Monument To Bowditch.—The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, the Boston Marine Society, the Salem Marine Society, the Salem East India Marine Society, the Boston Athenaeum, the Salem Athenaeum, and the members of the Nautical Profession, held a meeting, by committee, at the Hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on the 23d ult., for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of the erection of a monument at Mount Auburn, to the memory of the late Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., when it was resolved that it be earnestly recommended to the members of Societies represented, and to their fellow citizens generally, to unite in erecting at Mount Auburn a monument, commemorative of his great endowment and unblemished integrity. A committee of five was appointed to receive subscriptions."

navigation; those few individuals who were sailing across many unchartered waters around the globe. As in their toasts to Vasco da Gama during several anniversary dinners, the East India Marine Society tied voyage and discovery directly to mercantilism.

Through the Society's by-laws and founding principles, as well as the established posts of the Committee of Observation and Inspector of Journals, the East India Marine Society was directly linked to scientific discovery. Members fulfilled these obligations through the donation of their journals and logs to the Society's library collection—buttressed by collecting and purchasing the most important texts and charts related to navigation and exploration—and the collection of natural curiosities. Though the majority of their members were not academically trained scientists, like Bowditch, in the early days of the New Republic their maritime prowess made up for this deficiency at a time when most scientific minds did not receive a formal education. As the century progressed, and the landscape of American and European science demanded professionalization, the East India Marine Society members were no longer on the cutting edge and their efforts were considered amateur. Still, their collections and accomplishments related to discovery were recognized as American endeavors at the highest scale.

Navigation

In the early days of the New Republic, nautical prowess was instrumental to mercantile success, and accurate aids for navigation were a necessity. Yankee sailors needed precise sea charts and reliable journals and logs to steer a true course through

newly established trading grounds. The United States was at a disadvantage in these early years in comparison to European nations, which kept their routes and sources of goods a secret or had established trading companies, such as the Dutch East India Company and British East India Company, which provided their ships with charts and sailing directions.[20] Unlike the dominant maritime powers of Europe, the fledgling United States had no governmental body devoted to amassing pertinent nautical information or charting the ocean world until 1807 when President Thomas Jefferson authorized the Coast Survey.[21] Dupree notes that the establishment of national scientific organizations or universities at the dawn of the United States were thwarted by "larger issues of more immediate concern than pure learning…centered around a concept of 'Internal improvements,"' which were viewed as public works.[22] Thus, these scientific endeavors remained in the hands of the individual states.[23] Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century captains sailing around the globe, therefore, used both English and Dutch charts and published texts such as *Dunn's Directory* and the *Oriental Navigator*."[24]

The East India Marine Society realized objects related to navigation were worth their weight in gold. Like other marine societies, they required that members

[20] Ernest Stanley Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," in *The American Neptune*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July 1965): 177.
[21] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 8-9. This was the fore-runner of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and work was not started until 1816. The lack of governmental supported scientific organizations stems from the country's former monarchical ties that influenced even the staunches supporters of science, such as Jefferson. See Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 22.
[22] Ibid, 4.
[23] Dupree notes: "The charmed word 'science' actually appeared once, in the power of Congress to 'promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries.' A stop at the first comma would have given the new government plenary power, but the qualifying phrases not only suggest merely the English practice of protecting new inventions for a limited time, but carefully avoid the word 'patent' as suggestive of the royal prerogative to create monopolies." Ibid, 5.
[24] Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 177-178.

"communicate in writing his observations of the bearings and distances of all Capes and Head Lands, of the Latitudes and Longitude of Islands, rocks and shoals, of soundings, tides and currents, of unusual occurrences, storms and accidents, with all other observations" to the Committee of Observation.[25] In order to aid their members' pursuits, however, they devoted their society to the promotion of nautical information beyond the confines of the Atlantic world. In the introduction to the "Act of Incorporation" of the East India Marine Society in 1801, the Society is official labeled as a benevolent institution and one "promoting a knowledge of navigation and trade to the East Indies."[26] Unlike other marine societies, the East India Marine Society's articles required their Committee of Observation to acquire "all approved Books of History of Voyages and Travels and of Navigation" and Article XV and XVI required all members returning from sea "to present a Journal of their Voyages to the President for the inspection of the Committee without any excuse whatever and the Committee shall direct the Secretary to make such Extracts as they shall judge useful to the Society…to be recorded at the discretion of the Committee, who shall receive the same at the first meeting."[27] In addition, members were instructed to aid in "collecting all valuable publications in every Language either as donations to the Society or to be held in their own private right, for the temporary use of the Society under such terms as may be agreed on with President & Committee."[28]

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[25] East India Marine Society, *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Salem East-India Marine Society*, 12. This is part of Article XIV, originally numbered as Article XVI in the 1800 publication of the Society's by-laws.
[26] Ibid, 3.
[27] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 8-9.
[28] This article, Article XIV, was only in the original by-laws of the Society and omitted from the 1808 by-laws. From there on, the duty fell to the officers of the Society and later on, the superintendent.

The East India Marine Society's efforts to accumulate nautical knowledge were codified early on. Only two yeas after its founding, the Society created a new system to replace Article XIV. At the November 4, 1801 meeting, it was voted "that a committee [John Osgood, Jonathan Mason and Nathaniel Bowditch] be appointed to prepare blank forms and printed directions to be furnished members going abroad, for the purpose of collecting nautical information and procuring natural curiosities."[29] The first record of these blank journals being distributed to members comes from the November 2nd, 1803 meeting, where it is noted that, "Joseph Osgood, Capt. Russell, Thomas Bancroft" all received a journal. Also, it is noted that Captain Luther Dana returned a journal. These printed directions were not only an organizational means to fulfill one of the East India Marine Society's objectives, but they also contain useful information to forming a greater understanding of the Society.

On the front page of the blank journals (Appendix B) is the following introductory text:

> At a Meeting of the East India Marine Society, at their Hall, on Wednesday evening, November 4, 1801, it was unanimously voted—That, in order to promote one great object of their institution, which was the acquiring of nautical Knowledge, a Committee should be chosen to procure *Blank Journals* for the use of the Society; and that each Member bound to sea should be furnished with one of them to be returned at the end of his voyage, with a regular diary of the winds, weather and remarkable occurrences, during his voyage, arranged in such manner as the Committee should direct.

Following this passage is a lengthy section of directions for filling out the journal—recording latitude and longitude, the methods to use for observing variation, winds,

[29] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

weather, currents, and bearings on capes and islands with estimated distances.[30] At the end of this section are instructions of a mercantile nature:

> A blank page is also assigned for an account of the coin, weights and measures of the several places touched at in the voyage; and it is hoped that care will be taken in acquiring information on these subjects. Any remarks on the commerce of the different places touched at in the voyage, with the imports, exports, and manner of transacting business, will be of public utility.

By incorporating commercial interests within the guidelines for scientific observation, the Society fused them together. While these observations were normally scattered throughout a captain's journals, the Society explicitly required members to record this information in a more organized fashion.[31]

To aid in the precise collection and organization of member's journals, the Society created a new office—Inspector of Journals. This position, unique to the East India Marine Society, was tasked with arranging the journals and depositing them in the Society's library "for the use of the members…He shall also record in Books to be kept for the purpose, such communications as the President and Committee may think useful to Navigation."[32] Nathaniel Bowditch's election to this new office in January 1804, only ten days removed form a voyage to the Far East, was an important factor for making sure Society members adhered to these articles and instructions.[33] Bowditch was meticulous in

[30] Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 179.
[31] Society President Charles M. Endicott notes in 1855: "Of the assistance rendered by this Society in the advancement of science and the improvement of navigation, we can only say, that the journals of its members on their various voyages to the East, found in its archives, furnish a fund of interesting and useful information, such as, probably, can be found nowhere else. It has in its possession several journals, from Batavia, to that hitherto sealed and unexplored country, Japan, made by Salem ships previous to the commencement of this century, illustrating the manners, customs, and modes of transacting business, with that interesting people." Endicott, "East India Marine Society, Salem," 63.
[32] These duties were codified in Article VII of the 1808 by-laws.
[33] As the first person to fill this post, Bowditch can be considered the first librarian of the PEM. See George Schwartz, "'Collecting All Valuable Publications in Every Language': The Salem East India Marine

his arrangement, analysis and binding of the journals brought back by members during his tenure as Inspector, which he held until 1820 when he became the president of the East India Marine Society.[34] Throughout the twelve large quarto volumes created during the antebellum period, containing the logs of more than a hundred voyages from Salem or Boston to the Indian Ocean, China Sea, or the Pacific, Bowditch's hand is readily apparent in the first six due to the presence of lengthy synopsises of each voyage written at the beginning of each volume.[35]

The collective volumes of logbooks pertaining to 103 voyages contain not only the course sailed and weather encountered, but also annotations by the keeper. The journals brought back by Society members, with some donated by non-members, reflect a conscious effort to promote the institution's mission. These logs are filled with nautical experimentation, discovery, as well as occasional reflections on areas of the globe visited

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Society's Library," *Conversant: The Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum*, December 2nd, 2014, http://www.pem.org/library/blog/?p=3012.

[34] These volumes contain the records of some of the most important Salem and American voyages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Whitehill recounts: "The first journal in Volume I: Ship *Franklin*, James Devereux master, from Boston to Batavia and Japan, thence back to Batavia and Boston, 1798-1800, records the course of a New England ship sailing to Japan under Dutch charter more than half a century before Commodore Perry's momentous expedition. Captain Luther Dana, master of the ship *Recovery*, describes his voyage to Mocha in 1801 and tells how to enter the Red Sea. Bowditch's own journals of his second voyage to Lisbon, Madeira, Manila and back in the ship *Astrea*, 1797-1799, and his last voyage as master of the ship *Putnam* are included. So are the journals of the numerous pepper voyages to Sumatra; of voyages to India, China, Australia, the Sandwich and Marquesas Islands, South America and Europe. Profiles of coast lines, records of soundings, notes on the manner of transacting business at several of the native ports of the East Indies are recorded for the common good." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 9-10. The 1899 report of the Society regarding its history notes in regards to all the volumes that "[t]he journals kept by some of these captains are very interesting, containing directions for navigating in those, then distant seas, descriptions of the various ports visited, with the manners and customs of trade, quotations of current prices of outward and homeward cargoes, in addition to the usual seaman's log." East India Marine Society, *History of the Salem East India Marine Society*, 22.

[35] Isaac Cushing and David Pulsefir of Salem bound the first six volumes of the East India Marine Society journals in 1820. Treasurer's Accounts 1820. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MH#88, Box 4, Folder 22.

during a voyage.[36] Many of the journals are beautiful examples of neatness and fine penmanship, and are embellished, here and there, with diagrams, maps, drawings of coasts, sketches of native craft, and depictions of natural history specimens caught and preserved by sailors (fig. 30). Some drawings literally connect the maritime experience to American identity, best exemplified by William Haswell's frontispiece to his journal kept on the bark *Lydia* from 1801 to 1802 during a voyage from Boston to Guam, the first American ship to reach this island (fig. 31).[37] In this illustration, Neptune, riding his chariot, extends his arm towards a rocky coast where the American flag stands in front of a cherub. This portly figure holds a shield with the word "Liberty" below an eagle with anchor. Above the scene are the words "Todo El Mundo Ver Estrellas Americano," or "All the World Sees American Stars." These words, combined with the figures and symbols below, are perhaps a reference to the early accomplishments of Yankee sailors in the New Republic.

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[36] As Dodge states: "Each writer has usually appended to his journal an account, telling in some detail the things he considers most important—discoveries of new shoals or rocks, corrections in latitude and longitude as they vary from published sailing directions and charts of the day, wind and current tables, water temperature tables, profiles of islands, points and other landmarks—in fine, any information which seems to him to add to knowledge of navigation or geography." Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 179. Dodge also notes that "[m]any more were distributed than were returned for, humanly enough, many competent captains were not interested in keeping these meticulous observations." Ibid.

[37] Haswell, the first officer on the ship, was not a Society member. According to former Peabody Museum of Salem director Lawrence Jenkins, in an introduction to a reprinting of the journal in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, "The barque 'Lydia', Moses Barnard, master, cleared from Boston early in March, 1801, for Manila and Canton. At Manila she was chartered to take the new governor of the Mariannas to Guam and sailed on Oct. 20, 1801, arriving there on Jan. 5, 1802, seventy-one days out, including a stop at Zamboanga of six days. She left Guam on Feb. 16, and arrived at Manila on March 5, making the return trip in eighteen days." William Haswell, "Remarks on a Voyage in 1801 to the Island of Guam," with an Introduction and Annotations by Lawrence W. Jenkins, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. LIII, No. 8 (July, 1917): 193. In reference to Haswell, Jenkins notes, "Mr. Haswell, a man of considerable ability and power of observation as shown by the following journal, came from a seafaring family. His two elder brothers, Robert and John M., were in the United States Navy, and his father, William, and uncle, Robert, had been in the English Navy, the latter having been on the ship 'Columbia' at the time of the discovery of the Columbia River. Ibid, 193-194.

Recording unusual observations was probably a welcome task for some mariners as there were long stretches of voyages filled with the tedium of light winds and doldrums. Timothy Ropes Jr., supercargo aboard the brig *Herald*, recounts such a period in his journal entry from June 22nd, 1823:

> As usual in a passage at Sea, day after day passes and furnishes that little for one to record.—No Neptune skimming the surface of the ocean, No Sea Serpent or other fabled monsters of the deep, no Mermaids nor Whales and but now and then a Porpoise or a Flying fish makes a visit.—Amid this dreary mast I may listen, but in vain for the songs of these fair Nymphs who formerly made the waters to echo with their enchanting notes—here, nought to be heard but the whistling of the wins and the musick [sic] of the rolling billows—tho not skilled in classick [sic] lore, if I recollect right, the ancient Nymphs held their concerts near the borders of the ocean should I find any of the fair sisterhood on the borders of the Pacific may I not be enchanted by their note or allured by their charms—But one "wonder of the deep" I must not forget to mention A Water Spout appeared a few days since, about 1 ½ miles to leeward, it was the first I had ever seen. It appeared similar to a cloud in the horizon, shape like an inverted one—the water was much agitated for some distance, but although I viewed it attentively for some time, my curiosity was not gratified as much as I expected—perhaps I was at too great a distance.[38]

Society members were thus instilled with a sense of duty to record for their brethren. Dudley Leavitt Pickman (1779-1846), on a voyage to Sumatra aboard the ship *Anna*, corrected the latitude of Tamong Island and the position of the flagstaff at Natal noting, "These Places are laid down very erroneously in the charts." Also on this voyage, he

[38] Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1626. On another voyage on the *Herald* a year later—a voyage from Salem to Valparaíso, Chile; Arica, Chile; Lima, Peru; Payta, Peru; and Guayaquil, Ecuador from January 1825 to May 1826 commanded by Nathaniel Brown—Ropes notes the time needed to make observations of native cultures while in Chile. "I had a strong desire to visit Santiago, the capital, but my business and the shortness of my stay here would not admit of it.—The same reasons prevented my being more acquainted with the inhabitants and seeing more of there manners & customs, for it is impossible for a foreigner to make many correct observations on the character of the inhabitants of any place, during a fortnight residence: he may indeed notice what he may chance to see in the streets, but in order to delineate their manners & customs correctly, he must visit them in their families, attend their social circles and obtain some information respecting their domestic economy. I had no opportunity of doing this and of course can say but little respecting them." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1628.

tested two of Gould's patent logs—a torpedo shaped device with rotary fins dragged from the stern and used to determine a ship's speed and distance travelled—and was obviously unimpressed with these new devices: "The result of the observations proved that no dependence could be placed in the log and they were gross impositions."[39] Some captains extended their interest in recording information for their fellow members to their own journals. In James Stuart's journal kept on the ship *Cordelia* during a voyage to Callao, Lima, and Guayaquil in 1803, he opens with a note to the Society:

> To the President, Directors and Members of the East India Marine Society, Salem, Massachusetts.
> Gentlemen,
> The present voyage, and the particular season in which I doubled Cape Horn, being rather a new thing, I have determined to take up the rout from the beginning and treat the subject comparatively, with the information I possessed on leaving Boston; feeling myself from inability, unequal to such a task and knowing how liable such descriptions are to error and deserving of censure—Yet as this may afford some information to future Navigators, I shall therefore claim the indulgence of my brethren in the perusal of it, having no other motive than information; which if in any degree I have or can be instrumental in communicating, their approbation will be the highest reward that can be bestowed.
> On their most Obed^{t} & Humble Serv^{t}
> James Stewart[40]

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[39] Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 180.

[40] Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1626. This account is bound in a volume with journals of Timothy Ropes Jr. on the brig *Herald* during voyages to South America in 1823 and 1824. It appears that Ropes has recopied Stewart's [also spelled Stuart in other sources] original journal into this volume, and included annotations. After a detailed account of rounding the Horn, Stuart provides descriptions of Callao and Lima. Lima he notes as being filthy, "instead of the streets being paved with Silver, it is dead Dogs, Jackasses, horses, &c." but contains a good quantity of fruits, vegetables, and fish. Stuart also describes the population in Lima, from commoners to clergy, particularly the women. He comments that "[t]he native inhabitants live to a great age and have generally fine florid countenances, particularly the Ladies, who are I believe the best made of any in the world;…they are particularly attached to foreigners, but from their total want of virtue, are seldom married…Their extravagances in their amours is beyond all other inventions; their dress is particularly adapted to screen them in these affairs; which consists of what they call Cisy Mantas, a species of quilted petticoat which comes up to the breasts and is supported by shoulder straps; to the Butment of this is tied a clock hood of black silk; which they take over their heads and close round the face, securing it generally with one hand…" Stuart also notes his experiencing an earthquake, and his overall opinion of this region is positive: "But upon summing up the

At the same time Society members were accumulating nautical information, Bowditch was putting his stamp on navigational science across the globe. As a first mate and clerk aboard the ship *Henry* in 1795 and 1796, Bowditch uncovered many mistakes in the standard navigation text of the day, Moore's *The Practical Navigator and Seaman's New Daily Assistant.* Edmund Blunt, a publisher in Newburyport, learned of Bowditch's work on the text, and asked him to edit it while on his third voyage.[41] In 1799, a new edition was published with all of Bowditch's corrections to date. He was acknowledged along with other contributors, and for his efforts, elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1799. By the time a third edition was slated, Bowditch had found more than 8,000 errors and Blunt believed that Nathaniel should rewrite the book. In 1802, the first edition of *The New American Practical Navigator* was published under Bowditch's name.

Almost immediately, Bowditch's *Practical Navigator* became the most important and complete navigational handbook written up to that point. At the time, most ships could not afford a chronometer and relied upon the use of compasses, logs, sextants, and lead lines to determine their position. Many mariners resorted to dead reckoning, calculating a ship's position based on previously determined points, whereas Bowditch advocated for taking measurements between the horizon and heavenly bodies in the sky,

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whole of its inconveniences &c. I think Lima blessed with more good things than any other Country I have ever seen."

[41] Ernest Dodge notes this was common practice for sailors during this time. "Captains, both English and American, whenever they found errors in printed sailing directions, often informed the publishers, sometimes sent accounts of their discoveries to local newspapers, and nearly always passed them on to other captains whom they met sailing the same seas. The Honorable East India Company instructed its captains to file reports on errors and discoveries of unknown navigational hazards." Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 178.

or celestial navigation. Although many sailors who traveled with Bowditch first questioned his use of celestial navigation, *The New American Practical Navigator* quickly eliminated these concerns and simplified a more reliable method of navigation to be used over the common practice of dead reckoning. Bowditch's ability to simplify complex methods of navigation became so revered that sailors could obtain an officer's berth simply by stating that they had sailed with him. Robert Bennett Forbes (1804-1889), when at sea at the age of thirteen, said he went to sea with a "Testament, a Bowditch, a quadrant, a chest of sea clothes, and a mother's blessing."[42] *The New American Practical Navigator* is still in print and is standard equipment for the professional mariner and United States naval seaman.

In 1801, a manuscript of Bowditch's text was submitted to the East India Marine Society, and a committee was organized to review this work "and give such certificate as they may think proper."[43] The committee scrutinized this new edition and determined Bowditch "corrected the best volume on navigation… and also considerably improved the old methods of calculation and added new ones of his own."[44] The first edition of Bowditch's *The New American Practical Navigator* contained the title-page "Report of the Committee, appointed by the East India Marine Society of Salem, at their meeting on the 6th of May 1801." The Society professed their belief that the new book is "highly deserving of the approbation and encouragement of the society, not only as being the most correct and ample now extant, but as being a genuine American production; and as

[42] Struik, *Yankee Science in the Making*, 109. The sentiment was shared by mariners then and now, as *The New American Practical Navigator* is still in print and is standard equipment for the professional mariner.
[43] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MH#88, Box 1, Volume 1.
[44] Ibid.

such they hesitate not to recommend it to the attention of Navigators, and of the public at large."[45] This preface was printed in subsequent editions, and the Society expressed their appreciation for Bowditch's work in an 1804 dinner toast, "The Practical Navigator. Facts first, then theories." In essence both Bowditch and the East India Marine Society legitimized each other's pursuits, and from this point on, the Society's "seal of approval" was sought after for other important American navigational works.[46]

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[45] Nathaniel Bowditch, *The New American Practical Navigator*. 1st edition (Newburyport, MA: Edmund M. Blunt, 1802). The full report of the committee—Jonathan Lambert, Benjamin Carpenter, John Osgood, John Gibaut, and Jacob Crowninshield, approved by President Benjamin Hodge—states: "AFTER a full examination of the system of Navigation presented to the society by one of its members (Mr. Nathaniel Bowditch) they find, that he has corrected many thousand errors existing in the best European works of the kind; especially those in the Tables for determining the latitude by two altitudes, in those of difference of latitude and departure, of the sun's right ascension, of amplitudes, and many others necessary to the Navigator. Mr. Bowditch has likewise, in many instances, greatly improved the old methods of calculation, and added new ones of his own. That of clearing the apparent distance of the moon, and sun or stars, from the effect of parallax and refraction, is peculiarly adapted to the use of seamen in general, and is much facilitated (as all other methods are) in the present work, by the introduction of a proportional table into that of the correction of the moon's altitude. His Table nineteenth, [the twentieth of the present edition] of corrections to be applied in the lunar calculations, has the merit of being the only accurate one the Committee are.-acquainted with. He has much improved the table of latitudes and longitudes of places, and has added those pf a number on the American coast, hitherto very inaccurately ascertained. This work, therefore, is, in the opinion of this Committee, highly deserving of the approbation and encouragement of the society, not only as being the most correct and ample now extant, but as being a genuine American production; and as such they hesitate not to recommend it to the attention of Navigators, and to the public at large."

[46] On March 11th, 1813, a Society committee consisting of Nathaniel Bowditch and nine other members reported that Captain Samuel Lambert's charts of Massachusetts Bay, Nantucket Shoals, and George's Bank were, "the most correct of any within their knowledge." Lambert, a Society member, was also a teacher of navigation and published works related to navigation such as *Information Useful for Navigators* in 1820. When he donated these charts on March 3rd, 1803, he requested in a letter accompanying his gift "that they may be examined, and if they are found to merit their incoragement [sic] for originality and correctness, they would please to give a Certificate of the same, recommending them to the Public." After receiving the Society's certificate, he exclaimed on March 17th in a letter addressed to the President of the Society "A Certificate from so respectable a society and from such competent judges as those Gentlemen appointed to examine them, cannot fail of being a very great advantage, to their most Obedient Servant." East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3. Members James Dunlap Gillis and Charles Endicott produced charts of Sumatra in the 1830s, both of which were validated by the Society, and Salem publisher Henry Whipple (1789-1869) sought and was granted a similar certificate in 1856 for his Chart of New England. Even as late as 1857, a certificate was given for Captain George Eldridge's chart of the coast of New England from Mount Desert Rock to Gay Head. Gillis published *Sailing Directions for the Pepper Ports on the West Coast of Sumatra, North of Analaboo; To Accompany a Chart of that Coast* in 1839, intended for use with

In addition to Bowditch's *Practical Navigator*, the East India Marine Society collected the most important works related to navigation and the history of exploration. Of the approximately two hundred volumes amassed by the Society during the antebellum period— including member's journals, the nucleus of the library—three quarters relate to maritime activity and history. They purchased and were given several rare and valuable editions related to Cook, La Perouse, and Vancouver's famed voyages of discovery; books devoted to ship design such as *Elements of Rigging and Seamanship* published in London in 1794 and the *Shipwright's Vade Mecum*, 1805; and standard nautical references like *Falconer's Marine Dictionary*. By 1818, the library had already received public attention. The *Boston Intelligencer & Evening Gazette* of November 14, 1818, citing the *Essex Register*, notes, that it "has the elements of a Library, which already contains the best modern voyages, and the best books on shipbuilding, in aid of Navigation, and respecting the Commerce of the Globe."[47]

To buttress this collection, the Society collected thirty-five maps and charts of local and foreign waters. As cartographic historian Lloyd A. Brown notes, charts "were much more than an aid to navigation; they were, in effect, the key to empire, the way to wealth. As such, their development in the early stages was shrouded in mystery, for the way to wealth is seldom shared."[48] The most important among these was a complete set of *The Atlantic Neptune*. This series, under the direction of cartographer Joseph Frederick Wallet De Barres (1721-1824), was the culmination of an extensive British surveying

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Endicott's revised version of his chart of the pepper ports south of Analaboo. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 10-11.

[47] Boston Intelligencer & Evening Gazette, November 14th, 1818.

[48] Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1949), 12, quoted in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 8-9.

project of the eastern seaboard of North America during the 1760s and 1770s and considered by the British navy a military secret used extensively during the American Revolution.[49] While the library was not the largest in Salem for its time, it was among the most important collections of books and manuscripts related to maritime history in the United States in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[50] Without a governmental body to support their endeavors early on, the Society took on the role of state promoter of mercantile trade. In turn, members and non-members followed this organizational "call to duty," as illustrated in the cartouche to a plan of the harbor on the southwest side of Guam, drawn by William Haswell (fig. 32). Haswell's words "To the Honorable Salem East India Society, by their Obd^{t} Serv^{t} William Haswell," echoes both the Society's mission and Brown's statements concerning maps and imperial expansion.

At the July 1801 meeting, the members present laid down a protocol for using the printed collection. The secretary was "authorised to furnish any member with one of Mr. Churchmans Variation Charts that may apply and record the persons name" and the treasurer was ordered to "purchase Vancouvers Voyages, with the Charts and annexed."[51]

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[49] DesBarres, of Swiss Huguenot descent, spent a good deal of his life in Nova Scotia. He served in the Seven Years War, and was later Governor of Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island. For more on DesBarres, see G.N.D Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J. F. W. DesBarres* (Boston/Toronto: Peabody Museum/University of Toronto Press, 1969).

[50] "History of Essex County Institutions," undated [circa 1842]. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 8, Folder 11, 26-27. Based on the next page in Wheatland's manuscript, the East India Marine Society's library was the smallest in comparison to the other learned societies in the vicinity circa 1842, with the Essex County Natural History Society holding 300 volumes and the Salem Athenaeum at the top of the list with 9,000 volumes. Seven years later, in a letter to Prof. C.C. Jewett, Wheatland puts the Society's library at around 300 volumes, "some 20 or 30 of them are miss. Journals of the voyages of the members," still the smallest of the local societies (with the Athenaeum up to 11,200 volumes in 1849). Letters written, 1841-1890. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 5, Folder 9.

[51] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. John Churchman's (1753-1805) *The Magnetic Atlas, or*

In addition, the Society voted that "no member be allowed to keep any book from the hall, exceeding three weeks…without application to the secretary."[52] Finally during this meeting, we have evidence of members borrowing material from the collection as it is noted that "Capt. Benjamin Crowninnshield has taken out one of Churchmans Variation Charts."[53] In addition to Society members, mariners outside the institution were granted access to the collection for research purposes.

The Society also held a small collection of objects related to navigation and ship design.[54] As mariner's nautical instruments were expensive items, crucial to a successful voyage, and viewed as objects of everyday knowledge and not "curiosities", only those devices that were considered passé or experimental were donated to the museum. The Society received two Davis quadrants, or backstaffs, for the collection; one given between 1815 and 1820 and the other in 1844 (fig. 33).[55] First proposed by English explorer John Davis (c.1550-1605) in 1594, the Davis quadrant was used in the

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Variation Charts of the Whole Terraqueous Globe, compiled starting in the late eighteenth century, was used to determine magnetic deviation at sea. Churchman sent a copy of his improved version to Thomas Jefferson on May 7, 1802. "To Thomas Jefferson from John Churchman, 7 May 1802," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-37-02-0343, ver. 2014-05-09). In regards to Churchman's Variation Chart, the *Independent Chronicle* of January 7th, 1802 notes that "[t]he enlightened East-India Marine Society of Salem, (being composed entirely of members who have passed the Cape of Good Hope) after an extraordinary meeting for the purpose, and from the good opinion entertained, have taken on their own account, such a number of copies, as to demonstrate their determination to give that support to the improvement which it may be known to deserve."

[52] The volumes of Vancouver's voyages were purchased from John West for $39.12 in August of 1801, with an additional $8.25 charged in October for binding the set. Churchman's charts, fifteen in all, were purchased from Moses Townsend for $52.50 in March of 1801. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 3.

[53] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[54] Roughly thirteen of the approximately 6,673 objects collected by the Society in the antebellum period were of this nature.

[55] The first donation, number 533 in the 1821 and 1831 printed catalogues, was made by the Boston instrument maker William Williams (1748?-1792) in 1768 for Malachai Allen, who donated it to the museum. The second, number 4978, was made by J. Hutchins, St. Catherine's, London.

seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century to determine one's latitude at sea by measuring the sun's position in the sky.[56] By the nineteenth century, this device was surely antiquated, and these two examples were valuable as historical illustrations of developments in navigational instruments and likely admired for their craftsmanship.[57]

A similar type of object was a half-hull model of the 1794 Salem ketch *Eliza*, donated in 1830 and the oldest known American half-hull model (fig. 34).[58] Early shipbuilders designed and built their vessels by eye rather than from paper plans. These models were shaped from layers of wood that could be separated to take the profile of a particular section of the vessel being constructed. By 1830, though, paper plans were more common and half-hull models, while still used in ship design, were starting to transition to the decorative show pieces they are today.

The museum also owned objects related to improvements in marine technology. Along with a patent life preserver donated in 1825, a "Model of a Machine made and used by Benjamin Carpenter on board the Schooner Benjamin to distil fresh water from that of the ocean," and a model of a European dredge, or pontoon, used to counter the silting of a harbor (like Salem Harbor) donated by Elias Hasket Derby Jr., was a novel device—a mechanical log watch, the first navigational instrument donated to the museum

[56] In order to take a sighting with a Davis quadrant, the observer, with his back to the sun, held the staff horizontally and moved the vanes along the graduated arcs. This instrument was replaced by the octant, and then sextant that is still used today, which allows a mariner to observe a celestial body and the horizon simultaneously while facing forward.

[57] Peabody Essex Museum, *Maritime Art—Seafaring Culture*, Gallery Guide (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2003). Readings were taken with one's back to the sun. Backstaffs were usually of English manufacture, and dense hardwoods and fruitwoods, like the ebony and boxwood of this device, were used for their attractiveness and ability to resist warping at sea that could reduce accuracy. Ibid.

[58] This object, number 4215 in the 1831 printed catalogue, is among the most accurate representations of a late-18th-century American East India ship, because plans of American merchant ships of this period do not exist. Samuel Briggs, likely a relative of Enos Briggs who built the Eliza, donated the model.

(fig. 35).[59] Designed by William Lovelace to replace a half-minute glass sand timer by measuring 14- and 28-second increments, this device would be used with a patent log. Unlike most watches of the time, this log watch was square and its glass sides exposed its inner workings. This device never caught on, but on display at the East India Marine Society Museum, its unusual design probably attracted speculation from both sailors and landlubbers.

Another curious object was invented as a result of extreme circumstances (fig. 36). In 1805, Society member William Mugford (1762-1841) donated a model of the temporary rudder he devised after a severe gale destroyed the original rudder of his ship *Ulysses* on a voyage in 1804. The temporary rudder allowed Captain Mugford to safely bring the ship to Marseilles. To the untrained eye, the model looks normal, but close inspection reveals a dismasted ship with heavy rope hanging off the sides to support a cannon below a makeshift rudder. Captain Mugford received the Magellanic Premium from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia for his invention, and an article entitled "Mugford's Temporary Rudder" was published in the *Archives of Useful Knowledge* in October 1812.[60] Together with the Society's printed collection, these objects helped buttress the cutting-edge nature of this organization.

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[59] Captain Henry Jackson donated this object, number 425 on the original manuscript catalogue and number 547 in the 1821 and 1831 printed catalogues, in 1803. The life preserver, number 3876 in the 1831 catalogue, was donated by Captain Jonathan Neal. Carpenter's machine, number 2700 in the 1831 catalogue, was given in 1824 by an unknown donor. In addition to the model of a European dredge donated by Derby—number 452 in the 1821 and 1831 catalogues—was one invented by Derby, number 74 in the original manuscript catalogue and number 451 in the 1821 and 1831 catalogues. There is no location for this object in the PEM collection.

[60] Established in 1786, Magellanic Premium is the oldest American prize awarded for scientific achievement and has been given only thirty-three times in 218 years. http://www.amphilsoc.org/prizes/magellanic.

The East India Marine Society's navigational projects were not solely dedicated to charting foreign lands. The Society did work with its brethren in the Salem Marine Society when it came to matters concerning the port of Salem. In 1807, 1815, and 1816 both societies joined together to improve buoys and piers in Salem harbor. In addition, they were designated in 1814 by the State of Massachusetts as the principal organizations to consulate when hiring a pilot for the town. The General Court, by "An act making further provision for regulating Pilotage in the Port of Salem" that was approved by the governor on February 25th, 1814, required that all future pilots obtain a certificate of competence from the Salem Marine Society or the East India Marine Society.[61] Form that point on, no Salem harbor pilot could be appointed without the approval of these two Societies.[62]

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[61] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 11. Quote from The Public and General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, from February 28, 1807, to February 16, 1816 (Boston, 1816), IV, 395-396. At a special meeting on June 5th, 1807, it is noted that Daniel Sage and James Devereux were chosen to join a committee from the Salem Marine Society for determining the most suitable place to fix the buoys in the harbor and the probable expense and report them. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Also, during the May 1st, 1816 meeting, it was voted that " the president of this society, invite the president of the Salem Marine Society, to a conference with the joint committee, chosen by the two societies in May last, to report to the Government, respecting the necessity of buoys and piers in Salem Harbour, and that the two presidents write to the Hon. Ben. W. Crowninshield, on the subject in such manner, as in their view, will best promote the object." The two marine societies also got together again on August 3rd, 1909 to host a banquet at the Salem Club to present a marine clock to the U.S. Scout Ship Salem. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. During the October 1914 meeting, the Society voted to join with the Salem Marine Society "in securing a memorial statue in the Pilgrim monument at Provincetown." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[62] The East India Marine Society's records contain various references to issuing certificates. During the September 7th, 1814 meeting, the Society votes to recommend Captain Joseph Perkins as "an inward Pilot for the Town of Salem," and with the Salem Marine Society, Perkins was put in this position as reported in the *Salem Gazette* of October 25th, 1814. Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. An advertisement in the *Boston Herald* of May 30th, 1868 for Captain Erasmus Thompson's Boston Nautical College notes it was sanctioned by "the Hon East India Marine Society of Salem." The Society continued to monitor pilotage in the town and weigh in on matters related to the port of Salem after the formation of the Peabody

Along with Bowditch, other East India Marine Society members' accomplishments in navigational science helped elevate the organization and the museum to the national stage within a few decades of its inception. John White (1782-1840), a Society member and United States Navy Lieutenant, commanded the first American ship to ascend the Dong Nai River and show the flag at Saigon.[63] When he issued proposals for publishing by subscription his *History of a Voyage to the China Sea* (Boston, 1821), a correspondent for the *Salem Gazette* wrote:

> The Charitable Association of the East India Marine Society is a source of just pride to Salem. Its rare collection of curiosities, the facilities it has afforded to the navigation of distant seas, and the fund of information in various branches of science daily obtained from the journals of its members, combine under its distinguished president [Nathaniel Bowditch], to render it unrivalled among the institutions of our country.[64]

Academy of Science, including a resolution related to improving Salem Harbor sent to "Hon. William H. Moody and to Capt. Henry Taylor, U.S. Engineer Corps, Portsmouth, N.H." in 1901 and one concerning pilotage sent "to the senators of this state and the member of congress of this district, praying that they use their influence in defeating the measures referred to" in 1906. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Also, in 1907, the Society passed resolutions to retain the fog signal on Baker's Island in Salem Harbor. Ibid.

[63] In regards to White, Whitehill notes: "John White, a Salem shipmaster, entered the naval service of the United States as a Sailing Master on 2 December 1813 and was commissioned Lieutenant as of 27 April 1816 and Commander as of 9 February 1837. After the War of 1812 he apparently returned to the command of merchant vessels, for the Navy Register, year after year, listed him as 'waiting orders' or on 'leave of absence.' As Lieutenant White's brig *Franklin*, which had sailed from Salem on 2 January 1819, and the ship *Marmion* of Boston were the first American ships to ascend the Donnai River and show the flag at Saigon, he had prepared an account of the voyage to be deposited with the East India Marine Society, but was prevailed upon to arrange for its publication." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 135-136 footnotes 12-13.

[64] *Salem Gazette*, February 13th, 1821. Two years later, in the *New-England Galaxy*'s review of White's which contains extracts from the book, the author notes that up to that point, the United States had produced very few narratives of voyaging or traveling abroad, with "none of very high reputation and superior merit, except General Lyman's Italy; Jewett's Captivity among the Natives of the Northwestern Coast of America; Riley's Narrative; and the unparalleled sufferings of James Washborne." Coincidentally, the Society would receive one of the few surviving material culture objects related to Jewett's experiences. The author then explains that the reason for the lack of quality volumes in this genre is due in part to the majority of travelers who were "travellers after money rather than information; and have had but little leisure to collect, or preserve, extensive and accurate observations upon the countries which they have visited; and those, whose fortunes have enabled them to travel solely for the purpose of information, have not been blessed with sufficient talent to make very important researches, and have seldom returned, like Ulysses, much improved by a large and various acquaintance with mankind." White is viewed by the

That same year, a letter to the *Essex Register* from a Mr. "H" advocating for further exploration of the recently discovered South Shetland Islands north of the Antarctic Peninsula remarks, "I cannot forbear to recommend the investigation to the members of that valuable institution, the *Salem East India Marine Society*, which has already done so much for the promotion of nautical and geographical science."[65] Others attributed the link between science and the museum's mission as the reason for its vaulted status. The Philadelphia newspaper, the *United States Gazette*, declares in April of 1824, "the Salem East India Museum is doubtlessly one of the best institutions, if not the only one, of the kind, in America. Such is the effect of enterprise when directed by science, and Salem by the efforts of her merchants, and the labours of her literary sons, may rank in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as the most opulent and most scientific town of our Union."[66]

Presidential approval of the East India Marine Society's scientific accomplishments also came at this time. When the first published catalogue of the museum was printed in 1821, Society member James Story sent copies to former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Both men sent letters of thanks to the

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author as someone he hopes "in some measure exalt the character of our countrymen, and especially of those engaged in commercial pursuits." The author then heaps praise on the East India Marine Society. "They posses [sic] a large and fine collection of curiosities, brought by the members from all parts of the world;—and its Museum if one of the most celebrated, of the kind, in the United States." "White's Voyage to the China Sea," *From the* Galaxy—*by request*, published in the *Essex Register*, June 30th, 1823.

[65] "New South Shetland," *Essex Register*, June 9th, 1821.

[66] Published in the *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics* of April 17th, 1824, which notes: "SALEM—The following richly measured tribute of praise to the *first town* in Massachusetts, we copy with pleasure from the *United States* (Philad.) *Gazette*."

Society through Story.[67] Jefferson, writing from Monticello on April 27th, 1822, noted that "he sees with great satisfaction the rich prospect of additions to our science for which we are likely to be indebted to the exertions of such public-minded individuals" as the East India Marine Society members.[68] Madison, also writing from Monticello, commented a week prior, "I cannot speak in terms too favorable of an Institution which unites with a benevolent object the useful one of improving navigation, and another so interesting to all who have a taste for natural and artificial curiosities. This branch of the plan is the more to be commended as it will so readily extend itself to the acquisition from countries visited by the Salem Mariners of such new articles belonging to the vegetable and animal domain as may be acceptable to our husbandry."[69]

By the 1830s, the Society's reputation as an organization promoting and advancing the science of navigation was strong enough to promote national endeavors. During Jefferson's administration and those of his successors in the pre-Jacksonian age, the cause of science was aided by the internal government expeditions of Lewis and Clark and the Army sponsored Missouri expedition in 1818 under Major Stephen H. Long. Both ventures produced collections of objects, flora and fauna, and published accounts, with the later being more thorough. John Quincy Adams, however, was attuned

[67] Several Presidents visited the museum, from James Monroe in 1817 to Chester Arthur in 1882. According to *The Evening News* of Friday September 8th, 1882, when President Arthur "stepped from the barouche to enter the museum the crowd around the entrance gave him three cheers, which he responded by gracefully raising his hat. As soon as the president had entered the museum a great rush was made by the crowd to follow him, but the door was quickly closed, and the distinguished gentleman was allowed to inspect the curiosities undisturbed. President Atthur [sic] manifested much interest in the many articles in the museum….When it was known that the president was at the museum, a large crowd quickly gathered, the sidewalks in the vicinity being blocked with people." Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 2, 1882-1884, Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

[68] Letters from Presidents Jefferson and Madison to the East India Marine Society, 1822. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 2.

[69] Ibid.

to the prospects of nautical and astronomical science and its usefulness to federal policy, and he recognized that astronomy, exploration, national glory, and the improvement of human knowledge were all connected.[70]

Initially, it appeared that Adams departed from a Jeffersonian policy, claiming that scientific enterprise was both constitutional and obligatory.[71] Adams notes in his first annual message to Congress, "[o]ne hundred expeditions of circumnavigation like those of Cook and La Perouse would not burden the exchequer of the nation fitting them out so much as the ways and means of defraying a single campaign in war," and asks for a naval academy corresponding to West Point "for the formation of scientific and accomplished officers."[72] He also specifically suggested a voyage of discovery to the northwest coast of America, a region where Lewis and Clark had gained so much both scientifically and diplomatically. This journey required passage around Cape Horn and into the South Pacific, an area of great interest to East India Marine Society members and American mariners. Dupree notes that "in requesting these projects and linking them to internal improvements, Adams was but stating the old plan, fostered in turn by Washington and Jefferson, of a cultural capital radiating enlightenment to the entire nation over a connecting network of federally built roads and canals," and as Adams was a New Englander, he "gave a maritime twist to his desire for explorations."[73]

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[70] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 39. As Dupree notes, "[w]hile calling for roads and canals, he elevated science to the greatest of works to be undertaken by the government, for "moral, political, and intellectual improvement are duties assigned by the Author of our Existence to social no less than individual man." Ibid.
[71] Ibid, 40.
[72] Dupree characterizes Adams' address as "the clearest statement ever made by a President of the government's duty toward knowledge." Ibid, 40.
[73] Ibid, 40.

Adams bravado and almost taunting degradation of American science in comparison to Europe failed to rally support. Only one proposal received any encouragement, a voyage to the Northwest coast. In 1828, marine and scientific societies lent support to this project in the hopes that it would involve charting many of the dangerous reefs and shoals around the South Pacific Islands that were damaging whaling and other trading ships.[74] According to Dupree:

> A favorable resolution in the House of Representatives gave Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard a chance to use executive authority to get a ship in readiness and to select 'astronomers, naturalists, and others who are willing to encounter the toil.'…All this effort on the frail authority of a House resolution drew thunder from the Senate, whose committee feared that the executive preparations were meant to commit them to an appropriation of a large amount of money. They censured Adams's and Southard's use of contingent funds and ordinary naval appropriations.[75]

By this time, John Quincy Adams had lost the presidency to Andrew Jackson, and with it, the naval expedition he fought for.

Adams' failed attempt at an exploratory venture of the Northwest Coast, though, laid the groundwork for a larger project. Two months into Jackson's first term, a May 9th, 1829 article in the *Charleston Courier* entitled "Exploring Voyages"—reprinted from the *N.Y. Mercantile Advertiser*—contained some early hints at advocacy for a government

[74] Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: America's Voyage of Discovery, The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2003), 18, 20.

[75] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 42. While Adams failed at implementing most of his science policy due to the opposition of Jacksonian Democrats, Dupree favorably characterizes his administration. "John Quincy Adams's departure from the presidency marked an epoch, for he was the last of the politicians with a broad and direct knowledge of science in his own right to gain the highest office. No longer was learning a necessity or even an asset in public life, a fact that added gloom to Adams's own reflections on his administration. Patrician control, through such amateur groups as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, was having ever greater difficulty in giving effective organization to an American science that was beginning to change rapidly. Both science and the government were seeking new social adjustments in 1829, and they were fortunate in having as building materials the fragments of institutions and ideas inherited from John Quincy Adams." Ibid, 42-43.

sponsored exploring expedition beyond the confines of the contiguous United States. The piece, devoted to current and past advances among European countries in geographical mapping and imperial exercises, is particularly focused on the United Kingdom. The last paragraph notes that:

> The French also and the Russians, have not been idle in reference to their commerce and navigation, and why should we, whose destiny is as great as their's [sic], fold our arms in comparative inaction? The annals of our whaling and sealing Ports, and particularly of the Salem East India Marine Society, will shew [sic] that we have all the requisites for such enterprises.[76]

Following this article, the Society became one of the earliest organizational advocates for a national geographic expedition, one deficiency missing from the fledgling nation's ascendancy to imperial status.

Jeremiah N. Reynolds (1799–1858) was one of the leading advocates for this expedition, supported by members of Congress, the East India Marine Society, and other maritime organizations. Reynolds was an American newspaper editor in Ohio in the early 1820s when he became an advocate for and lecturer on John Cleves Symmes's (1779-1829) hollow earth theory.[77] Seeing a need for an expedition to the Antarctic to access one of the "openings" proposed by Symmes, Reynolds heard the pleas of American mariners trading in the Pacific and extended his scope to mapping islands in the South Sea.[78] Adams recognized Reynolds' importance to his national project, and appointed him as a special agent to the Navy. Once the proposal was defeated, Reynolds made an

[76] *Charleston Courier*, May 9th, 1829.
[77] Dupree notes "Captain John Cleves Symmes had toured the country in the 1820's lecturing on his theory of the earth and trying to arouse interest in an expedition to either the North or South Pole which would, on reaching a high latitude, be able by gradual stages to pass over the verge into the interior of the earth. A government voyage to the Pacific could easily be diverted into a polar expedition that would validate Symmes's ideas." Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 56.
[78] Philbrick, *Sea of Glory*, 20.

unsuccessful attempt to privately finance his own expedition. Afterwards, he joined the crew of the USS *Potomac* in 1831 and was part of the punitive naval expedition sent to Sumatra to investigate the massacre of crew members of the Salem pepper trading ship *Friendship* at Quallah Battoo that year.[79]

Back in the United States, Reynolds worked on his narrative of the voyage on the *Potomac*.[80] The experience, as Dupree notes, "cured him of Symmes's theory and shifted his interest somewhat from the Antarctic to the tropical Pacific," and "he was now more than ever a zealot for an expedition."[81] He visited the East India Marine Society museum on November 1st, 1834, and commented in his 1835 publication:

> While engaged in this profitable commerce, they were assiduous in gaining a knowledge of the countries they visited, and gathered many curiosities and antiquities of the east, of which they have formed a splendid museum for the benefit of science and the arts, and the gratification of the curious who visit their town.[82]

Reynolds's trip to the museum was not a casual outing, but part of a fact-finding mission; "looking over the record of our mercantile enterprise to the east, about this period, as preserved in the port-folios of the Salem East India Marine Society" for his volume and in anticipation of supporting another expedition to address navigational problems faced

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[79] Ibid, 29. The captain of the *Friendship* was Society member Charles Moses Endicott. For a brief encapsulation of Endicott's role in this event, see Massachusetts Historical Society, "'To the Farthest Ports of the Rich East': Salem and the Sumatra Pepper Trade." http://www.masshist.org/objects/2012august.php.
[80] Historian Nathaniel Philbrick characterizes this volume as jingoistic. Reynolds other writings at this time would have profound literary effects. His writings advocating Symmes' theory and an expedition to the Antarctic and South Pacific appears to have influenced Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838), and his 1839 account "Mocha Dick: Or the White Whale of the Pacific", was part of the inspiration for Herman Melville's Moby-Dick (1851). Philbrick, *Sea of Glory*, 55, 30.
[81] Dupree, Science in the Federal Government, 56.
[82] Jeremiah N. Reynolds, *Voyage of the United States Frigate Potomac: Under the Command of Commodore John Downes, During the Circumnavigation of the Globe, in the Years 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834; Including a Particular Account of the Engagement at Quallah-Battoo, on the Coast of Sumatra; with All the Official Documents Relating to the Same* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), 215. Reynolds name appears in the museum guestbook.

by American whalers in the Pacific.[83] He notes that "the time may come when these documents will be referred to, and written up, as interesting items belonging to the history of our country. In turning over the pages of this record we have made a few hasty abstracts, which may properly be introduced in this place, for the purpose of showing how rapidly our trade had extended at the period of which we are speaking."[84]

Reynolds turned his attention to rallying support for an American expedition while working on his book. As Dupree notes:

> Voluntarily assuming the role of lobbyist, he marshaled petitions from the whaling states at the same time that he used his acquaintance among Ohioans for inland votes…Prominent in the list of supporters for Reynolds's scheme were the great scientific names of the country, including Benjamin Silliman and Peter S. Du Ponceau, president of the American Philosophical Society. For the United States to enter the Pacific, the classic ground of Cook and La Perouse, was a mark of her growing scientific stature.[85]

At this point, the East India Marine Society entered the fray. A "Memorial of the East India Marine Society of Salem, Mass., Praying that an Expedition be fitted out by the Government to make a Voyage of Discovery and Survey to the South Seas" was submitted to the 2nd Session of the 23rd Congress on December 16th, 1834, following a similar one submitted by Reynolds.[86]

The Society's memorial endorsed a similar recommendation made by the Rhode Island Legislature in November 1834, and specifically advocated for charting of the Fiji

[83] Ibid, 203.
[84] Ibid, 203.
[85] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 56-57. Dupree notes: "While he did not hesitate to cite Lewis and Clark as a precedent for this commercial and military combination, Reynolds also appealed to national glory in another way. This was the decade of the Beagle surveys, the Antarctic expedition of Sir James Clark Ross, and the voyage of Dumont D'Urville. The rivalry here was nationalistic but also largely scientific, extending beyond gross geography to all the standard departments of research on an expedition hydrography, magnetism, meteorology, and natural history." Ibid.
[86] The memorial, signed by William Fettyplace, then President of the Society, with a list of members following, was dated November 22nd, 1834.

Islands where many members were acquiring necessary materials to trade in China. Unlike the legislature and other organizations, East India Marine Society members were the American equivalent to European explorers. The Society proclaims that in their midst, "are those who were the first to display our national colors in our commerce to the eastern world; amongst them are those who have been engaged in trade on coasts and among islands but little known."[87] Therefore:

> they have felt, in losses and in painful solicitude, the want of the protection of their government, as well to point out the position of a dangerous reef as to defend them against the natives, who had seen nothing of our power to restrain them from unlawful attacks upon their vessels or their lives; among them are those who have visited the islands in the Pacific as well as those in the east, and have seen and felt the dangers our vessels are exposed to for the want of such protection as an expedition fitted out for the express purpose alone can give…[88]

In the opinion of the East India Marine Society, a government-sponsored expedition was essential for improved mercantilism, if nothing else.

In the Jacksonian Age of the Common Man, American science policy changed.[89] Jackson did not have hostility toward science but was not concerned with the fact that he lacked any policy.[90] His supporters, similarly, were more concerned with internal matters of banks, public lands, and national surplus rather than "John Quincy Adams's lighthouses of the skies."[91] A growing sense of jingoistic national pride coming from many advocates of an exploring expedition, though, aligned with a Jacksonian vision of

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[87] East India Marine Society, *Memorial of the East India Marine Society of Salem, Mass.; Praying That an Expedition be Fitted Out by the Government to Make a Voyage of Discovery and Survey to the South Seas,* Congressional Documents, Vol. 2.272.; 23. Congress, 2. Sess. House Documents, Nr. 75 (Washington, DC: Gales & Seaton, 1834).
[88] Ibid.
[89] See Dupree, Science in the Federal Government, 64-65.
[90] Ibid, 44.
[91] Ibid.

Western expansion and conquest. The East India Marine Society was one of these voices, and the end result was governmental support. An unidentified Society member declares in a letter published in the *Salem Gazette* of December 2nd, 1834:

> It is a subject of no small mortification to every American navigator to reflect that in a country having such an extended commerce as ours, the keels of whose vessels are daily furrowing over almost every mile of the waters of the navigable globe, that so little has heretofore been done either by the government or by individuals in surveys of coasts and harbors, or for the promotion of nautical science generally. In this respect we are far behind every other maritime nation;—we have been too willing to allow others to pioneer the way for us, and English Charts, English Sailing Directions, English Nautical Almanacs, together with almost every instrument by which our ships are guided in their course over the trackless ocean, are either of English or French manufacture. These things ought not to be so. True it is, those nations have had more and better opportunities than ourselves for collecting useful knowledge and information of regions in the immediate vicinity of their eastern colonies and possessions; but our facilities in the Pacific Ocean are great and our commerce of as much importance as theirs, and something remains yet to be done in that quarter which can be accomplished as well by us, as by any other power. Why should not this country furnish her Parrys [sic], her Owens, and her Horsburgs [sic]? The talents and enterprize for which they are distinguished, are now lying dormant in the brain of many of our countrymen, and only need the necessary encouragement to be called forth. We are not deficient in men of science fully competent to conduct an enterprise like the present…[92]

[92] "Expedition to the Pacific Ocean," *Salem Gazette*, December 2nd, 1834. Dupree also believes the reason for this support stems from a difference in maritime governmental ventures. "If on the whole technological change and the increasing calls on science for answers to practical problems found the government unprepared with either a basic policy or adequate machinery, exploration and surveying elicited a very different response. These activities were fundamentally in tune with the main task of the American people in this period the conquest of a continent… the demand for knowledge of distant regions was also intense. Both expansion westward across the continent and the spread of commerce to all the seas made important groups demand that the government provide them with expensive data on geography and natural resources…The real question was not whether the government could constitutionally undertake exploring and surveying on a large scale, but rather how well its institutions were adapted to carrying it on and to what extent it could see beyond immediate practical ends to general service to science…These were very practical needs, but their fulfillment had to come within the exploring tradition handed down from Cook and Bougainville by way of Lewis and Clark and Long. The object was no less practical for being the most complete picture of the geography, geodesy, geology, flora, and fauna available. Nor was this picture any the less fundamental to science for having commercial implications. In general, the exploring expedition had much greater affinity to basic science than it did to any form of technology." Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 51, 56. Dupree notes "The first agency to benefit from the basic congeniality of the exploring-surveying mission was the Coast Survey…the Coast Survey responded to the urgent need for scientific information about the shores best known to Americans." Ibid.

Andrew Jackson enthusiastically signed the bill authorizing the United States Exploring Expedition on May 14th, 1836.[93] The U.S. Ex. Ex., as it would be known, left on a four-year mission under the command of Lieut. Charles Wilkes (1798-1877) in 1838—one of the largest Western voyages of discovery in history.[94]

In Wilkes' orders from Secretary of the Navy J.K. Paulding were specific guidelines for him and his scientific corps to "direct your particular attention to the learned and comprehensive Reports of a committee of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, the Report of a Committee of the East India Marine Society, of Salem, Massachusetts; and to a communication from the Naval Lyceum of New York, which accompany, and are to be regarded as forming a part of these instructions."[95] A committee consisting of Nathaniel Bowditch, George Cleveland (1781-1840) and Joseph Ropes prepared the East India Marine Society's report. At a meeting on August 31st,

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[93] Dupree notes, "[a]ll doubts about constitutionality were smothered under the appeal to aid for commerce." Ibid, 57.

[94] Philbrick, *Sea of Glory*, xvii. Philbrick's volume is the most in-depth look at the expedition to date. Dupree characterizes this expedition as one of the greatest governmental ventures of its time. "The results of the expedition came from Latin America, the Antarctic, the Central Pacific Islands, and the western coast of America. It touched the sciences of ethnology, anthropology, zoology in all its major branches, geology, meteorology, botany, hydrography, and physics. In addition, the surveys resulted in large numbers of charts…The collections in sheer bulk were the largest scientific treasure in the country, fully worthy of the struggle that later took place over their control. The total cost ran to $928,183.62, some three times the specific original appropriation. Since the actual voyage is such a small part of exploration as a scientific investigation, the story of the Wilkes expedition after its return in 1842 significantly shows the attempt of the government to find proper means to accomplish the vital clean-up chores. The very attempt to solve the problem that had overwhelmed Lewis and Clark was a marked advance. After a confused struggle, which is to be recounted in the story of the National Institute, the responsibility for publication fell to Congress's joint committee on the library. Thus the greatest scientific publishing program undertaken by the government before the Civil War was directly under Congress and provides a test of the efficiency of the legislative branch in the detailed administration of scientific affairs." Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 60.

[95] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), I, xxx.

1836, a letter from the Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson was read, asking the advice of the society as to:

> the formation of a scientific corps for the expedition, & their recommendations of scientific gentlemen of suitable age to be employed as members of this corps,…their recommendations of a philologist to collect vocabularies of the different languages and an Artist to take the portraits of the Natives of the different countries & Islands which may be visited…a series of inquiries as to the subjects of natural history…together with such suggestions they may believe calculated to promote the objects of the expedition.[96]

These requests validated the Society's national scientific status. In addition, two of their members aided the Wilkes Expedition. Benjamin Vanderford (1787-1842), a veteran of the trade to Fiji and the Far East, served as a pilot and interpreter, and John Henry Eagleston (1804-1884), trading in the Fijis at the time, helped pilot one of the expedition's ships, the U.S.S. *Peacock*.[97]

The Society's successful advocacy and involvement in the U.S. Ex. Ex. would be the high-water mark for their national scientific influence.[98] In 1841, they toasted with

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[96] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The committee's report was read and approved on January 4th, 1837.

[97] Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society," 187. Vanderford died during the voyage on March 23rd, 1842, and Wilkes wrote a tribute to him in his *Narrative*.

[98] The Society also commented on other matters relating to global navigation. At the September 1st, 1849 meeting "A Communication was read by the President remonstrating against making any alterations of the Meridian of Greenwich, it was Therefore unanimously Voted, That in the opinion of this Society it would be attended to many Navigators, with embarasment [sic], to change the place of the Meridian from that which has always been adopted by American, as well as by most European Navigators, and in no wise attended with any advantage to Navigation, and have therefore, unanimously voted to authorize the President sign the said reminstance of the Society." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. The Society continued to engage in matters pertaining to navigation after the formation of the Peabody Academy of Science, including a resolution adopted at the January 3rd, 1894 meeting in regards to the Sandy Bay Breakwater & Harbor of Refuge, Cape Ann, MA, "to call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled to extend their influence to place the appropriations for this great National Work upon the permanent list of Government Appropriations to the end that it may be completed as early a date as is compatible with other public expenditures of the Government." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS#

pride and optimism "*The American Exploring Expedition*—May it safely return, and its success be equal to the efforts of its enterprising conductors, and the great objects for which it was undertaken." (Appendix A) The Society was still considered a resource for scientific investigation in the next two decades, but its membership was declining, as were its contributions to navigation in contrast to federal institutions like the United States Coast Survey.[99] Ninety of the Society's journals dated prior to 1831, and no logbooks were deposited after 1835.[100]

MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. During the October 2nd, 1901 meeting, the Society adopted a petition from Capt. R.G.F. Candage "for the completion of Sandy Bay Breakwater." Ibid.

[99] At the September 1st, 1847 meeting, Jonathan P. Felt presented a note addressed to then president Charles M. Endicott stating: "Professor Bache of the United Coast survey, visited the Museum a few days since & presented a set of his Charts as far as completed which are deposited in the Museum. He…will survey Salem harbour and vicinity a year hence—I would suggest with it hither it would not be will for the Society to pass a vote, tendering him the use of the Museum, Journals etc. during his stay in this section of the country." The members present voted thanks to Batch for his donation, and allowed him "from time to time have free excess to the Museum, Library, etc. for the purpose of examining the Journals and other parts of the Museum." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-1867) was head of the United States Coast Survey from 1843-1867, and according to Dupree, "reached its pinnacle of influence" under him. Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 106. Dupree also notes that scientists and scientifically trained government personnel rose in stature and influence during the nineteenth century, and thus the determination of national science policy descended from the highest political strata and came to concentrate at the level of professional bureau heads such as Bache, Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, and Charles Henry Davis of the scientific branch of the United States Navy. Ibid, 121.

[100] At the January 5th, 1825 quarterly meeting, then President Stephen White states in his report "that nine journals only have been distributed to members of the Society since his last statement" and encouraged members to augment this paltry figure. "The older members having performed their tour of Duty, it is to the young and more active that the Society must look for their promotion of those great objects of its institution, the collection of foreign curiosities and the accumulation of materials of nautical science." East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3. During the May 2nd, 1827 quarterly meeting, the present Society members voted to request the President and Committee of Observation "to consider & report at the next meeting, upon the expediency of adopting further measures to insure the more punctual delivery of Journals kept by Members during their absence at sea." Unfortunately, the report given at the next meeting on July 4th regretted that "they are not able to devise of a more effectual mode to accomplish the object, than by the Society passing the following Vote, a copy of which, to be provided with each Journal. 'Voted—That in being of importance to navigation, and for the benefit of this Society, that as many of the journals of its members, kept during their absence at Sea, as can be procured, should be bound and deposited in the museum: it is therefore requested of every member, during his absence at Sea, to keep a Journal of his voyage, and on his return to hand it immediately to the Inspector, or Distributor of journals, or to the Superintendent of the Museum.' The committee having understood that there were several Journals of

Future associations, too, would not be as rosy. On May 3rd, 1848, a vote of thanks was passed to United States Naval Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806-1873)—one of the leading cartographers and oceanographers of his day—for his "splendid Chart of the North Atlantic Ocean from New York to the Equator…[which] was presented by the National Observatory to this Society."[101] Eight years later, Maury, working for the National Observatory in Washington, visited the East India Marine Society Museum in late December. According to the *Salem Register* of December 22nd, Maury "expressed a very high appreciation of its value. He had, years ago, made use of the extensive collection of journals and log-books belonging to the Society, and has been indebted to many Salem shipmasters for assistance in conducting his important studies."[102]

For his navigational accomplishments and high status, Maury was made the first and only elected honorary member of the Society in 1859, which he willingly accepted:

> I am sensible to this high honor…When I remember me who the members of this Society are:—that they are themselves experts in Navigation, and that in token of the value that they set upon the labours of this Office, they have conferred the most signal honor that ambition could crave, I cannot and I would not if I could, suppress the emotions that crowd themselves upon me.[103]

Members in town, who have returned from sea, and have not presented them to the Society, would recommend that the following vote be passed. 'Voted—That any member of this Society who may have kept a Journal of his voyage, or voyages, which is now in his possession, be requested to present it to the Inspector, or Distributor of journals or to the Superintendent of the Museum to be bound and placed with the other journals of the Society." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. These new articles were published in the 1831 museum catalogue.

[101] Ibid.

[102] *Salem Register*, December 22nd, 1856.

[103] The minutes for the May 18th, 1859 meeting record: "Whereas Lieut M.F. Maury Superintendent of the Observation at Washington has devoted a very considerable portion of his life to nautical research and has done more to promote the interest of the Mercantile Marine than any other living man. And whereas one of the principle objects of this Society is to advance Nautical Science, and Knowledge, Therefore with a view of expressing the high sense and appreciation of this Society, for the important and invaluable services he has rendered his country and the Commercial world, Resolved that Leiut M.F. Maury be and hereby is elected an Honorary member of the E.I.M. Society." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

A "beautiful Photograph likeness" of Maury, presented to the Society by Ripley Ropes of Salem at the September 7th, 1859 meeting, was hung in East India Marine Hall (fig. 37).[104] When examining this portrait today, a discerning eye would marvel at its pristine condition, surprising for a photograph that was apparently on display in a well-lit interior space. Upon further exploration, however, this object's impeccable condition is actually a reflection of the turmoil that attempted to destroy the Union less than two years after this object was donated to the museum. Maury—like Robert E. Lee—declared his allegiance to his native state and thus to the Confederacy.

At the July 3rd, 1861 meeting, the minutes note that the President of the Society, Allen Putnam (1794-1868), characterized Maury's decision as shameful "abandoning his duty and loyalty to his Country and Flag."[105] Putnam then asked, "what action would be taken at this meeting to his still being admitted to continue a member of the Society?" The gathered members responded by unanimously voting that "the name of the said Lieut. Maury be taken from the Roll of this Society, and that he, now and forever, be Expelled, being unworthy of holding a name or a place as a member of this Institution."[106] Moreover, they agreed that "his Portrait, having been presented by a Gentleman of this City as a donation to the Cabinet, shall be removed, and taken from the Hall, and placed in some obscure corner of the Building considering it unworthy of a

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News of Maury's election was published in newspapers, such as the *Augusta Chronicle* of May 27th, 1859, and at a meeting of the Salem Marine Society on May 26th, he was elected an honorary member of that organization. Letter dated May 27th, 1959. Salem Marine Society Collection, Letterbook 1771-1872.

[104] Ropes also donated a photographic portrait of Maury to the Salem Marine Society in August 1859, which was acknowledged in a letter dated August 26th. Ibid.

[105] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[106] Ibid.

place among the collections of the Cabinet of the Museum."[107] The Salem Marine Society, who also elected Maury as an honorary member on May 26th, 1859, similarly displayed its dissatisfaction through material expression. Maury was expelled from their Society on May 30th, 1861, "having diserted [sic] his post proved a Traitor to his Country," and his portrait was hung in their quarters reversed and "head down."[108] Unlike the successful Exploring Expedition, Maury's association with the East India Marine Society had brought embarrassment to the Society's Hall and signaled the end of its era of American and international influence.

Natural History

In the final section of instructions printed on the front page of the blank journals given to Society members are guidelines for collecting natural history objects.

> There should be collected, for the Museum, specimens of various kinds of vegetable substances, earths, minerals, ores, metals, volcanic substances, &c. There should also be preserved such parts of birds, insects, fish, &c. as serve most easily to distinguish them, and if no part can be preserved, a description of any that are remarkable, may be given.

These directions expound upon what was common parlance for a European naturalist aboard voyages of discovery in the nineteenth century, as they are specific instructions for collecting objects for a museum collection. This statement, therefore, is among the earliest American museum collecting strategies, and until the publication of the first

[107] Ibid. The picture was found in the drawer of a table that came from the Essex Institute in April 1907, where it was probably sent from the East India Marine Hall in 1867 among other things deposited at the Essex Institute. On the back of the painting is written, "Lieut/ M.P. Maury/ Traitor."
[108] Minutes for the Monthly Meeting held on May 30th, 1861 at the Essex House. Salem Marine Society Collection, Record Book Volume II, 1860-1887.

printed catalogue in 1821, the first documentation of the Society's interest to create a museum.

The East India Marine Society was established during a time of transformation in natural history. From 1780 to 1830, the study of the natural world was moving away from strictly a theologian's pursuit in Europe, and started to develop more specialized avenues of research.[109] In addition, the field was becoming more professional. Amateur natural historians supported by learned societies and clubs were rivaled by expert researchers who were financed by new state-funded and state-controlled institutions such as the Natural History Department of the British Museum in London, the geological and zoological museums of the new University of Berlin and the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris, founded in 1793.[110]

In America, a lack of governmentally funded institutions kept the study of natural history in the hands of the amateur class early on, specifically those with medical training. Even without federal sponsorship, natural history was used to shape an American identity. American literature critic Christopher Looby, remarking on Benjamin Rush's 1791 statement that "Natural history is the foundation of all useful and practical knowledge," notes:

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[109] Historian Dorinda Outram notes that "'Natural history' itself slowly separated into separate sub disciplines such as physiology or paleontology, each with their own methods, agendas, and subject-matter…At the same time, natural history began to separate from theology, especially in continental Europe, though at a slower pace than in Britain. By the early nineteenth century active men of science began to see natural history as distinct from attempts to argue from the nature of the created world to belief in and knowledge of a benevolent deity." Dorinda Outram, "New Spaces in Natural History," in *Cultures of Natural History*, N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249.

[110] Ibid, 250. Outram also includes the natural history museums founded by Charles Willson Peale in Philadelphia in her list, though this was not a state funded institution.

> knowledge of the names and qualities of the beings in nature was not only the basis of the American's control over his environment, but might also be, in some sense, the foundation of the collective life of the new nation of which he was a member. Not only could it serve to make the elements of the new world familiar to him and render them useful for his purposes, but it could also help him to imagine the shape of the new society that he was them in the midst of making…Like the biblical Adam…so too did Americans in the early years of the republic engage in taxonomic construction as a rehearsal, so to speak, of social and political construction.[111]

In addition to Rush, Looby points to the writings of Jefferson, Charles Willson Peale, and others as examples of "cultural leaders of the early natural period" whose prose demonstrate a "metaphorical exchange between images of natural order and ideas of social and political order."[112]

Taxonomies—primarily the artificial classification system of Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778)—were seen as one method of forging a national identity in the new United States.[113] As Looby notes, "[h]aving established a new state, the revolutionary leaders discovered to their dismay that they had not succeeded in creating a new nation. It occurred to some of them, in this situation, that nature might aid them in constituting the nation."[114] Jefferson, Peale, and others "felt deeply the lack of social unanimity in late eighteenth century America… a set of communities that cultural leaders were trying to tie together as a single society," and to bring the country together "they imagined that in nature—prearranged nature—they saw a powerful totality that might be of use in

[111] Christopher Looby, "The Constitution of Nature: Taxonomy as Politics in Jefferson, Peale, and Bartram," *Early American Literature*, Volume 22 (1987): 252-253.
[112] Ibid, 253.
[113] An artificial classification system is constructed based on easily observable features of organisms to distinguish similarity or difference, while a natural classification system uses biological resemblance based on scientific discovery. Linnaeus system, developed for classifying plants, was artificial and easy to use. Both systems were Pre-Darwinian. Stephen G. Saupe, "Phenetic Classification Systems." employees.csbsju.edu/ssaupe/biol308/Lecture/Classification/phenetic_class.htm
[114] Looby, "The Constitution of Nature," 255.

constructing the collective American subject."[115] Thus, natural history was viewed as the rubric to unify the nation.

The East India Marine Society's organization of natural objects—flora, fauna, minerals, and fossils—followed the Linnaean classification system.[116] Historian of science Lisbet Koerner notes that in his time, Linnaeus was deified but was really a figure similar to Nathaniel Bowditch:

> Linnaeus was considered 'the greatest Botanist that the world ever did or probably ever will know.' He was compared to Solomon, Socrates, Galileo, and Newton. Yet Linnaeus had neither mathematized living nature, nor identified general laws explaining life's diversity. He was chiefly a floral classifier, and without a single, towering achievement to his name. His great reputation rested instead in the democratizing accessibility of his achievement. For the value of Linnaeus's classifications lay in their humdrum, everyday usefulness, for casual and serious users alike. In his guides and handbooks, and in the structure of his systems as such, Linnaeus lowered the educational and financial entrance fee to the study of nature.[117]

Like Bowditch, Koerner sees Linnaeus as "a typical Enlightenment improver."[118] Also, Linnaeus' voyages and collecting were done in part for economic reasons, similar to the East India Marine Society's practice of collecting and discovery.[119] Thus, as Koerner notes, he brought forth a cavalcade of important young naturalists that were his students, such as Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), president of the Royal Society for over forty-one

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[115] Ibid, 258-259.
[116] In regards to mineralogy, historian of science Martin Rudwick notes a transformation during the first half of the eighteenth century. Martin Rudwick, "Minerals, strata and fossils," in *Cultures of Natural History*, N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 285.
[117] Lisbet Koerner, "Carl Linnaeus in His Time and Place," in *Cultures of Natural History*, N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 145.
[118] Ibid, 151.
[119] Ibid.

years and a member of James Cook's first voyage of exploration on the HMS *Endeavour* from 1768-1771.

Linnaeus' taxonomy was the organizing principal for the natural specimens in Charles Willson's Peale's museum, displayed below two rows of his portraits of Revolutionary heroes "presiding over the rational order of things, of which they were the superior extension."[120] Peale believed that one effect of his construction would be unification—"persons having different sentiments in politicks, being drawn together for the purpose of studying the beauties of nature, while conversing on those agreeable subjects, may find a concordance of sentiments, and most probably from a slight acquaintance would think better of each other, than while totally estranged."[121] There was a political design as well, as the portraits noted above and those of Native Americans were meant to unify as well. Peale notes that:

> [a]n instance of this is in the memory of my hearers. The chiefs of several nations of Indians, who had an historical enmity to each other, happened to meet unexpectedly in the Museum in 1796…surrounded by a scene calculated to inspire the most perfect harmony, the first suggestion was,—that as men of the same species they were not enemies by nature; but ought forever to bury the hatchet of war.[122]

Like his self-portrait, though, was this merely evidence of Peale as a showman, or creator of illusion, rather than reality?

[120] Looby, "The Constitution of Nature," 267.
[121] Charles Willson Peale, Discourse Introductory to a Course of Lectures on the Science of Nature (Philadelphia, PA:1800), 39, quoted in Ibid.
[122] Peale, Discourse Introductory to a Course of Lectures on the Science of Nature, 39-40, quoted in Ibid, 267-268.

Art historian Charlotte M. Porter points to Charles Willson Peale's museum as the origin of natural history institutions in the United States. Omitting the East India Marine Society from her historical sketch, Porter states:

> Departing from European custom, Peale displayed bird specimens in glass-fronted cases backed by naturalistic views or habitats painted by his artistic children. His effective arsenic method for treating specimens was imitated by others, and returning to his early training in saddlemaking, he stretched animal skins over wooden forms to restore lifelike attitudes. Often he hand-carved the internal limbs for these mounts and even molded the glass eyes.[123]

These natural history installations were often more popular than Peale's paintings, and his sons, particularly Rembrandt Peale, attempted similar enterprises in Baltimore and New York."[124]

Unlike Peale, who relied primarily on donations from individuals outside the museum, the East India Marine Society had vast internal and external networks upon which to draw. From the Society's inception, members fulfilled the objective of collecting natural artifacts. Jonathan Carnes gave the first natural history specimen, a large elephant's tooth, as part of his founding donation to the collection. Other members followed suit, and by 1821, natural history objects made up more than half of the collection. In their quarters, a visitor could see cases full of exotic birds and strange

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[123] Charlotte M. Porter, "The Natural History Museum," in *The Museum: A Reference Guide*, Michael Steven Shapiro, ed., with the Assistance of Louis Ward Kemp (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 3-4. Porter notes that by 1816, "Peale's annual gross receipts of $11,924 indicated a paid attendance of nearly 48,000 people." Ibid, 4.

[124] Ibid, 3-4, 11. Porter notes that Peale "used his museum space for magic lantern shows and musical presentations…The imaginative displays that resulted instructed more than a generation of visitors before the museum was acquired by P. T. Barnum in 1849-1850." She also states that about fifty of Peale's mounted birds exist today at the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University. Still, "Although his museum was used as the national repository for collections made on government expeditions to the West, Peale was not given official sanction. In fact, the best of the Lewis and Clark collections went directly to Jefferson, who maintained them privately as part of his Poplar Forest estate. Peale received the unwanted items—infested antelope skins and rowdy grizzly bear cubs." Ibid.

fishes, rocks and minerals, plants, assorted insects, *Chama gigas* or giant clams, and, as Ernest Dodge notes "enough corals to build a respectable atoll."[125] To reinforce the maritime aspects of their collection and interpretation strategy when the collection was installed in East India Marine Hall, large natural history specimens related to the sea took prominent positions in the museum. Two lower jaws of a sperm whale and *Cliona patera* or "Neptune's goblets" were installed along the Western wall of East India Marine Hall (fig. 38).[126]

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[125] Dodge and Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 45. John Robinson, in a typescript of recollections entitled "Peabody Museum: Random Reminiscences," notes that when the Peabody Academy of Science was formed "Practically all of the zoological collections of any value came from the Essex institute for those of the East India Marine Society had been so long neglected that they were moth-eaten, or dried up if in spirit,-rum was the preservative mostly used." Peabody Museum of Salem Institutional Archives, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. Very few of the East India Marine Society's natural history collection survives today since a good deal of these specimens were discarded in the 1940s. According to Peabody Museum of Salem Natural History Department files, "When Dr. John Phillips was president here he proposed that the old East India Marine Hall, for many years completely filled with cases for natural history specimens, be restored to its original form…Tons of material was thrown away, or given to MCZ, loads went to the dump—youngsters-came into the yard here and walked off with a decrepit alligator—finally the job was done, and the present natural history rooms made of old Academy Hall." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. NH 24. In July of 1942, the Society gave the then Peabody Museum of Salem permission to discard such objects by amending the agreement of April 6th, 1867 between them and the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science. "WHEREAS the Trustees of the Peabody Museum…are desirous of disposing in such manner as they think best of many of the specimens of said collections deposited by the Salem East India Marine Society…NOW THEREFORE the Trustees of the Salem East India Marine Society…does hereby waive all its rights with respect to the collections and specimens relating to the natural sciences deposited by its predecessor…and does hereby authorize and empower the Trustees of the Peabody Museum to dispose of all or any part of the specimens included in said collections relating to the natural sciences in such manner, upon such terms, and to such institutions or persons as they may see fit, and to retain for its own use the proceeds of any specimens which may be sold, any such proceeds however, to be Included in the 'Salem East India Marine Society Fund' if such fund exists." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[126] G. Gardner donated one of the jaws, number 4319, in 1832 and John B. Osgood gave the other, number 4726, in 1837. The *Fort Wayne World* of August 22nd, 1885 notes, "In the museum of the Peabody Academy of Science in this city, says the Salem Museum, there is an under jaw of a sperm whale, presented to the East India Marine Society in 1837 by Capt. J. B. Osgood, which is a much more perfect specimen than the one in the Nantucket Museum. It is sixteen feet eight inches long, and has fifty teeth, all in fine order, which is a better index of the age and full development of the animal than the length merely would be. The whale from which this jaw was taken was eighty five feet long, and yielded over ninety barrels of spermaceti." Three of the Neptune's goblets, number 2467, were donated in 1823, and another unnumbered specimen appears on a list of objects presented to the Society at the November 4th, 1840 meeting, donated by Society member Joseph Webb. A J.W. Harris notes in a letter to Henry Wheatland

The East India Marine Society's mission, guidelines for collecting, and the activities of its members not only reinforced the unconscious act of collecting that sailor's already possessed, but influenced non-members to support the Society's endeavors. William Augustus Rogers, who was not a member of the Society but had relatives who were, notes in his journal kept onboard the ship *Tartar* during a voyage from Boston to India from September 1817 to August 1818, "I caught a large grey Albatross, which measured from tip to tip 10 ft. 3 inch. It is the first we have caught on our passage. I have taken off his skin whole and endeavor to preserve him for the E.I.M.S."[127] Unlike Samuel Taylor Coleridge's (1772-1834) "Ancient Mariner," American sailors in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century did not have any qualms about killing this bird or any creature for that matter. Roger's account is one of many instances of shipboard collecting.[128]

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dated March 4th, 1839 from Cambridge, "There were two objects which I saw in my last visit to Salem, respecting which I propose to make some remarks to you, in the hopes that they may not be unacceptable to you. The first is the fine specimens of Neptune's Goblet, which stand at one end of the East India Marine Society's Hall. We have heretofore supposed it to be a species of Alcyonium, but I have searched in vain for a description of it in the last edition of Lamark's Hist. Aruinaux saus verteb. The only account which I can find of it is entitled a 'Description of a Zoophyte, commonly found around the coasts of Singapore Island, with a plate by Maj. Genl. Thomas Hardwicke, F.R.L. & A.S. Read Nov. 13, 1819.' This is contained in the Asiatic Researched vol. XIV, p. 180, published at Calcutta in 1822. Maj. Hardwicke calls this production Spongin patera. Up to the present time I believe that it has been found only in the sea around Singapore, & you are extremely fortunate in possessing so many specimens." Henry Wheatland Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464 Box 1, Folder 4.

[127] Entry dated November 28th, 1817. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 935. Rogers is not listed as a donor for an albatross in the museum's catalogues, but perhaps one of the specimens without a donor noted is this bird. William Augustus Rogers did donate a few other objects to the Society. The owners of this vessel were probably Nathaniel Leverett Rogers & Bros. and the master was Richard Saltonstall Rogers, both members and donors to the Society.

[128] Sometimes, sailors humorously viewed themselves as natural history specimens. Society member Nathaniel Appleton (d. 1809) remarks on October 30th, 1799 in his log kept onboard the ship *Concord* during a shipping and sealing voyage from Salem to Guangzhou (Canton), China, "I shall be an amphibious animal before I get home, for I live as much under water as over it, the ship is so wet." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 32.

The Society's natural history enterprises also attracted the attention of non-mariners.[129] In 1826, Jacques Kets (1785-1865), a Flemish naturalist and the first director of the Royal Zoological Society of Antwerp, donated a pair of crested Java fowls. Described as "2 specimens of fowls from Java elegantly preserved by Jacques Kets, Proprietor of the Museum, Antwerp" in the 1831 catalogue, these birds were well mounted, as Kets was an experienced taxidermist. In comparison, George Hodges donated in 1820 a penguin from the Falkland Islands, one of the first penguins to be displayed in a public American institution (fig. 39).[130] The taxidermist, either Hodges himself or another individual, obviously had never seen a penguin and stretched its neck like a giraffe!

The difference in these two specimens denote the level of natural history being practiced by the Society in comparison to European institutions; one reflective of amateurs and the other of trained and educated specialists. Having both examples in one setting, though, did not detract from the overall opinion of the organization. East India Marine Society members, like the Peales and later Barnum, also collected unusual specimens, some more curiosity or oddity than scientific. The "dried leaves of several trees from the vicinity of Napoleon's tomb, on St. Helena" were accompanied by a "ball of hair from the stomach of a cow from Madagascar," a "Queen Ant in a pregnant state from Africa," "Malformation of the Hoof of a Common Hog," malformed and double-yoked hens' eggs, and "Mrs. Chase's Gallstones."

[129] Dodge and Copeland, Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem, 45-46.
[130] Since the formation of the Peabody Academy of Science, museum staff have identified this specimen as the earliest penguin to be displayed in an American institution. Abijah Northey, however, donated a penguin in 1803, which does not survive today. Hodges gift, then, should be more aptly referred to as the earliest extant penguin to be displayed in an American institution.

Close inspection of the East India Marine Society collection reveals that they exhibited another form of natural history; the display of natural resources used to advance mercantile pursuits. This economic natural history included pieces of sandalwood, sea cucumber or bêche-de-mer, sea otter skins, and silver ore that was reduced for specie, all used in obtaining tea and goods from China; sperm whales teeth desired by natives in the Fijis in exchange for setting up drying huts to process bêche-de-mer; and samples of pepper from Sumatra and Siam (fig. 40). Set around the other objects in the collection, they reinforced the global networks on display in the museum as the means for acquiring both trade goods and, indirectly, many objects in the collection. Many patrons required advanced knowledge to make these connections, but some associations between natural specimens and trade were overt. Society object 4570, printed in the museum catalogue as "Testudo imbricata, tortoise of commerce," literally made the correlation between this Atlantic and Indo-Pacific species and its use as a decorative inlay for the viewer.[131]

Despite its random assortment of specimens, the natural history collections accounted for more than half the objects amassed by the East India Marine Society during its history, approximately 3,583 specimens and four scientific books, countering some scholarly assessments of the Society's endeavors (see Appendix C, Chart 1).[132] With the hiring of Seth Bass in 1820 as the first superintendent of the museum, who had a medical degree and was more versed in taxonomy and preservation than the majority of Society

[131] Captain Archer donated this specimen in 1834. There were other examples of this species in the collection.

[132] Edward P. Alexander incorrectly notes when talking about the landscape of museums during Charles Willson Peale's time that the East India Marine Society "did not include much natural history." Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 64.

members, the Society projected a greater degree of scientific clout than was exhibited by Peale and other commercial museums in the country.[133] Bass added additional detailed directions for collecting and preserving natural history specimens, nearly one and a quarter pages, to the blank journals given to Society members (see Appendix B). He also reorganized the entire collection of the museum, grouping natural history specimens based on a Linnaean system. While the 1821 catalogue still exhibits randomness in the numbering of many natural history specimens, Bass did create a section entitled "Catalogue of Shells in the Museum of the East-India Marine Society." On the first page Bass notes that "[t]he Linnean Genera are used in this catalogue; those of La Marck are sometimes added, with the Letters L'M. affixed, and those of Perry, with the letter P."

Bass was the first of six successive superintendents with medical and scientific training. His successor, Malthus A. Ward (1794-1863), created the first arrangement of

[133] Bass was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1789, to an old American family that dates to 1630. His family's home was next to the Adams family, and President John Adams, noticing Seth Bass's studious nature, allowed him use of his library. Bass received his medical degree from Dartmouth in 1815 with the thesis entitled *A Dissertation on the Poisonous qualities and on the Medical properties of the Rhus Vernix and on the Medical Properties of the Magnolia Glauca*, and then studied medicine under a Dr. Warren. He practiced medicine in Salem for about twenty years, and, according to Katherine Wolff, was a shareholder of the Salem Athenaeum. In 1824, he was made a member of the New York Lyceum of Natural History. After leaving his post at the East India Marine Society, he became the second librarian of the Boston Athenaeum under Bowditch's urging, a position he held until 1846 when he became an assistant to the new librarian, Charles Folsom of Harvard. As Wolff notes, they "made a financial investment in professionalism by increasing its expenditure for a librarian from a mere $562 in 1825 (a year before Bass's tenure began) to $2,375 in 1839." Bass moved to Stowe, Massachusetts, later in his life, but his poor eyesight did not allow him to practice medicine. He was an avid collector of books and natural history specimens, and purportedly owned about 3,000 volumes and a very extensive collection of minerals, shells, and other curiosities. William Richard Cutter, *Encyclopedia of Massachusetts, Biographical—Genealogical, Volume 12* (American Historical Society, 2926), 452; Katherine Wolff, *The Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 173, footnote 48.

the collection in the newly constructed East India Marine Hall.[134] The *Salem Observer* noted:

> The elegant Hall, which they have recently erected in Essex Street, exhibits an interesting collection from almost every part of the world; and to the honor of the liberality of the Society is always open without expense to the inspection of any visitor, who is accompanied by a member. In specimens of the manufactures of savage and half civilized countries, in implements of war and articles of dress, in images of idolatrous worship, in birds, insects, mineralogical specimens and especially in shells, they are already in possession of an extensive, instructive, and beautiful variety. Their new Hall is spacious and elegant; and the recent arrangement of their collections does honor to the taste and science of Dr. Ward and other gentlemen by whom it has been made.[135]

Based on sketches of the Hall done in 1879, natural history specimens were integrated into the room with the rest of the collection and organized by type in their own cabinets (fig. 38).

Ward also adhered to a Linnaean system of classification, noting in an address to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, "[t]he mere Linnaean nomenclature is a gigantic

[134] Ward was born in Haverhill, New Hampshire, and was apprenticed to a local doctor as a young man and attended lectures at Dartmouth College. In 1815, he moved to Pennsylvania and then Indiana, becoming one of the first doctors of the pioneer community of Hindostan from 1819 to 1823. Ward returned to the Northeast in 1823 and attended the Medical School of Maine at Bowdoin, where he met Nathaniel Hawthorne. Once he graduated, Ward moved to Salem and set up his own medical practice. He also lectured on botany, horticulture, and chemistry, and was a founding member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. In 1831, The University of Georgia offered him the chair of natural history, which he excepted. Along with teaching mineralogy, geology, and botany, he created a university botanical garden next to his residence. Ward was dismissed in 1842 when the university fell on hard economic times, and he ran a commercial garden in Athens and helped found the Horticultural Society of Georgia and the Pomological Society. LeAnna Biles Schooler, "Malthus Ward (1794-1863)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia* (March 10, 2006). m.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/science-medicine/malthus-ward-1794-1863

[135] "East-India Marine Society, *Salem Observer*, October 15th, 1825. Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 192. When the Hall opened, the accounts of this day were also circulated throughout the nation, in the *Courier* as well as the *Christian Inquirer*, the *Columbian Centinel* of Athens, Georgia, the *Raleigh Register*, and the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D.C. The account of this later publication was reprinted in the *Essex Register* of October 27th, 1825, which noted it was done in a "handsome and complimentary manner…the fruit of the enterprise and liberality of the Mariners of Salem, with which the Museum is stored."

effort, and itself a wonderful instrument of order and perspicuity."[136] In regards to Natural History, he comments, "Natural History, in its broadest acceptation, embraces a knowledge and description of all the objects in the material universe," a more inclusionary definition that contains astronomy and meteorology, subjects usual excluded.[137] Still, Ward, like Peale, believed in a higher power controlling the forces of nature, noting, "knowledge of the laws which regulate the phenomena of Natural History, strictly speaking…are employed by the great Governor of the Universe with the same determinate precision, as those which are opened to our view by the general sciences."[138]

The installations constructed by Bass and Ward attracted attention from well-known naturalists of the day, such as the world-renowned botanist Asa Gray (1810-1888). Writing from the Britanic Gardens on August 17th, 1846, he asked Henry Wheatland to show "the world-famous East India Museum" to his friends Mr. Brownne of the New York Lyceum of Natural History and Mr. Holton.[139] Two years later, Jonathan James Devereux contacted Henry Wheatland for samples of specimens in the

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[136] Malthus A. Ward, An Address Pronounced Before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in Commemoration of its Third Annual Festival, September 21, 1831 (Boston: J.T. & E. Buckingham, 1831), 18-19. At the beginning of this address, Ward comments, "I am aware of the severe sarcasms which are often, and, no doubt, in many instances, justly thrown upon 'closet naturalists.' I know the peculiar air of suspicion with which practical men and 'out-of-door students of nature,' regard all communications emanating from such a source; and I am not ignorant of the exulting exclamation so often and so triumphantly reiterated by Linnaeus, 'I care not how learned my adversaries are, if they be only so from books!' yet, from the manner of my life, it is to books and the observations of others, that I must be principally indebted for the entertainment, if any there be, in what I have prepared to offer you at this time." Ibid, 6-7. He also notes " Notwithstanding the aversion most savages manifest to working in the soil, and which in them is but the result of education, the sentiment of the love of a garden is indubitably natural to man." Ibid, 7-8.

[137] Ibid, 19-20.

[138] Ibid, 26.

[139] Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 1, Folder 7.

museum collection for scientific analysis.[140] The comments by American conchologist and malacologist Augustus Gould (1805-1866), though, offer a conflicting view of the Society's museum. In 1840 he notes with praise that:

> The extensive commercial adventures which have been so long carried on from Massachusetts with China, the Northwest Coast, and the West Indies, and more especially the whale-fisheries, have given the principal sea-ports advantages for making collections of foreign shells, which have not been enjoyed by other larger cities. The collection in the Museum of the 'East India Marine Society,' at Salem, was the fruit of this foreign trade. It is of considerable extent and much notoriety.[141]

He then detracts from this positive statement by noting "it was made as a matter of curiosity, rather than for scientific purposes. It afforded materials for study to its Curator, Dr. Seth Bass, by whom it was scientifically arranged, at the same time that he began to collect a private cabinet, which is now one of the richest in New England."[142]

Gould's comments indicate a growing professionalism in the landscape of American science during Bass and Ward's tenure as East India Marine Society Superintendent. Dupree points to this change in the profession, noting:

> Science itself was departing from the eighteenth-century norm that had framed the efforts of Jefferson and John Quincy Adams. The old societies continued on,

[140] The letter dated April 6th, 1848, from Philadelphia, is as follows: "Peter A. Browne of this city a leader of our Bar, & like yourself a man of science & of great literary tarte is engaged in making an examination (with the microscope) of the furs, hairs, wool etc. of all animals & describing them and he is very anxious to obtain specimens of the hairs of all the mammalia belonging to the waters; Pieces of each as large as a half dollar will be sufficient, but the names (local, vulgar, or scientific) will be a very important accompaniment, a small portion of the skin (ie the cuticle) of the whale is also desirable. Now I wish you would do him & me the favour (if it be not too great a trouble to you) to endevaour to procure the above or some of them from the illimitable stock which is to be found in our Salem E.I. Mar. Museum. They can be easily spared & I know would never be refused to purposes of science. If you can do this without inconvenience & send the same either to McBrown or myself you will do me a favour which I should be at all times happy to reciprocate." Henry Wheatland Archives. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS # 464, Box 1, Folder 4.

[141] Augustus A. Gould, M.D., "ART. XVIII —Results of an Examination of the Shells of Massachusetts, and their Geographical Distribution (Read February 3d, 1841.), *Boston Journal of Natural History*, Volume 3, No. 4, 1841: 483.

[142] Ibid.

> joined by younger ones such as the New York Lyceum of Natural History. Here the amateur still was the typical scientist. The colleges, especially medical schools, as before provided training in most of the sciences and a shelter under which professors could carry on a modicum of research. But forces impinging on science from American life made these patrician institutions seem less adequate. Rapidly increasing wealth and economic activity opened both new potential opportunities and new responsibilities… The old naturalist or natural philosopher who aspired to universal competence was being crushed under such a weight of accumulated knowledge that he perforce became a specialist…Increasing competence and continuity in a restricted field replaced the general view.[143]

What emerged was a new type of discerning American scientist; "more specialized, more nearly professional in their attitude, more willing and anxious to cut the time lag in the flow of information from Europe."[144]

This change not only signaled a shift in American natural history, but in Salem's premier institution for conducting scientific research. By the 1830s, the museum was not the only game in town. Dodge notes:

> Throughout the nineteenth century, popular interest in natural history grew apace, and by 1833 there was enough interest in Salem outside the East India Marine Society to form another organization devoted to its pursuits, for in December of that year The Essex County Natural History Society was formed. The new natural history society included most of the prominent amateur naturalists of the day, among them such substantial and serious men as William Oakes of Ipswich,

[143] Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government*, 45-46. Dupree notes that "[i]n the gradations of scientific activity from fundamental discoveries to applications, specialization was also setting in… The abstract scientist who worked on basic problems but had no aptitude for applying his results put an increasing interval between himself and the inventor and entrepreneur who specialized in technology…" Ibid.

[144] Ibid. Dupree also states: "But as the ranks of young and ambitious specialists grew, a crisis in employment also grew. For the institutions of the country old-line societies and colleges offered few opportunities for the scientists to be hired as such, while amateur status no longer proved adequate. In this basic situation, which prevailed until the rise of universities after the Civil War, governments both state and federal had the chance to become great supporters of science." Ibid. Historian Linda Kerber also points to these changes and the decline of the amateur scientist. She also stats, "During the early national period a large number of scientific groups were formed in the United States-many destined to be small and short-lived. To varying degrees they all expected to assist in the diffusion of scientific knowledge and to play a role in the self-education of their members. They included the Chemical Society of Philadelphia (I792); the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (1799); the East India Marine Society (1799); and the American Botanical Society (1806). Linda K. Kerber, "Science in the Early Republic: The Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Apr., 1972): 263-265.

> Samuel P. Fowler of Danvers, and Henry Wheatland of Salem. Essex County has, indeed, been abundantly blest with individuals, predominantly botanists, who have made important contributions to our knowledge of natural history.[145]

A visitor to the Society's museum in 1830 expresses a similar sentiment. "The inhabitants of Salem glory in their rational and scientific amusements; and it is to the honor of the town that they are best adapted to their taste. The Atheneum [sic], Historical Society, Lyceums, Libraries, Reading Rooms, and its many Bookstores, signify to the mind's eye, that intellectual enjoyments, and not the perplexities of a great business, are esteemed the happy privilege of this people."[146]

Henry Wheatland (1812-1893), the longest serving superintendent of the East India Marine Society museum from 1837 to 1848, was the premier naturalist among the group of Society superintendents. Whitehill notes that Dr. Wheatland "took his duties as superintendent with energy and intelligence," citing the society's September 6th, 1838 meeting where "he brought in a detailed report of the new arrangement of the hall which he had made."[147] The son of Society member Richard Wheatland (1762-1800), Henry graduated Harvard College in 1832 and received his medical degree from Harvard in

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[145] Dodge and Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 45-47. In regards to portions of this collection, superintendent Charles Page notes during the July 1, 1835 meeting "that the birds in the societies museum were very much injured by moths & that much labour & time would be required to put them in order—the committee of observation were directed to attend to the business." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[146] "East-India Marine Hall, Salem," *Salem Gazette*, March 30th, 1830. This is a reprint of an account that ran in the *Christian Watchman*, denoted by the religious bent to the visitor's characterization of Salem. "Strangers, who visit this quiet place, especially when enervated by a depression of spirits, sometimes imagine they have arrived at a city of churches, academies, country-seats, and cottages, whose happy inmates express, by their cheerful countenances and their pleasant smiles, that they welcome you with pleasure to participate with them in worshipping their Creator, and admiring the works of his wisdom. The name of the town brings to the remembrance of the Christian a pleasing association of ideas."

[147] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 48. Wheatland was unanimously voted to the position during the September 6th, 1837 meeting after Charles G. Page resigned form his position via a communication received by the Society.

1837.[148] According to the *Salem Register* of March 2, 1898 "he did not take kindly to the College curriculum, but preferred to follow the bent of his own inclination toward science, natural history, and kindred studies; and, upon informing the President of the University of his utter distaste for the regular course, he was allowed to pursue his own way."[149] Wheatland lived his entire life in Salem, and was very active in the cultural and intellectual growth of the city. An avid naturalist, he was a founding member of the Essex County Natural History Society. He served as secretary from 1835 until it merged with the Essex Historical Society, of which Wheatland was also a member, to form the Essex Institute in 1848.[150] Wheatland was President of the Essex Institute from 1868 until his death, and devoted much of his life to ensuring that the Institute became "a permanent centre of influence for the enlightenment and instruction of the community."[151] Even

[148] According to the *Memoir of Henry Wheatland, M.D.* by William Phineas Upham, "Richard Wheatland was born at Wareham, Dorset County, England, Oct. 20, 1762. His parents were Peter Wheatland, who died in 1784, aged 75 years, and Bridget (Foxcroft) Wheatland, who died in 1817, aged 84 years. They were married about the year 1752, and had seven sons, John, George, Stephen, Peter, Richard, Robert, and a second John, and three daughters, Bridget, Margaret, and Anne. Richard, in early life, went to London to learn the trade of a leather-dresser, which he soon abandoned for the sea. Having served three years in the British Navy, being stationed principally in the West Indies, he was discharged at the close of the war. In 1783 he came to Salem, and sailed from that port as sailor, officer, and commander of a merchant vessel in the India trade. In 1801 he retired from the seas, and resided in Salem as a merchant until his decease, March 18, 1830." William P. Upham, *Memoir of Henry Wheatland, M.D.* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1895), 5. After the accidental fall that led to his death, the *Salem Gazette* of March 19, 1830, reflected, "For many years he was an active and enterprising merchant, and was universally esteemed as a public-spirited citizen and a most kind and benevolent man." Ibid.

[149] Quoted in Ibid, 12.

[150] Wheatland was a great proponent of the merger, and served as the Essex Institute's Secretary and Treasurer from 1848 until 1868, at which time he was elected President. Quoted in Ibid.

[151] Ibid, 14. The Institute grew under Wheatland's guidance and became a well-recognized institution. At about eighty years of age, he was stricken with paralysis, greatly affecting his ability to communicate. "But even then retaining his faculties of mind, though able only with the greatest difficulty to express his thought, he still kept alive his interest in the Institute" and managed to serve as its president until his death. Ibid, 14-15.

while President of the Essex Institute, he was instrumental to the founding of the Peabody Academy of Science.[152]

Wheatland is emblematic of a change in Salem's natural history landscape. When Sir Charles Lyell visited Salem on November 6th, 1845, he encounters Wheatland "a young physician, to whom I had gone without letters of introduction," who "politely showed us over the Museum of Natural History, of which he was curator; and over another full of articles illustrative of the arts, manners, and customs of the East Indies, China, and Japan."[153] Lyell considered the Essex County Natural History Society's

[152] Edward Sylvester Morse proclaims: "He had seen the Institute grow from a few members, occupying a small hired room, possessing a few specimens and books and an empty treasury, to an organization of nearly four hundred members, occupying a large building of its own, with invested funds of over one hundred thousand dollars, and a library of sixty thousand volumes. In his view such a growth could not be arrested…He looked ahead hopefully to the ultimate development of a large historical museum in which would be properly displayed the provincial and colonial records of the county, as well as records of the commercial history of this historic city Dr. Wheatland's identification with the Essex Institute is so complete that it is impossible to think of him and of the Institution separately. He was not only its father, but for many years he was the Institute, so far as being secretary, treasurer, editor of its journals, cabinet-keeper, and night-watch man could make him…It is not too much to say that the Essex Institute, and indirectly its sister institution, the Peabody Academy of Science, may be looked upon as the results of Dr. Wheatland's life-long devotion to the cause of science and history in this community." Quoted in Ibid, 16. In addition to his connection to these organizations, he was a member, fellow, and auditor of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; an original Trustee and Vice-President of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard; an honorary member of the Danvers Historical Society; President of the Salem Fraternity; and voted as a member to numerous other local and national societies. For more contemporary accounts of Wheatland's life and character, see *A Memorial of Henry Wheatland* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1893).

[153] Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America*, Volume 1 (London: John Murray, 1849), 122. Lyell continues by describing the collections he viewed. "Among other specimens of natural history, too large to be conveniently accommodated in any private house, I was glad of an opportunity of examining the great jaw-bones and teeth of the Squalus serridens, from the South Seas, which reminded me, by their serrated outline, of the teeth of the fossil Zeuglodon, hereafter to be mentioned. I was well pleased to observe that the shells of the neighbouring coast had not been neglected, for people are often as ignorant of the natural history of the region they inhabit, especially of the lakes, rivers, and the sea, as of the flora and fauna of the antipodes. Many curious log-books of the early sea-captains of this port, who ventured in extreme ignorance of geography on distant voyages, are preserved here, and attest the daring spirit of those hardy navigators. Some of them sailed to India by the Cape, without a single chart or map, except that small one of the world, on Mercator's projection, contained in Guthrie's Geography. They used no sextants, but, working their dead-reckoning with chalk on a plank, guessed at the sun's position with their hand at noon. They had usually no capital, but started with a few beads and trinkets, and in exchange for these trifles often obtained the skins of sea-otters in the Oregon

cabinet, and not the East India Marine Society, as Salem's principal institution devoted to natural history. Lyell also appears to be unimpressed by either institutions scientific classification, noting, "In both collections there are a variety of objects which may appear, on a hasty view, to form a heterogeneous and unmeaning jumble," but still believes both collections, "are really curious and valuable."[154]

The correspondence between Henry Wheatland and then Society President Charles Moses Endicott (1793-1863)—who was in command of the Salem ship *Friendship* when she was attacked in Quallah Battoo in 1831—sheds light on the changes in Salem's scientific landscape.[155] By the late 1840s, Wheatland was disgruntled with the state of the museum's collections, and his frustration stemmed from a perceived lack of Society support. In response to his critical assessments, Endicott informs him on February 18th, 1846:

> While we justly appreciate your motives in this endeavoring to do something to infuse new life & interest into the Members of the Society, yet we cannot avoid the conclusion that by the manner in which you propose or dictate improvements, your zeal for science has led you a step in advance of your position among us, and betrayed you into the use of language, the import which we are persuaded you did not fully consider. It is a matter of deep regret to the officers that you should "feel

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territory, each worth no less than 100 dollars. They also obtained sandal-wood in the Sandwich Islands, and bartered these and other articles in China for tea. On such slender means, and so lately as after the separation of the colonies from England, at a time when there was not a single American ship of war in the Indian or Chinese seas to protect their commerce, did many merchants of Boston and Salem lay the foundations of the princely fortunes they now enjoy." Ibid, 122-123.

[154] Ibid, 122.

[155] According to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "Charles Moses Endicott was born in 1793, the son of Moses (a shipmaster who died in Havana in 1807) and Anna (Towne) Endicott. Educated at Phillips Academy in Andover, by the age of fifteen, he was working in the counting house of his uncle Samuel Endicott in Salem. Following the War of 1812, Endicott went to Sumatra as a supercargo in the pepper trade; he engaged in this trade for the next twenty years while compiling a survey of the treacherous coastline that was translated into French and widely used, including by the United States Navy. In addition to his seafaring career, Endicott served as president of the East India Marine Society and cashier of the Salem Bank. He also penned several historical and genealogical works." Massachusetts Historical Society, "'To the Farthest Ports of the Rich East': Salem and the Sumatra Pepper Trade." www.masshist.org/objects/2012august.php.

> almost ashamed to be considered the superintendent" of the museum, in its present condition, and still more that this avowal should be accompanied with a sort of threat that, "unless some effort is made to better its condition" etc. you "shall be obliged to resign", at our next regular meeting. This is anything but gratifying to the pride & feelings of the Society, and however unwilling they might be to lose your valuable services, yet the officers not possessing the enviable faculty of "making bricks without straw", cannot flatter themselves that by any "efforts" in their power, a better state of things than now exists can be brought about by them.[156]

In addition, Endicott alludes to the nature of the museum's finances as one reason for its lack of support for Wheatland's more progressive work with the collections.

> The Museum has probably far outstripped the most sanguine expectations of its founders, and the expense of maintaining it has become somewhat of a burden upon the society. Its affairs therefore will probably ever be conducted, from necessity, upon the strictest principles of economy, due regard being always had to the needful preservation & increase of its curiosities, so far forch [?] as the condition of its funds will justify. More than this we dare not promise ourselves, & more than this we certainly cannot hold out to any one who may have its immediate management.[157]

Endicott's statements are revealing of the sea change in the Society's promotion of natural history. His letter highlights Wheatland's opinion that the Society was unable and unwilling to promote the new and more professional brand of natural history he advocated. While finances played a part in Society's decisions to maintain the status quo, they also reflect their lack of interest in backing the very causes that were once the mainstay of the organization. Another factor, though, was Wheatland's conflict of interest between his role at the East India Marine Society museum and the Essex County Natural History Society. While Whitehill notes Wheatland's great attention to detail in his job as

[156] Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 1, Folder 7.
[157] Ibid.

superintendent, the officers of the Society did not concur with this depiction.[158] Charles Endicott informs Henry Wheatland in a letter dated November 1st, 1848 that the Society planned to relieve him of his duties at the quarterly meeting on the same day. He states that "the members as well as the officers…have come to the conclusion that it is important to the well-being of the Society's Museum, that they should have a Superintendent who has no divided interest by which his time or attention will in any way be abstructed [sic] or alienated from the Society."[159] Specifically, Endicott points out to Wheatland that "during the past season no report has been submitted of any additions to the Museum," and accuses him of not attending any East India Marine Society quarterly meetings.[160] Based on Wheatland's performance, and "[u]nder all the circumstances of the case so much of dissatisfaction has been expressed to the officers by different members of the Society," they "concluded in future to choose no one for Superintendent who holds any office under" the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.[161]

Wheatland would not allow the Society Officers to fire him, though, and sent off an immediate reply resigning his post. In this letter, he reminds Endicott:

> When I was invited by your predecessor to take charge of the Museum in September 1837, I expressly stated that my affections were absorbed in the success of the Essex County Natural History Society recently incorporated with the Essex Historical Society under the name of the Essex Institute—an Institution with which I have been connected from its origin & have devoted much time & attention in the advancement of its objects.[162]

Wheatland also places blame on the Society's members, stating:

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[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid, Folder 8.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

> For several years past not a single officer has been into the Hall to advise me in any manner whatever & even the members themselves have appeared to take very little if any interest—under such circumstances how can I be presumed to discharge my duties pleasantly when such apparent indifference is manifested by those who are its natural guardians & ought to be its well wishers.[163]

Wheatland's voluminous correspondence at the Phillips Library, though, supports Endicott's claims. Very few letters relate to his position at the museum or the collection of material for donation to the Society. Rather, they focus on his work with the Essex County Natural History Society and the acquisition of specimens for that institution through similar networks of scientists and mariners abroad.

At the time of Wheatland's departure, the Essex Institute was the leading natural history institution in Salem. The *Scientific and Literary Gossip* of March 15th, 1883, notes, "[d]uring the decline of the commercial period there arose an increasing interest in the study of natural history, which resulted in 1828, in the formation of a natural history society, that in 1848, by a union with the Essex Historical Society, became the Essex Institute. The institute soon accumulated a large cabinet of specimens of natural

[163] Ibid. Wheatland also informs Endicott: "I must confess that I have been remiss in attending the meetings—how could it be otherwise when these very meetings have been so thinly attended & at the same time have no report to make as frequently has been the case. I have heretofore devoted much time in the care of the museum—much more, yea a great deal more than them trivial compensation you have allowed, would authorize if I were not actuated by a sincere desire to promote the best interests of the Institution…Of late years whenever any improvements have been suggested in the arrangement of any part of the museum a cold indifference has been manifested which has compelled me to withdraw & say nothing more on the subject; see the letter which I addressed to you a few years since on the subject of improving the collection & bettering its condition. I have endeavored since my connection with the Society which has now exceeded eleven years to do my duty—I should have been glad to have exerted myself more in the increase of your valuable collection had I been cheered onwards by the encouraging smiles & approbation of the officers & members, but alas! That has not been the case, & my zeal has frequently been dampened—at times have felt discouraged & several times have almost made up my mind to resign ere this. Trusting that you will find a succesor [sic] who will discharge the duties of a superintendant [sic] more satisfactorily than I have done. I remain yours with respect." Ibid.

history."[164] Two decades later, though, in an ironic twist, "the proper care" of the Institute's collection "eventually became an expensive burden."[165] With George Peabody's financial backing, their natural history specimens were moved into East India Marine Hall, and the Peabody Academy of Science, the second incarnation of the East India Marine Society museum, became the premier natural history museum in Salem and one of the most influential in the nation.

Conclusion

The Salem Gazette of Friday Morning, January 30th, 1885 ran an article written by John Robinson on the East India Marine Society "to show that the early work of this society was pervaded by an earnest spirit of scientific research…suggested by an examination of old manuscript records and documents belonging to the Society."[166] He attempts to resurrect a not-so-distant history of the Society that was rapidly disappearing in the local and national consciousness, specifically its scientific influences. Robinson notes that "[a]side from the munificent charities of the Salem East India Marine Society, extending over an unbroken period of eighty-six years, there is a scientific history covering a less extended period, which at this late day is by many persons forgotten, and to the younger generation is unknown…an earnest spirit of scientific research pervaded the early work of this society."[167]

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[164] "The Peabody Academy of Science, at Salem, Mass.," *Scientific and Literary Gossip*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (Boston, Mass., March 15, 1883): 37. Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 3, 1882-1884. Peabody Essex Museum General Archive, Phillips Library.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Robinson, "East India Marine Society."
[167] Ibid.

Robinson begins his study with the origins of the organization, where a scientific vigor "is seen at the outset by the care which was taken in the preparation of the by-laws, which were re-written several times and referred to persons of learning in the community before adoption."[168] While their act of incorporation places benevolence first, "the promotion or a knowledge of navigation" was second; "the museum followed as incidental to the latter."[169] Rather than view the distribution of blank journals from purely a scientific viewpoint, Robinson acknowledges their importance to American mercantilism. "Upon the foundation of the society blank journals were immediately distributed, under the bylaws, (article 14,) to 'every member bound to sea.' This latter clause was in reality meant for the benefit of the commercial interests of the country, which at that time largely centered at Salem."[170] He also acknowledges the Society's national presence. "The society was in constant communication with the United States government and the scientific records made by its members have received more than ordinary mention by well known authors of works on meteorology. The endorsement of the society was ever considered a guarantee of the highest character."[171]

Even as early as the 1880s, though, the public was unaware of the connection between the Society's endeavors and science. Robinson states:

> While the fame of the East India Marine museum was in great measure due to public interest in it as a 'collection of curiosities' and not on account of its scientific value, yet, those who originated the work, without having the advantages of any knowledge of the methods familiar to the modern scientist, in many instances devised for themselves methods and plans, based upon the orderly

[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

> ways of transacting business at that day, which the modern scientist has not improved upon."[172]

Robinson also encapsulates the lasting legacy of the Society and its place in antebellum American science. "We have a right to point with pride to the history of the East India Marine Society, and claim for it a high rank among the scientific institutions of the day for the large amount of original work contributed to general knowledge by its members, work which was performed by men to whom scientific training was unknown."[173] A hundred and forty years later, Robsinon's accurate assessment of the Society's scientific achievements resonates with the new insights, fresh analysis, and contemporary context presented here, and should become part of the vernacular on American science in the first half of the nineteenth century.

[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR:

"Gathered, with cost and pains, from every clime": A Museum Built by Mariners, the Public, and the Global Networks of Nineteenth-century Mercantilism

> He, who sails to distant regions of the globe, traffics with foreign nations, converses with people in other hemispheres, where manners, habits, wants, customs and means differ from our own; where climate and soil engender useful articles before unseen, and art run in a different road, and brings home specimens illustrative of the varied mode of life and climate, is the real benefactor of this country, for he adds to that storehouse of facts, whence science draws all its most valuable materials. Who has not remarked the peculiarly interesting conversation of a sagacious, inquisitive and correct sea commander, who narrates what he saw and heard, suffered and acquired?
>
> Obituary of Benjamin Carpenter, *Boston Patriot*, October 1st, 1823.

When the *Boston Patriot* ran their flattering memorial to Benjamin Carpenter in 1823, they recognized that he and his fellow East India Marine Society members were part of a new generation of Salem and United States mariners. These intrepid men saw themselves not provincially as Massachusetts's seamen but as American sailors. Born as British citizens, post-Revolutionary global trading routes allowed them to establish a national identity.[1] The material culture they obtained abroad and through a network of outside donors played a critical part in this ideological exercise, regardless of whether an object was an American print or something from "other hemispheres, where manners, habits, wants, customs and means differ from our own." Subsequent generations of

[1] Morrison, *True Yankees*, xix. Morrison notes that "in the succinct language of French immigrant turned 'American Farmer,' Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, the question of the age was, 'What then is the American, this new man?'" since "[t]he formation of a national identity was a conundrum for citizens of the new republic." Ibid. Finamore notes that "[n]ot only their identity, but also their character, came into question and was discussed openly in such venues as the *Salem Gazette*, which reported that 'The late English papers represent the people of America as mere brutes and savages, and portray our merchants and traders as destitute of principle, honour, and common honesty.'" Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 40-41.

Society members continued to redefine this notion of American identity through international objects as the country industrialized and expanded.

William Story (1774-1864), the half-brother of Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story, joined the East India Marine Society in 1804 as the organization was on the rise and the port of Salem was at its apex. Officially on the Society roles as member number 95, Story's lifespan almost reached this numerical designation. First commanding merchant vessels to Europe and the Mediterranean starting in 1797, he soon made voyages to the East Indies as first officer and then master of the *Friendship* and earned the nautical experience required to become a Society member. Story's career was certainly longer than the majority of his brethren, but mirrored many of their experiences. He served in various capacities on merchant vessels to ports all around the globe, owned ships along with fellow members such as Stephen White (1787-1841), the most influential merchant in Salem in the 1820s and 1830s, and retired to land based mercantile ventures, operating a general merchandise business in Marblehead.[2]

Like other mariners, though, Story fell on hard times during the War of 1812, and was forced to sell his Marblehead business in 1817 to fellow members White and William Fettyplace (1780-1867); both brothers-in-law who served as East India Marine Society President.[3] Financial hardships forced Story back to the sea in 1821 as master of some of White's ships to Europe and South America, and by 1826, he owned and

[2] John Frayler, "Retired on the Fourth of July," *Pickled Fish and Salt Provisions: Historical Musings from Salem Maritime NHS*, Vol. IV, No. 6 (September 2003): 4-7. For more on Stephen White, See Robert Booth, *Death of An Empire: The Rise and Murderous Fall of Salem, America's Richest City* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

[3] Ibid, 8. White was President from 1823 to 1827, and Fettyplace served in this capacity from 1832 to 1836.

captained his own vessel, the schooner *Sally*.[4] At fifty-three years old, Story retired a second time and worked in the Salem Custom House as weigher and gauger until the fourth of July 1853.[5] When Story died at age ninety, the *Salem Register* noted, "He contributed his full share to the services rendered by that class to the commercial prosperity of this city and the whole country, in the period of his early manhood and during his prime."[6]

From 1802 to 1804, Story was master and part owner of the *Friendship* on a twenty-six month voyage to Sumatra and Canton. Like her captain, the *Friendship*'s career was long and multifaceted. She was built in Salem by Enos Briggs (1746-1819), and was launched on May 28th, 1797, the same year Story commanded his first ship. The *Friendship* made seventeen voyages from 1797 until 1812 when she was captured and condemned by the British, reaching ports in the East Indies and Europe and earning her various owners $141,394.33.[7] During her 1802 to 1804 voyage, the ship's second mate, Thomas Russell (b. 1780), and carpenter, Mr. Odell, built a model of the vessel, purportedly for Story's son, William Jr. (fig. 41) It was, and still is, very common for sailors to commemorate a voyage through artwork such as building a ship model, and many are accurate depictions of sailing vessels as mariner modelers know a vessel from stem to stern. This example, however, is unique in many ways. Both men spared no effort

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid. It was in this capacity, according to Salem Maritime National Historic Site historian John Frayler, that Story worked with Nathaniel Hawthorne during the author's short career in governmental service. In the Introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*, Frayler believes, "One of the stereotyped hapless recipients of Hawthorne's stinging imagery would have been, though not identified by name, Captain William Story." Ibid, 2.
[6] *Salem Register*, March 17th, 1864, quoted in George Granville Putnam, *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages: A History of the Pepper Trade with the Island of Sumatra*, Vol. I (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1922), 30-31.
[7] Ibid, 21.

in creating a model that was nine feet long, much bigger than most ship models. The scale and the level of craftsmanship are all the more remarkable because the two men worked on the project in the confined area between the vessel's decks while at sea.

As this model was too large to display in Story's home, he donated it to the East India Marine Society soon after arriving back in Salem. Like Story and the vessel he commanded, the model, too, has had a multi-dimensional history. Since its donation, it was a fixture in the Society's museum as the most accurate depiction of a Salem trading ship during the port's Golden Age, and later used in the last vestiges of their parades.[8] Any Society member or sailor who viewed this model would instantaneously recall moments from their careers, voyages to the far corners of the globe that were simultaneously exciting and long arduous ventures in cramped quarters. This object likely triggered synesthetic associations, from an, "atmosphere redolent with the perfumes from the east, warm and fragrant and silent the smells of various ports," to the fetid and putrid smells associated with life aboard ship.[9]

[8] The 1831 printed catalogue lists number 771, previously published as a model of the *Friendship*, as the *Grand Turk*, the first Salem ship to sail to China. The model was altered between 1821 and 1831, and then returned to its original form later on. Whitehill notes at the November 1st, 1848 quarterly meeting, "the society disclaimed any knowledge of 'why this alteration should have taken place,' and voted 'That the Ship bear its original and proper name the Friendship.'" Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 141-142 footnote 17. The *National Aegis* (Worcester, MA) of July 8th, 1840 notes "FOURTH OF JULY IN SALEM. The Whig Celebration in Salem, on the 4th, is said to have been all that could be desired…There was not a more interesting department in the procession, than that assigned to the sailors…They had in their centre the beautiful ship 'Grand Turk,' from the hall of the East India Museum, and the two or three little boy-sailors who manned her, did their duty to admiration, firing their mimic salutes with as much regularity and gravity, as the old privateersmen of the original 'Grand Turk' would themselves have displayed." In addition, in the account of the 1851 parade, it is noted that, "The guns of the latter vessel (some-times known as the 'Grand Turk') were firing a continual salute to the spectators as they moved along."

[9] Quote from Caroline Howard King' reflections on the museum. King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 29.

East India Marine Society members' fathers and grandfathers grew up in a town bound to the sea. Colonial-era Salem men who worked on coastal and Atlantic voyages had grown up together, and comprised sixty-six to eighty percent of a ship's crew.[10] These men were not away from home for years on end, as the next generation would be, and retired to a life ashore once their sailing days were done.[11] As Hawthorne notes in his "Introduction" to the *Scarlet Letter*, "From father to son, for above a hundred years, they followed the sea; a grey-headed shipmaster, in each generation, retiring from the quarter-deck to the homestead, while a boy of fourteen took the hereditary place before the mast, confronting the salt spray and the gale, which had blustered against his sire and grandsire."[12]

The thirty men who signed the first articles of the Society in October 1799 at Webb's Tavern, a mix of Salem's rising merchant elite in the New Republic, represented a transitional generation. At an average age of thirty-seven, they were seasoned mariners who had gone to sea in their teenage years.[13] Many cut their teeth in the Atlantic trade, such as Ichabod Nichols (1749-1839), who was a captain by age twenty, and made several successful voyages to the West Indies before entering the colonial militia in 1776. Others, like Benjamin Carpenter, who commanded the first vessel to carry "the thirteen stripes around the Cape of Good Hope after the peace of 1783" and Jonathan Carnes,

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[10] Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 105. As Daniel Vickers states, these, "Sons of craftsmen, farmers, shopkeepers, merchants, and other mariners…represented a cross-section of local society distinguished only by their sex and their age." Ibid, 249.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 15, also quoted in Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 176.
[13] For a complete list of East India Marine Society members and the offices they held, see Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, Appendix A and B.

ventured to the East Indies in the first years of the new United States.[14] Some members were well-off, born into the most powerful shipping families, the Derbys and the Crowninshields. Others, like Bowditch, had little formal education and worked at an early age to support the family, but ultimately became successful merchants. Many Society members served aboard other members' ships, eventually transitioning to life after sea as merchant ship owners, landowners outside Salem or, like Nathaniel Silsbee, careers in politics. Some, like Carpenter and Carnes, served a life bound to the mast.

While the dynamics of Salem's trade changed during the course of the nineteenth century, with some prosperous merchants moving to Boston, the complexion of the Society did not. The multi-dimensional characteristics found within the first thirty members remained true throughout the antebellum period. James Buffington Briggs (1790-1857) was a career sailor, only retiring in his fifties, while Stephen White spent most of his career financing voyages rather than commanding them, and later served in the Massachusetts State Legislature. In addition to working with each other, many members were related as fathers and sons and brothers, either by birth or through marriage. This was not unusual given Salem's close-nit maritime community, and was also intentional.[15]

[14] *Boston Patriot*, October 1st, 1823.

[15] As historian Blaine Edele notes, "Social class endogomy [sic] characterized their choice of spouses, as is especially prevalent in upper-class families…the females in William Allen's family of procreation married respectable sailors. For example, Henry Allen, who we know as an unfaithful husband, was the son of the wealthy merchant Edward Allen…it is not uncommon for cross-class marriages to occur when the male marries one of a lower scale; this is evidenced with Charles Henry's selection of Mary Penniman Wright who was the daughter of Peter Wright, a laborer." Blaine Edele, "The Allen Family" (Unpublished paper, 1978): 39. Allen Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS 1.

Regardless of their upbringing, these mariners relied on the seasoned advice of veterans within the industry, especially those individuals who sailed on Salem's first global trading ships. For many, relatives and friends provided this nautical coaching, and instilled within these "greenhands" the importance of observation, recording, and collecting. When George Nichols (1778-1865) was preparing for his first voyage in 1795 on the bark *Essex*, his father, Ichabod, sent him a lengthy letter, as any father would do when their child was entering into the world as an adult. He imparts worldly advice and guidance to his son on the proper decorum aboard ship, e.g. principles to adhere to when dealing with fellow sailors, officers, and trading partners, among many other things. Ichabod Nichols told George to "observe Lord Chesterfield's Doctorine [sic]," to make himself "agreeable" to others on the ship, and to follow orders.[16] "Don't think yourself above doing any thing that Captn Green or the mates may order, for you maybe assured that they will not order you to do what is out of Character to be done onboard," he instructed.[17] Most importantly, Ichabod Nichols stressed the importance of observing and recording. "You had best Keep a Journal of the Ships way and also the most important occurrences that may happen on the Voyage."[18]

Two decades later, Joseph Gilbert Waters (1796-1878) imparts similar advice to his younger brother William Dean Waters (1798-1880)—who became a Society member

[16] Typescript of a Memorandum for George, March 9th 1795, Peirce-Nichols Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 468. Ichabod Nichols was referring to *Letters to His Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*, a volume of over 400 letters Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son Philipe Stanhope from c. 1737 until his son's untimely death in 1768. The letters, written in French, English, and sometimes Latin, were primarily devoted to educating his son on scholarly subjects and practical worldly advice. Christopher Mayo, "Philip Dormer Stanhope: Letters To His Son," *The Literary Encyclopedia*. http://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=21002.
[17] Ibid. Other advice was directed towards physical expectations at sea.
[18] Ibid.

in 1821—before his first voyage. In a letter sent to the Ship *Caroline* in Sumatra dated November 14th, 1819, Joseph comments, "I did not expect, when I parted with you in Salem, that you would have so soon have followed my example, in seeking the road to fortune. But we are now alike wanderers in pursuit of the means of our future subsistence, we must now depend on ourselves."[19] Joseph Waters stresses the importance of character and morality, and as William had trained as a lawyer prior to going to sea, he notes, "These good qualities are essential to the character of every honest man, and of course not excluded from a Lawyers code of morality…"[20] Joseph supports his brother's decision to choose a career at sea, one he believes "will not fail of rewarding you in a few years if not with a fortune, at least a competency."[21] Above all, he advises him to use his time onboard ship for "the improvement of your mind"—studying financial markets at trading ports, reading books on history and science, and most importantly, observing and recording, "the motives, which operate to produce particular casts of character" to obtain "another kind of knowledge very useful…that of the world."[22]

Instilled with a passion for learning, these sailors used their journals and diaries to record observations of both a nautical and ethnological nature. In addition, they sometimes made personal reflections about their experiences that, like the model of the *Friendship*, were accessible to all mariners. These observations provide a window into the minds of these sailors venturing across the globe; their thoughts on the maritime experience, the contact zones negotiated abroad, and concepts of what it was to be an

[19] Waters Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-12, Box 9, Folder 8.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

American. They also reveal the diversity of Society members, and their attitudes towards the native inhabitants living in the far reaches of the world, which can be used to contextualize the objects they collected from their voyages.

Many of the East India Marine Society members who were embarking on voyages reflected on the great unknown. Benjamin Hodges Jr., the son of East India Marine Society founding member Benjamin Hodges, remarks at the opening of a voyage to Europe on the ship *Union* in 1803:

> This day commences a course of life entirely new. During seventeen years, which I have spent on this earth, my friends have continually surrounded me. Now I quit them, to enter upon a state, of which at present I can form little idea. Imagination must however be employed, and the scene shall be painted with the most brilliant colors. Instead of strangers, I must fancy the most valued of my acquaintances to hold conversations with me, and bring them to my presence by contemplation. …During the present voyage I expect disappointment. But I trust the great design will be accomplished that knowledge of men and manners Will be acquired, which ride under life so much more pleasant as to counterbalance away evil. That self-knowledge which constitutes true wisdom can only be acquired by a knowledge of human nature.[23]

This aspect of a sailor's life was one that led to continual reflection among Hodges's generation and those that came after him. Sometimes, it was infused with patriotic sentiment. William Augustus Rogers comments during the *Tartar*'s departure from the shores of Nahant and Marblehead, "how proud were my feelings when I behold the

[23] Union (Ship) Log. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# Log 912. Similarly, Supercargo Timothy Ropes Jr., in his journal kept aboard the brig *Herald* on a voyage to South America from May 1823 to August 1824, remarks: "Having but lately returned from a voyage of seventeen months in the Ship Caroline, I had but a short time to realize the pleasures which I had often anticipated…when I was again called to leave them…he who has chosen a sailors life, must submit to prevations [sic] like this without a murmur… Committing myself to the care of the Almighty Sovreign [sic] of the Seas and trusting in his power and goodness, I hope once more to visit the friends, the home of my youth,—but should my bones rest in a foreign land or whither beneath the waves of the ocean, O may my immortal spirit soar to the blest regions of eternal day & join with those of my friends who have gone before & shall follow after." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# Log 1626. Society member Aaron Wait Williams (1800-1830) commanded the *Herald*.

setting sun covering with his golden mantle the freest [sic] 'of all the lands he shines upon,' the land of peace and rational liberty, uncontaminated with licentiousness, and unrestrained by tyranny, the asylum of oppressed humanity, the refuge of itenerant [sic] men…and the Western star shone with honor's purest light, to guide the oppressed emigrant to the cradle of freedom, and the sea worn mariner to the land of his home—Farewell for a time my country,…may ages roll on their unwearied courses and find thy sons as wise, as brave, as free and as virtuous as they now are."[24]

Beyond their personal feelings concerning life at sea, East India Marine Society members reflected on other cultures and further refined their sense of American identity. George Cleveland wrote in the introduction to his 1838 "diary," a sketch of his life and ancestry, that "[e]very individual of the human race is different from every other, in feelings, sentiment, knowledge and temper,—and hence the difference of action which constantly occurs among mankind. This infinite diversity in man, is one of the wonders of creation..."[25] Benjamin Crowninshield, master of the brig *Henry* during a voyage to Calcutta in 1789, wrote a very detailed description of a *sati*, the ritual suicide of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre. His account is uncharacteristic in comparison to other Westerners as it is objective. At the end of his lengthy description, Crowninshield

[24] *Tartar* (Ship) Log. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 935, 2.
[25] Diary of George Cleveland, 1838. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, DIA 44. Cleveland's belief in a psychological diversity of mankind, in a creationist mold, also extends to the natural world later in this passage. Cleveland also states that his diary was intended "to leave to my children (if they should have the curiosity to read it)" recollections on his life. He writes: "there is a romance in the life of every man, who arrives at any thing like advanced age, which is more interesting, could it be carefully detailed, than any fiction which the most gifted mind could invent. How many common sailors there are, and men in obscure life, whose whole lives have been one continued scene of adventure and hair breadth escapes,—and whose memoirs could they be truly written would excite the admiration of the reader, and yet from circumstances inherent in the nature of things, a slight recollection, or some faint tradition, in the family, is all that remains of events, which should be recorded in some durable form." Ibid. Cleveland served as East India Marine Society President from 1827 to 1830.

concludes, "Thus ended a most horrid sight, and whether it is right or wrong, I leave it for other people to determine. There is this in it, it appeared very solemn to me. I did not think it was in the power of a human person to meet death in such a manner."[26]

On rare occasions, Society members discussed the objects collected during their voyages, some relating unusual events from American trading ventures. John Henry Eagleston, while commanding the ship *Mermaid* to Fiji, notes on February 15th, 1838, that he "made prisoner one of the crew who massacred the officers of the Manila Brig mentioned in a former voyage."[27] This man, noted as a Spaniard but dressed as a Fijian and accompanied by native inhabitants, had attempted to capture Eagleston's ship under the guise of friendly bartering for goods. Eagleston knew of his true identity and plan and had him "put him in double irons" once he stepped onto the deck.[28] The prisoner was kept below and watched by the ship's carpenter, who informed Eagleston the next morning that the prisoner had a spare head. Eagleston recounts:

> Going below I found the head had disappeared & at once suspecting the devil wore a Wig, I gave it a kick and sent it flying across the deck, leaving him With his hair drawn up and tied in a knot on his head. The frame of the Wig was light basket work and well filled with Fiji hair & dressed as in life. It being the first I ever saw of the kind, I called it mine & it is to be seen in the East India Museum.[29]

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[26] Quoted in Bean, *Yankee India*, 43. See Ibid, 41-43 for Crowninshield's full narrative. Bean points to Crowninshield's description as an example of times when "American mariners sometimes experienced deeply affecting, profound encounters with Indian culture that altered their conventional ways of understanding. Crowninshield's description of sati is remarkable for its author's unwillingness to judge. It is an indication that, even in these opening years of trade, the enormous gap separating Yankee and Hindu moral sensibilities might be bridged." Ibid.

[27] Richard Price Northey, "Memoirs of a Yankee Shipmaster," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 1940): 247.

[28] Ibid, 248.

[29] Ibid.

Eagleston donated this object to the Society in 1839, number 4947, and the story was recorded in their internal catalogue (fig. 42).[30]

Eagleston's account is one of the few that bind together American mariners' written reflections of life at sea with the material culture that encapsulated those experiences.[31] More often, like the model of the *Friendship*, the objects these men collected were silent symbols of their voyages and the cultures encountered across the globe. The eighteen brass cannon on the model of the *Friendship*, each with bored barrels, were cast by natives in the port of Palembang, Sumatra, for fifty-dollars. These artisans were used to producing full-scale versions for defense in a region filled with rival trading nations, Malay pirates, and adverse political factions.[32] The model, like other objects in the Society's collection, is a multicultural artistic venture; the combined efforts of American and Indonesian craftsmen. The cannon evoke further associations related to American mariner's experience in ports around the world. Story, while trading in Sumatra as master of the ship *Marquis De Someruelas* in 1806, was attacked in one of the branches of the Great Salt River.[33] While Society members created friendly trading

[30] The object is listed as "Fegee Wig worn by a Spaniard who several years ago cut off a vessel in conjunction with the natives, he was taken coming on board of the vessel commanded by Capt. J. Eagleston by invitation, he was found completely armed and prepared to capture the vessel. Capt. E. surmising his intentions immediately had him seized and ironed, thence carried to Manilla [sic] where he was sentenced and condemned to hard labour for life." Supplement #2. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 18, Folder 1.

[31] Eagleston's passage pertaining to this wig, along with William A. Rogers account of killing and stuffing an albatross for the East India Marine Society museum, are the only two direct statements of collecting for the museum to come to light to date.

[32] As these canon could be fired, it is likely they were put on the model of the *Constitution* and responsible for the damage to her rigging in 1814, previously noted in footnote 408.

[33] Story gave an account of this encounter to the *Salem Register*, the full text quoted in Putnam, *Salem Vessels and Their Voyages*, 26-30.

relationships, the dangers of this experience were palpable, and often tied to the objects they brought back home.

Along with the influence of other mariners and travel narratives, American sailors had developed a desire to collect objects of all types. As global traders aboard vessels like the *Friendship* during an era of unfettered trade, East India Marine Society members in the first half of its existence were uniquely positioned to create an international collection in the antebellum United States. This inclination to collect grew out of sailor's almost genetic tendency to bring back souvenirs from their voyages, and what Ernest Dodge characterizes as "a fascination about the unfamiliar and the curious" that have "filled the pages of travellers [sic] and embellished the stories of adventurers for centuries."[34] Thus, the objects Society members and other mariners brought back were both a reflection of the far-reaching networks of trade and of the sailors themselves.[35]

The Society was also cognizant of the recent European drive towards global geographic exploration, and the call to collect objects from around the globe. Copies of the published works on Cook's voyages circulated in Salem, such as Anderson's volume donated by Jacob Crowninshield in 1800. On the frontispiece of blank Society journals, after the instructions for recording nautical details and commercial observations, are directions to document, "Whatever is singular in the manners, customs, dress, ornaments,

[34] Ernest Stanley Dodge and Charles H. P. Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1949), 1.

[35] Finamore states this was a premeditated act, as East India Marine Society members "were aware that they were participating in, and consciously documenting, a new era of independent American relations with the world." Beyond being aids for instruction, he notes that the Society's collection "represented the almost infinite diversity of the society members' experiences. As a result, these objects were intended to present just as much information about the sailors who acquired and donated them as about the far-off person or culture that created it." Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 42.

&c. of any people…deserving of notice." In the days before the development of our modern conception of anthropology, this statement is akin to the instructions given to European commanders of voyages of exploration, and perhaps modeled off material published in Anderson's volume.[36] The last section, however, is one that goes beyond common parlance for a naturalist aboard such a voyage—specific instructions for collecting ethnographic objects for a museum collection. "Inquiry should be made for any remarkable books in use among any of the eastern nations, with their subjects, dates, and titles. Articles of the dress and ornaments of any nation, with the images and objects of religious devotion, should be procured." This statement, therefore, is among the earliest American museum collecting strategies.[37]

In Benjamin Carpenter's obituary in the *Boston Patriot*, the author notes:

> Capt. Carpenter's exertions were not confined to the planks of a ship. He was one among two or three sea captains, who founded that beautiful museum, which adorns the town of Salem. The idea of depositing curious articles, brought from abroad in one place, instead of scattering them here and there, as heretofore, arose in a small club…Hence originated that neat collection of curiosities in nature and art in Salem...[38]

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[36] Norman E. Muller believes that these collecting guidelines were possibly based on the instructions crafted by James Douglas (1702-1768), President of the Royal Society, and sent to Cook a few weeks after he left on his first voyage aboard HMS *Endeavor*. Douglas asked Cook to record "The general disposition of the people; their progress in Arts or Science, especially their Mechanics, Tools and manner of using them" among other things. Quoted in Muller, "The Peabody Museum of Salem's Oceanic Collection," 9. Muller wonders if the East India Marine Society corresponded with the Royal Society in London, but there are no extant letters to support this hypothesis and they are not printed in Anderson's volume. In addition, the Society only owned Anderson's volume on Cook's voyages at the time they crafted the instructions printed on their blank journals.

[37] Muller believes this "sophisticated attitude" was the product of Salem's "more educated and less travelled citizenry" like Bentley and Holyoke, and "could not have come about from men who knew nothing more than the economics of trade and the different riggings on the ships." Ibid. Muller's theory, though, fails to recognize that one of America's leading scientific minds, Nathaniel Bowditch, was a member of the East India Marine Society and probably helped devise these instructions given his position in the organization and the respect and admiration his colleagues held for him.

[38] *Boston Patriot*, October 1st, 1823.

Starting with Carnes and Carpenter, who donated material from Sumatra and Hawaii respectively before the end of 1799, the collection grew exponentially in the following three decades (Appendix C, Table 1). These first donors did not fill the collection with a plethora of indigenous material from Indonesia but rather a random assortment of contemporary trinkets like Carnes' double-stemmed pipe and kris from Malaysia.[39]

The wealth of material amassed by the East India Marine Society over the next seven decades, though, cannot be attributed to solely Society members as prior scholarship has suggested. While Carpenter, Story, and their brethren helped establish an internal impetus to collect objects for the museum, almost half the objects accumulated from 1799 to 1867 were donated by mariners who were not members, trading partners abroad, the lay public, and many others—attesting to the global networks formed by American trade. In fact, forty-five percent of Society members did not donate a single object to the collection.[40] Furthermore, the scope of the collection cannot be labeled solely as "found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn." Of the roughly 6,422 objects acquired between 1799 and 1867, approximately 2,338, or 1/3 were not from beyond the capes (Appendix C, Table 1). This percentage of the collection was composed mostly of natural history specimens, but also included Western painting and sculpture,

[39] Dodge notes, "It is very curious, considering the extensive pepper trade with Sumatra, that large quantities of material were not brought back from that island. Yet they are notably absent. The first accession to the Museum in 1799 contained a pipe from Sumatra but strangely enough, except for a few weapons there are not many old specimens." Dodge and Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 4-17. While material from Sumatra may have been small, objects from Indonesia and South Asia (not including India) represented the second largest group of objects of non-Western cultures at about 212 objects. East India Marine Society members were also the first Americans to trade in the region then known as Cochin-China, today Vietnam.

[40] When including those who gave only one object, this number rises to over fifty percent. The amount of objects given by single members ranged from one to 137. Those members who did contribute to the goals of the institution sometimes gave objects before they became members.

objects from Native North and South American cultures, Near Eastern antiquities, and American and European currency. Like the *Friendship* model, the act of collecting was a communal effort and represents a vast acquisition network unlike any other museum in the antebellum United States.

Salem's pioneering voyages to the Pacific Islands and the East Indies in the early days of the New Republic, reaching ports on all continents apart from Antarctica, provided the means to acquire most objects. The collection in the first decades of the nineteenth century, therefore, was a reflection of Salem and United States trade during this time. Artificial objects were of several types depending on the region. In areas were Europeans had already established business relations, such as China and India, objects entering the museum were mostly pre-made or commissioned souvenirs, markers of trading relationships, or emblems of these native cultures. In other regions unaccustomed to Westerners or in the early years of contact, such as the Pacific Islands and Northwest Coast of North America, material donated to the Society was more reflective of native societies.[41] In Europe and the Near East, an established antiquities and art market in ports or at ancient sites supplied American mariners with artifacts and Western art to symbolize an American enlightenment, and in the United States, governmental expeditions supplied emblems of native tribes that were being pushed from their land. Objects commissioned by the Society and other outside donations filled in gaps pertaining to these and other established narratives relating to the maritime experience

[41] In these regions, as Dodge and Copeland note, "no wealthy collectors existed, but only natives living by their own hunting, fishing, and elementary agricultural economies, it mattered not what the captain received in exchange for his hatchets and glass beads. Anything collected at that early period, judged in the light of present day ethnology, was certain to be good." Dodge and Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 3.

and American identity. By the 1830s and 1840s, the dwindling number of donations to the museum reflected changes in American mercantile ventures abroad and a shift away from the East India Marine Society as Salem's premier collecting institution.

While contemporary scholars characterize early nineteenth-century Salem as a center of the China and pepper trades, the largest collections of "artificial curiosities" in the East India Marine Society museum at this time came from the South Pacific Islands and the Northwest Coast of the modern day United States and British Columbia (see Appendix C, Chart 2. These were the regions where Americans discovered marketable trade goods to obtain tea, silks, and other goods from the Far East. American mariners dominated the trade in the area known as Oceania, a vast region of the central and southern Pacific Ocean that consists of thousands of islands. Yankee merchants' greatest influence was in Polynesia, a five thousand mile triangular region from Easter Island to Fiji, and five hundred miles from Honolulu to southern New Zealand including the island groups of the Marquesas, Societies, Tuamotus, Cooks, Australs, Samoa, and Tonga.[42] They also touched Australia, and the regions known as Micronesia and Melanesia, on the western periphery of Polynesia. New England was at the forefront of American contact in this expansive region at the outset of the early Republic period until the 1840s, as a result of mercantile trade rather than geographical exploration that characterized European

[42] Ernest Stanley Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 107, No. 2 (Apr. 15, 1963): 102. Fiji is technically in Micronesia but shares cultural traits of Polynesians. Ibid.

endeavors.[43] The exploitation of one resource led to the discovery of another, and the procurement of each one had an impact on native habitats and populations.

The origins of American interest in the Pacific lie in the narrative of the first Yankee in that region, John Ledyard (1751-1789). The son of a Connecticut sea captain from Groton, Connecticut, Ledyard volunteered for Captain James Cook's third and final voyage of exploration in 1776 and "surreptitiously" published his account of the voyage in 1783. In this volume, Ledyard goes into depth on the large profits made in buying sea otter skins "for trifles on the Northwest Coast and sold at Canton."[44] He encouraged American ventures to this area as the native New England resources of timber and fish were not nearly as attractive to Chinese merchants. Following Cook and Ledyard's lead, the first American ship to enter the Northwest Coast fur trade, the *Columbia*, left Boston in 1787 with Salem mariner John Derby (1741-1812).[45] When she returned in 1790 as the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe, a voyage that reached Hawaii, Tahiti, and China, Derby had collected many objects that reflected this new American trade route. In March of 1800, he donated thirty-two items to the East India Marine Society

[43] Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 102. As Dodge notes, "the Yankee approach to native peoples, Yankee mores, New England pride and prejudices differ somewhat from those of other regions of the United States and in the period of most intensive impact from the close of the Revolution until about 1840, when foreign ideas and customs were implanted on Pacific Islanders, the differences were probably even greater than they are today." Ibid.

[44] Similarly, Benjamin Carpenter notes in his journal kept on board the *Ruby* on a voyage to Ceylon and India from 1789-1790, "America abounds with furs of different kinds, any quantity of the various species would very readily sell in Bengal at 100 percent profit. They purchase them to send to China, which is by far the best remittance they can make. It is little surprising that [given] the number of ships we have sent to China that none of them should think of furs. They are certainly the best article they can carry. They pay but a small freight and net at a handsome profit. The sea otter from the northwest coast of America sells in China for fifty Spanish dollars per each skin." Transcribed in Bean, *Yankee India*, 61.

[45] Dodge believes Ledyard influenced the eventual development of that trade. Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 102. Initially, no Boston, New York, or Philadelphia merchant took the risk of providing ships or capital.

from this voyage—tapa cloth from Hawaii, fishhooks and bow and arrows from the Northwest Coast, and a joiner's plane, tinderbox, and smoking pipes from China, among other pieces.[46]

When American mariners first reached the Pacific Northwest, they encountered native inhabitants accustomed to trading with Europeans.[47] Exploring expeditions came for scientific and diplomatic purposes, while Russian, British, and American traders sought furs.[48] For these later voyages, collecting native objects as souvenirs was secondary to acquiring important trading items, but pursued nonetheless.[49] Native inhabitants recognized this Euro-American desire for other goods, and became savvy traders. A member of Captain Cook's third expedition to the Pacific onboard the *Discovery* noted that "One clever Nootkan put on a bird's mask and offered it for sale, while another sitting next to him stealthily used a whistle to imitate a bird call so effectively that the sound seemed to come from the mask itself."[50]

Large portions of the objects donated to the East India Marine Society from this region were of a maritime nature as natives in this region lived by and subsisted from the

[46] Muller, "The Peabody Museum of Salem's Oceanic Collection," 13.
[47] According to historian Douglas Cole, the Spanish voyage of the *Santiago* to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1774, under the command of Juan Perez, marked the beginning of a fifty year period were more than four hundred and fifty vessels visited this regions. Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*, 2nd edition (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2011), 1.
[48] Mary Malloy notes that the sea otter was an animal with little cosmological or totemic significance in Northwest Coast Indian culture, as opposed to beaver and land otters. Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 22-23.
[49] Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 1. Cole states: "The largest collections were usually made by the government vessels, not only because they tended to stay longer in a single harbor, but because their officers were more interested in such 'artificial curiosities' and appreciated the interest they would arouse among friends and patrons at home." Ibid.
[50] Quoted in Ibid. Cole also notes that "Midshipman Edward Rioux and his mates were at once convinced that these people 'were no novices at that business,'" and "[i]n their avidity for European metal, the natives seemed willing to part with almost everything, from lances, whistles, and masks to the skins off their backs." Ibid, 1, 5. Still, there were some objects that were off limits as noted in Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 22-23.

sea.[51] Of the roughly 106 objects recorded as from the Pacific Northwest, the majority related to fishing—canoe models, paddles, fish hooks, and waterproof clothing worn while on the sea. Close-inspection of these objects, though, belie the happy trading relationship between western merchants and native inhabitants. One such artifact is a double-ended dagger donated by East India Marine Society member William Osgood (1784-1834) in 1830. It is recorded in the museum catalogue as "Bayonets bound together & used as a dagger by the natives of Nootka Sound, supposed to be a remnant of the arms of the ship *Boston* which was taken by surprise & the crew murdered by the celebrated chief Maquina. See Jewett's Narrative." Jewett was John Rodgers Jewitt (1783-1819), the *Boston*'s blacksmith and one of two surviving members of the crew who produced this dagger and others during his two-year captivity from 1803 to 1805. Raw steel and steel bayonets were prize goods for the Native Americans in this region, so Jewitt incorporated both Western and indigenous materials and techniques into his creative process as the dagger's form is reminiscent of pre-contact examples (fig. 43).[52] Osgood also donated another example made by Tlingit natives (fig. 44), which, like Jewitt's dagger, was made from bayonet blades.[53]

This dagger illuminates several connections within the complex world of the fur trade in this region—a reversal of power as a native society used Euro-Americans for

[51] Ira Jacknis, "Towards and Art History of Northwest Coast First Nations: I. 'Traditional' Period (1770-1870), *BC Studies*, No. 135 (Autumn 2002): 47.
[52] Jewitt records in his published narrative that he was employed, "making daggers, knives, and small hatchets for the Indian trade," while on board the *Boston.* John R. Jewitt, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Only Survivor of the Crew of the Ship Boston, During a Captivity of Nearly Three Years Among the Savages of Nootka Sound* (Middleton, CT: Beth Richards, 1815), 15.
[53] The Tlingit dagger is on a list of objects donated from July to September, 1830, entitled "Donations to the S.E.I.M. Society's Museum," which notes made of bayonets East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 18, Folder 4.

their benefit and Jewitt's subsequent exploitation of Native tribes for his gain through the sale of a book chronicling his experiences, thus restoring the prevailing West-East colonialist binary.[54] Within the object's social biography, this dagger was decontextualized and collected by American maritime captains as examples of "Native craft," illustrating how the cultural perception and meaning of material culture can transform over time through exchange and interaction between different cultures.[55] This process alters the meaning of objects from their native contexts, particularly when they are put on display in museums. Thus, this unique "double-ended" object in the museum's collection—like the Sumatran pipe and many other pieces from other parts of the globe—has multiple meanings.[56]

Other objects reveal larger changes in the China trade that developed soon after the East India Marine Society formed. The majority of the material donated to the Society from the Northwest Coast was acquired second hand by members and other mariners who never reached the shores of this region. Osgood was master of several voyages to Hawaii, but never sailed to the Northwest Coast. Instead, he was a courier for objects from other captains in the Pacific. In 1799, the ship *Minerva* of Salem, captained by Nantucket born Matthew Folger (b. 1774) collected over forty objects from the Northwest Coast and the

[54] Jewitt kept a journal of the account, and later published it as a book, which he peddled around New England in a horse drawn cart.
[55] Anya Zilberstein provides the most in-depth discussion of this object to date in "Objects of Distant Exchange," 591-620.
[56] Another example of how the interaction of various cultures can bring changes in the way objects are perceived is discussed by anthropologist Lisa P. Seip in her essay "Transformations of Meaning: The Life History of a Nuxalk Mask," *World Archaeology* 31, 2 (1999): 272-287.

South Pacific.[57] These objects, such as number 208, an anthropomorphic Tlingit V-shaped fishhook imbued with supernatural powers to aid a fisherman, were donated to the Society through member Clifford Crowninshield, a co-owner of the vessel.[58] While the *Minerva* was supposed to acquire furs, it never reached the northern Pacific. Folger likely obtained these objects from other vessels in the South Pacific that had recently traded in the Northwest Coast.[59]

As sea otter pelts became harder to obtain, Salem captains were at the forefront of finding and exploiting new resources to obtain desired goods in China. American ships stopped in Hawaii and filled their holds with another valuable trade commodity on the Canton market, sandalwood.[60] Sandalwood was procured almost entirely from India in the late eighteenth century, and the fragrant wood was used to make bureaus, chests, fans, and combs. In the early nineteenth century, with the Hawaiian Islands controlled by local chiefs and king Kamehameha II (c. 1797-1824), Yankee traders exchanged wine, axes, fancy clothing, and even vessels to be used as private yachts for this wood.[61] They also came to realize that Hawaiian men possessed great skill, loyalty, and endurance as

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[57] When the ship returned, it was the first Salem vessel to circumnavigate the globe. Folger was a cousin of Benjamin Franklin on his maternal side, and while commanding the fur trading ship *Topaz* in 1808, discovered Fletcher Christian's *Bounty* mutineers on Pitcairn Island and alerted the British Admiralty when he returned home. Muller, *The Peabody Museum of Salem's Oceanic Art Collection* 38.

[58] For more on the fishhook, see John R. Grimes, et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 148.

[59] Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 64, 66. A bill in the treasurer's accounts dated July 20, 1802 notes $10 paid to Benjamin Carpenter, "being in full for several curiosities purchased by Capt. Clifford Crowninshield." Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 4.

[60] Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 103.

[61] Ibid. Dodge notes that Hawaiian chiefs forced native men to cut this wood in the mountains, and they suffered greatly. "It was through this trade, however, that many of the natives acquired a taste for American products, especially for luxury items, and they were willing to endure considerable adversity to have them." Ibid.

seamen on long voyages, and employed natives from the islands in this Pacific trade and later the whaling industry.[62]

Sandalwood was quickly over exploited, and mariners moved farther into the Pacific to procure it—reaching the Society Islands, Tonga, Samoa, and especially Fiji.[63] In doing so, they discovered another natural commodity of value in the China trade; the marine invertebrate trepang, a "sea cucumber" known in the Pacific as bêche-de-mer. The Chinese had a fondness for trepang soup, and it garnered high prices at Canton and Manila. Salem captains Benjamin Vanderford and William Driver (1803-1886), who coined the moniker "Old Glory" for the American flag, discovered great quantities of this creature in the shallow waters of the Fiji Islands and learned from Malay traders how to procure and cure it for trade.[64]

During the East India Marine Society's first two decades of existence, nineteen members donated over 110 objects from New Zealand, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tahiti, Fiji, Samoa, and the Cook and Austral islands.[65] These gifts include tapa cloth, fishing

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[62] Davianna McGregor, "Engaging Hawaiians in the Expansion of the U.S. Empire," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, Volume 7, Number 3 (October 2004): 211-213. McGregor points out that another byproduct of Hawaiian involvement in the trade was intermarriage into Native American Indian and Native Alaskan families, and they became "active and leading members of those native communities…Yet, despite these positive results, the fact remains that Native Hawaiians were exploited by American trading companies to develop the China trade and colonize the Pacific Northwest." Ibid.

[63] Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 103. Dodge states that "[b]y 1825 sandalwood was no longer obtainable in the Hawaiian Islands. The avariciousness of both traders and chiefs had cleaned it out and glutted the Chinese market, where the price had dropped. It had gone the way of the sea otter." Ibid.

[64] Ibid, 104.

[65] See Scarangello, "The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum," 71-72 for a breakdown of these gifts. Also see Ernest Stanley Dodge, *The Marquesas Islands Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1939); Ernest Stanley Dodge, *The Hervey Islands Adzes in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1937); Peabody Museum of Salem, *The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1920), and Lucy MacKintosh, "Holding on to Objects in Motion: Two Māori Musical

equipment, paddles, weapons, personal adornment articles, household objects, musical instruments, tools, religious and ceremonial objects, and other material.[66] The growth of the Pacific collection was also aided early on by mariners who were not Society members. In 1802, Daniel Ward (1782-1813) donated objects from his travels to Tahiti, Tonga, Hawaii, and New Zealand as part of his involvement in the China trade.[67] Another China trader, an English captain named John Fitzpatrick Jeffrie, gave eighteen objects to the Society after hearing about their museum through member John Holman (1769-1852). Jeffrie's donation—which he notes as "trifles scarcely [sic] worthy your acceptance"—includes a sword from the Philippines; a Malaysian knife "of curious workmanship"; an armadillo, "procured alive on the Brazil Coast"; several "Otaheitan" objects such as fishhooks, a spear, bows, arrows, and a mourning mask; and "1 piece of Cloth, from the bark of a tree, beatin [sic] to its present form with stones," the first of what would become an extensive collection of tapa cloth amassed by the Society.[68]

In a letter from the "Isle of France, December 1802" addressed to "The President & Members of the Museum of Salem," read at the May 1803 quarterly meeting, Jeffrie proclaims his admiration for the Society and Salem. "The great character gain'd by the town of Salem, for her spirited and disinterested support of Boston, while the latter was

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Instruments in the Peabody Essex Museum," *Material Culture Review* 74-75 (Spring 2012): 86-101, for more on these collections.

[66] Dodge and Copeland note: "Many objects illustrating the native life were brought back to wondering families and friends. Little did the captains realize that this fascinating native life, together with its arts and crafts, would collapse like a house of cards under the impact of white traders and missionaries, and their trade goods and new philosophy." Dodge and Copeland, *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 4.

[67] This gift included a greenstone pendant or *hei-tiki*, a fishhook, and a parrot ring from New Zealand, the first Maori objects to enter a museum collection, and two Tahaitian tattooing instruments.

[68] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Eleven of these objects still exist in the PEM's collection.

suffering under the lash of British power, has never diminish'd, and every honest citizen of the world must feel anxious that it never may!"[69] Jeffrie then extends his praise to America, stating that while "the thunder of war has been rolling nearly round the globe, we have witness'd AMERICA…smiling in the midst of plentiful harvests and domestic comforts,—while every sea has been cover'd and every part and harbor fill'd by her shipping…and at once pouring wealth and infamtion [sic] into her lap."[70] Jeffrie specifically points to Salem merchants, noting:

> The town of Salem has had its proportion, and every man must applaud those good exertions her inhabitants made for the increase of a knowledge of nature, which they did not fail to unite with the advance of their fortunes. And while her merchants have stretched to each quarter of the world with their merchandize, they have also made it their pride to collect all those productions which excite curiosity and the great, tho' pleasing study of the beauties of nature![71]

For Jeffrie, Salem mariners were representative of America's learned desire to collect objects for enlightened speculation through trade.

While Ernest Dodge notes that "Certain types of material were favored by the captains or, what is more likely, were easiest to get and were obtained in great quantity," the material collected by the East India Marine Society from all these islands mirror plates published in the volumes of Cook's voyage (fig. 45).[72] This three-dimensional version, equally as static as the book illustrations, paints a multifaceted picture of Pacific

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[69] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. The full letter from Jeffrie is transcribed by Dodge in "An Early Letter to the Salem East India Marine Society." In *Essex Institute Historical Collection* 77 (1941): 254-266. Dodge notes that these objects were sent from Mauritius. Jeffrie also included an extract from his journal that he includes to inform the Society of an unrecorded island, which Dodge believes is Tikopia, "south east of the Santa Cruz group based on the latitude and longitude provided in the letter, and his drawings of this island." Ibid, 254.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Dodge and Copeland, Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem, 4.

Islanders. The canoe models, paddles, and fishing gear, highlight the maritime nature of these cultures like those in the Northwest Coast. On the other hand, certain articles of dress and personal adornment denote the Society's view of native inhabitants as curious objects themselves, and the plethora of clubs, the largest category of material from this region, reflect a vision of them as violent and savage.[73]

Several objects in the collection support East India Marine Society members' multilayered opinion of Pacific Island inhabitants. Number 2679, a *totokia* donated by Benjamin Vanderford in 1823, and other clubs and weapons represent the tense atmosphere in this region (fig. 46). In the Fijis, Yankee mariners hired native workers from local chiefs for collecting, building drying sheds, and smoking and packing bêche-de-mer. In addition, they collected other important local trade goods, pearl and tortoise shell.[74] Unlike native Hawaiians used to cut sandalwood, however, Fijians harvesting bêche-de-mer were more aggressive in their pushback against Westerners and engaged in hostilities with merchants.

Society member William Endicott (1803-1888), third mate on the ship *Glide* that was wrecked during a trading venture to Fiji in 1829, notes how natives not controlled by chiefs often destroyed drying huts.[75] In addition, Endicott recounts instances where

[73] Ibid. Still, as Dodge notes, "[a]s this early Polynesian material was all collected before the native culture was greatly affected by the white impact, it forms the only sizable residue of such material in the continental United States… Many things which seem common in this collection are, in reality, rare, and there are several specimens which are the only ones of their types known or are one of perhaps half a dozen." Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Endicott records on January 30th, "the natives on shore maliciously set fire to our houses and destroyed 60 piculs of beche-de-mer, trade, clothes, etc.,... The next morning we discovered they had broken our kettles for the purpose of getting the wrought iron." William Endicott, *Wrecked Among Cannibals in the Fijis: A Narrative of Shipwreck & Adventure in the South Seas, With Notes by Lawrence Waters Jenkins*

Yankee traders' lives were at risk and when native Fijians killed members of a ship's crew. Endicott notes:

> The next day, while the carpenter was employed in cutting the anchor stocks and the men were guarding him from the natives…they rushed down from the mountains and attacked our men who immediately fled to the boat and succeeded in reaching it, excepting two men belonging to Salem, Edmund Knight and Joshua B. Derby, whom the natives killed with their clubs.[76]

These incidents clouded Endicott's view of many Fijians as "a race of people who differ very much from the other uncivilized nations in the South Pacific Ocean, in customs, language and particularly their complexion which is much darker and approaches very near to the Negroes…They are extremely fierce and savage, frequently at war with each other and are addicted to the horrid practice of eating their enemies when killed in battle."[77] Two sailing needles in the Society's collection for sewing together sections of mat canoe sails, made from the thigh or shinbone of an enemy who had been cooked and eaten, echo Endicott's reference to cannibalism (fig. 47).

Another object, however, paints Fijians in a different light. Number 4601, a model of a *bure kalou* or spirit house donated by Society member Joseph Winn Jr. (1761-1880) in 1835, denotes an act of kindness revealed by Endicott in his narrative (fig. 48). This rare object, which Dodge notes as "the only one of its kind in existence," depicts an important fixture of a village's temple that local priests used in divination rituals. Endicott notes in his journal that the King allowed the shipwrecked crew of the *Glide* to live in a similar temple. "The King prepared his largest church for us to live in and a

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(Salem, MA: Marine Research Society, 1923), 26. Once a ship was finished curing enough bêche-de-mer, American mariners, too, would burn their houses so no one else could use them.

[76] Ibid, 34.

[77] Endicott, Wrecked Among Cannibals in the Fijis, 19.

small house for our provisions; gave us some cooking utensils and we made arrangements for our comfort and prepared to wait patiently until some relief came to us."[78]

In this tense climate, New England merchants, whalers, and Wesleyan missionaries from England all tried to do business.[79] Salem captains such as Vanderford, Driver, Eagleston, and others, annually returned to the Fijis and formed mutual trading partnerships, and Dodge characterizes the Fijis from about 1800 to 1835 as "a Salem colony."[80] Through this trade network, Salem mariners touched upon other islands in the South Pacific, and both acquired and traded specific objects. We get a sense of the material culture obtained and traded in different regions through other logbooks and journals of East India Marine Society members. In the Marquesas Islands on the eastern edge of Polynesia, a spot where American vessels rounding Cape Horn stopped for provisions, natives sought sperm whale teeth in exchange for sandalwood. Society member Nathaniel Appleton (1778-1809) notes on Oct. 9th, 1801 in his journal kept aboard the ship *Concord*, "At 3 A.M. came to anchor in Resolution Bay…Forty or fifty canoes along side with hogs and cocoa-nuts. Bartered for several of the hogs but the only thing they would take for them was spermacetti [sic] whales teeth. We had eight or ten which the whalers gave us, for which we got a hog a piece."[81]

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[78] Ibid, 40-41.
[79] Wesleyan missionaries were responsible for Christianizing Fijians starting in 1835, after having done so in Tonga in 1822
[80] Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 104; Ernest Stanley Dodge, "The American Sources for Pacific Ethnohistory Research," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter, 1968): 3. The Fijis even came to Salem, as Captain David Saunders brought his Fijian daughter to this American port where she lived for the rest of her life. Ibid, 3-4.
[81] *Concord* (Ship) Log. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 32.

Fifteen years later Charles Forbes (1791-1821), ship's clerk onboard the *Indus* during a voyage to the South Seas Islands from 1815 to 1817, records in an entry from April 2, 1816 that he was "forming whale's teeth from ivory & preparing other articles of the ship's trade."[82] While the ship was in the Marquesas a few months later, he noted in a long passage of observations and recommendations of what to trade for sandalwood or provisions that "[a] variety of cutlery and beeds [sic], feathers & other articles of ornament should be provided; and a few whale's teeth (the longer the size the better) may sometimes produce sandal wood and generally prove a good article for purchasing hogs & other provisions."[83] Marquesan craftsmen used whale's teeth to produce objects such as numbers 314 and 315, a pair of elaborate men's ear ornaments or *ha'akai* carved with tiki figures donated by Society member Nathaniel Page (1782-1823) in 1817 (fig. 49). Two decades later, John Eagleston notes that sperm whale teeth were valued trade goods in many areas of the Pacific. Many undecorated whale's teeth were donated to the Society, and around the time of Eagleston's statement, American mariners used them as cetological canvases for art. In 1831, Society members William Osgood, George Pierce (1809-1858), and James W. Cheever (1791-1857) donated sperm whale's teeth "curiously carved," the first examples of scrimshaw to enter an American museum.[84]

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[82] *Indus* (Ship) Log. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 111. This passage supports speculation that the *Indus*'s crew were creating fake whale's teeth for trade.

[83] In the next passage, Forbes recommends that all American ships stop in the Marquesas. "Vessels from Cape Horn would do well to visit, first Magdellana, the most windward (or southeast Isld of this group) the Southwestern part affords the best roads and should no wood be procured a better supply of Hogs, Bananas Breadfruit &c. may probably be obtained here than at any over of these Islds." Ibid.

[84] See Daniel Finamore, "'Curiously Carved': Early Collections of Susan's Teeth, 1830-1921," *The American Neptune* 60 (2000): 369-380. Cheever gave twenty-six objects to the Society's museum, including plaster busts of Voltaire and Rousseau, a speaking trumpet made from "a part of a whale" (i.e. a whale's penis), a "Carving Knife and Fork from St. Helena once used by Napoleon, and "a panel or oil painting of Hades or Purgatory, done by an artist in South America." Finamore believes, "This diverse

With a cargo hold full of valuable pelts, sandalwood, or trepang, it was on to China. The development and growth of the United States-China trade began when the *Empress of China* departed New York in 1784 bound for the East.[85] Over the next decade, American vessels were often as numerous as British ships in China and by 1803, Americans outnumbered the British and all other nations combined. Over the twenty-year period from 1784 to 1804, American ships accounted for over twenty percent of all the vessels at Canton (and many more were trading illicitly in the vicinity).[86] The American-China trade flourished until after the War of 1812 when the nature of the trade changed. At this time the sea otter trade had declined, while the new trade in opium did not take its place until much later. Meanwhile the American home market had grown with more capital and more specie, so that the trade shifted away from individual investors and small partnerships to concentrate in the hands of a few large companies in larger ports like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.[87]

Though the desire for these products came from the West, it was the Chinese who controlled and delineated the terms of exchange during the height of the trade. Unlike the Northwest Coast or South Sea Islands, European and American merchants were never allowed into the interior of the country. In Canton, they were sequestered to the Foreign

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assortment of objects no doubt represented Cheevers catholic interests as well as those parts of the World where he or his ships traveled." Ibid, 374

[85] Salem's first vessel to trade with China, the *Grand Turk*, departed the following year.

[86] Rhys Richards, "United States Trade With China, 1784-1814," *The American Neptune*, 54 Special Supplement (1994): 4.

[87] Ibid. Even though Salem was importing a great deal of Chinese porcelain, a good deal was then exported to Boston as well as Alexandria, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and even the island of Madeira. Jessica Lanier, "The Post-Revolutionary Ceramics Trade in Salem, Massachusetts, 1783-1812," Master of Arts Thesis, Bard College, 77. This practice continued throughout the height of Salem's China Trade, and towards the 1830s, porcelain was exported to other places like Chile. After a while, Salem merchants realized they could circumvent China and obtain porcelain from other East Indian ports.

Factories, a complex of warehouses reserved for Western traders on the Pearl River within Canton harbor but outside the city walls. In addition, from 1760 to 1840, the Chinese placed the following restrictions (among others) on foreigners trading in Canton:

> No foreign warships may sail inside the Bogue [the harbor approach to Canton city] Neither foreign women nor firearms may be brought into the factories… foreign ships must not enter into direct communication with the Chinese people and merchants without the immediate supervision (of a native Chinese). Each factory is restricted for its service to 8 Chinese.[88]

European traders, referred to as "foreign barbarians" in the above passage, constantly complained about these restrictions as well as the requirement that trade be conducted only at Canton.[89]

Still, American merchants were able to acquire a variety of objects. Export products were the mainstay of Western fascination with this land, including porcelain dishware. Early on, Elias Hasket Derby Jr. gave the Society a porcelain punch bowl with a depiction of the first Salem ship to reach Canton, the *Grand Turk* (fig. 50).[90] Following this gift was a model of a pagoda given by Society member Nathaniel Ingersoll (1778-1826) in 1801, and two soup tureens in the form of geese, but recorded as swans, donated by member Ward Blackler (1780-1815) in 1806.[91] Americans used similar export

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[88] Quoted in Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1983), 252-253.

[89] By 1840, however, the relations between China and the West had been transformed. With the advent of the Opium war, China superiority over the West could not overcome the military challenge presented by the British.

[90] The *Grand Turk*, commanded by Captain Ebenezer West, was at Canton in 1786, and the bowl was presented by the Hong merchant Pinqua. The painting on and in the bowl is taken from William Hutchinson's *Treatise on Practical Seamanship*, first published in 1777, and not from *Grand Turk* itself. The same source was used for six other bowls. For more on the tureens and pagoda, see William Sargent, *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics* (Salem MA: Peabody Essex Museum), 414.

[91] A receipt in the treasurer's accounts notes seven dollars paid to Philip & A. Chase for a glass case for the model, and an additional seventy-five cents for painting the back of the case blue. This receipt lists work done from 1801-1803, with the case dated March 5, 1802 and the painting December 9th, 1802. The Chases

products to construct an image of Chinese people as exotic representations of the Orient in the antebellum period before the California gold rush.[92] This cultural construct was forged in popular culture institutions like museums. When Peale's Museum in Philadelphia opened in the late-eighteenth century, it contained one of the earliest exhibitions of Chinese material—utensils, weapons, the wrappings used to bind Chinese women's feet and their small shoes.[93] In 1805, Peale exhibited objects and life-size figures in a diorama format next to models of Native Americans and other "exotic" peoples."[94] It was not surprising, then, for Americans to see Chinese images at home during this period.

The Society's collection was a carefully constructed view of the Orient made by both Chinese and Western manufacturers. One of the earliest objects donated to the museum was the dress of the Canton hong merchant Yamqua (active 1776-1804) given by Benjamin Hodges (fig. 51). This simple garb was transformed into a figure of the merchant himself, made not by native Chinese craftsmen but by Salem's foremost architect and woodcarver Samuel McIntire (1757-1811), who carved the head and

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also did other work around the hall. Treasurer's Accounts 1799-1827. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 5.

[92] American Studies scholar John R. Haddad views objects like this and export ceramics as a way Americans constructed a notion of an exotic China, called "Cathay." John Haddad, "Imagined Journeys to Distant Cathay: Constructing China with Ceramics, 1780–1920," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring 2007): 53.

[93] Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 28. Peale's museum opened in 1784, the same year that the New York ship *Empress of China* arrived in Canton as the first American vessel to reach the East

[94] Lee, *Orientals*, 28. Another early display of Chinese objects was created by Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest, a former employee for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Dutch embassy in China who emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina and became an American citizen. In 1796, he acquired a farm 17 miles from Philadelphia and constructed a mansion to house his large collection of views of China, his "China Retreat." Houckgeest had financial difficulties and was forced to sell his collection after moving to London the following year. John Haddad, "The Romantic Collector in China: Nathan Dunn's Ten Thousand Chinese Things," *Journal of American Culture* Vol. 21, No. 1 (1998): 7.

hands.[95] In addition, Michele Felice Cornè painted the carving once it was complete. McIntire made the face and hands as realistic as possible, working perhaps off an account from Hodges, carving indentations to indicate scars caused by smallpox and using human hair for the figure's mustache and braided pigtail.[96] Cornè's adept painting augmented the life-like qualities of the sculpture, with light traces of blue paint applied to the carved veins on the forearms and hands.[97] Another Mandarin dress donated a year earlier by William Ward (1761-1827), and worn by members in annual parades, was also put on an additional carved figure.

These sculptures, along with others given in the following years, became mainstays of the museum—gazed upon and interpreted by many nineteenth and twentieth century visitors. They were also considered early on as a means for attracting visitors, and possibly collecting money to support the Society's charitable endeavors. At the November 2nd, 1803 quarterly meeting, a committee formed to "to examine the state of the Society—& report what additional by laws & regulations may be necessary for the benefit of the Society" brought forth an idea to use the museum to increase funds for charitable ventures:

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[95] For the most comprehensive study of McIntire, see Dean Lahikainen, *Samuel McIntire*. The Society paid $26.67 to Jonathan Bright, an upholsterer, who made the body of the figure with iron supports, canvas duck, and moss. The original receipt in the East India Marine Society archives is transcribed in Ibid, Appendix B, 276.

[96] Ibid, 83-85.

[97] Ibid, 85. McIntire and Cornè also collaborated on another project in 1807, number 788, a "Model of a pear wt. 2 lbs 5 1/3 oz. from the garden of Mr. David Choate of Chebacco in 1805," donated in 1821 by Ichabod Tucker and Timothy Pickering but perhaps deposited earlier. William Bentley notes in his diary on September 25th, 1807: "Saw an imitation of a wonderful pear which grew in Ipswich. It was carved by McIntire and painted by Corne and was said to be an exact imitation. It might easily be mistaken excepting its size might make suspicion." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 321, quoted in Ibid. The 1821 and 1831 catalogues, and the *Salem Gazette* of November 8th, 1822, note R. Cowan and not Cornè as the painter. Lahikainen notes, "no other sculptor of this date in America achieved this level of botanical accuracy in wood." Ibid.

> that the museum of the Society might be made an object of Profit for charitable Purposes, were attention paid to collecting from the different parts of the East Indies, the dresses of the several classes of Natives to be placed on figures made for the purpose, and by procuring such other articles as would serve to attract attention, without incurring a greater expense than the Society could afford, and which might be directed by the Committee of Observation, or a Committee chosen specially for that purpose. The Committee are unanimously of opinion, that whenever this shall be the case, the whole net Profits shall be appropriated for such charitable uses as the Society may then direct, and no part thereof be applied to increasing the funds of the Society.[98]

While the East India Marine Society's officers did not follow through with the committee's recommendation, it marks the first time Society members considered charging admission to the museum and adds another layer of meaning to their collection of figures of East India merchants.

Chinese export artists, too, crafted figurines from porcelain of nobility and everyday people that reflect American interest in the dress and customs of this culture. A few of these unfired figurines, some with nodding-heads or moving hands, were donated to the East India Marine Society.[99] Richard Wheatland donated four in 1803—a Mandarin husband and wife, a laborer packing tea, and a porter carrying two chests of tea (fig. 52).[100] The latter reveal Western interest in the processing of the leaves used for

[98] East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3.

[99] Asian Export Art historian William Sargent traces the long history of these figurines in *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics: From the Peabody Essex Museum* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2012), 483-485. He states: "The Chinese tradition of placing portrait figures on household altars and in both private and public ancestor halls may have inspired Western merchants to commission similar likenesses of themselves…Only recently has a clay portrait figure of an American merchant come to light, one of Captain Daniel Sage (1759-1836), a founder of the Museum. Standing on a flat, wooden base painted to imitate marble, this figure bears stylistic comparisons to one of Jacobus Arkenbout (1766-1834), who was in Guangzhou in 1792." Ibid.

[100] Sargent believes that "[a]lthough they are meant to represent a couple of the Mandarin class, they were not copied from life, but rather represent purported civil officials, groupings of which were popular at the time." Ibid, 492.

making this desired beverage.[101] William Bentley also donated two other examples—a monk, given by Benjamin Hodges to the pastor, and one of a Sufi mendicant originally identified as a *fakir*.[102]

To further enhance what Caroline King notes as an "Eastern flavor" of the museum, Society member Thomas Wren Ward (1786-1858) donated a portrait of the Canton silk merchant Eshing in 1809, number 387, painted by the export artist Spoilum (active 1785-1810).[103] Ward likely traded with Eshing, and while captain of the ship *Minerva* in Canton in the fall of 1809, Benjamin Shreve, an officer on the ship, states:

> [o]f outside Merchants Eshing is the first. He is a silk merchant but deals in Teas and Nanking likewise. His prices rather high—always has supported the Character of an honest man, and many purchase of him without ever seeing their Goods. He is the most Candid man in Canton—his goods will pass in the United States without opening.[104]

To complete this Cantonese mercantile tableau, the Society commissioned Cornè to paint a fireboard of the Foreign Factories at Canton (fig. 53).[105] Prominent on the left side is

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[101] Ibid, 494.

[102] Ibid, 492, 490. Bentley notes in his diary on June 5th, 1790 that "Capt. Hodges presented to me an Image of a Mandarin exceeding two feet in height, richly ornamented in the habit of his order…" Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. I, 175, quoted in Ibid, 490. In regards to the other figure, William Sargent notes "[t]o people in the eighteenth century, this stereotypical character was well-known through travel books that depicted him as one who walked barefoot on burning coals, levitated, and performed other near-miraculous deeds. But the identification of this seated figure of a woman as a *fakir*, even though dressed in simple clothing, her feet bare, would seem to be a case of mistaken identity and may have been intended to describe the monk." Ibid, 490-491.

[103] William Sargent states that Spoilum "is the first Chinese artist we can identify by name as working for the export market. His work is readily identified by the careful delineation of facial features, the light emanating from behind the shoulder, the steady gaze and subtle smile of the subject. Others imitated his style, but none replicated it as well." William Sargent, "Asian Export Arts for Church, State and Home," *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (May-June 2006): 58-59.

[104] Walter Muir Whitehill, "Remarks on the Canton Trade and the Manner of Transacting Business: Form a Manuscript of 1809 in the Peabody Museum of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (October 1837): 309.

[105] Cornè never visited China, so this fireboard was based on an early depiction of these buildings that he must have seen in Salem since the arrangement of the flags and architectural features date from the 1790s. Smith, *Michele Felice Cornè*, 79; Carl Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of The China Trade: Paintings,*

the American flag, signifying the United States' presence in this region. The subject matter, though, depicting the only port accessible to foreign merchants, denotes Eastern control of Western mercantile interests.

In addition to export art, the Society's Chinese collection included indigenous objects similar to examples in Peale's museum. Six shoes and two models of women's feet (fig. 54) donated between 1800 and 1826 signify a fascination with the Chinese process of foot binding, and an equal number of opium pipes given during this period similarly relate an obsession with that practice, the clandestine American trade of this drug, as well as a harbinger of the conflict that would change Western relations with China. Scientific and spiritual objects were part of the collection as well, from an abacus to two feng shui compasses misidentified as box compasses or calendars. A 5 5/8 inch figure of the god Jos, one of the earliest nephrite carvings in the form of a Chinese deity, was given by Ward in 1800 and was commented on by visitors in later years (fig. 55).[106] In addition, a book on the "Chinese Art of Curing Diseases," number 1419, obviously attracted a curious gaze. Bound between two carved and stained pieces of wood, this seventeenth-century volume contains twenty-four hand-painted figures with Chinese captions and a Latin translation of the work by a Jesuit Priest (fig. 56). In 1831, the museum catalogue entry was lengthened to read "[t]he Chinese art of curing diseases by assuming and maintaining for a length of time certain attitudes of the body and limbs." Anyone who flipped through this volume without any knowledge of either language,

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Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collector's Club, 1991), Appendix E, fig. 8, 424.

[106] Ibid, 290.

though, would have little information to go on. Most likely, he or she would interpret this object, and many others, with a distorted lens filled with preconceived notions of Chinese culture mixed with their own personal imagination.

Americans trading in India, like China, entered an already established East-West contact zone. United States voyages to India commenced as soon as the ink was dry on the Treaty of Paris in 1783, and Salem mariners were at the forefront of this new trade route.[107] Benjamin Carpenter wanted American merchants to conquer their "silly jealousies" and form a trading company in the mold of the British, Dutch, Danish, and French, but the majority of Yankee mariners chose to trade independently.[108] The British, in particular, were uneasy with this new Western entity in India. While they did not want this upstart nation to interfere with business, they did want American silver specie to aid in funding their military.[109] In order to exert control over United States trade in India, the British negotiated the Jay Treaty in 1794. This agreement allowed for American vessels to trade in British controlled ports as long as they then sailed directly home and did not trade acquired goods in other Indian ports or in Europe.[110]

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[107] George Cleveland records in his diary that American traders did not know what products would sell in India in the early days of the trade. His father, who had been a grocer, shipped aboard the *Sally* of Boston in 1788, and "the cargo sent out, (owing to the ignorance which prevailed at that time, respecting the trade of India) was entirely unsuited to the market,--beside which, my father, who was a very honest man himself & supposed every body else so,--had the misfortune to fall into the hands of some sharpers, of his own country, who to benefit themselves, wee [sic] not very particular who were injured; so that on the whole a more disastrous voyage cannot well be imagined." Diary of George Cleveland, 1838. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# DIA 44.

[108] Bean, *Yankee India*, 16. Quote from Ibid, 35. American ships were significantly smaller than European ones, between 250 and 350 tons with a crew of 25 to 45 or ¼ the size. Ibid.

[109] The irony here is the dual-ownership of American vessels in the early years of the trade. Bean notes that the *Hydra*, the first ship flying an American ensign to reach Calcutta, was co-owned by English and American merchants. Crews were equally multi-national. Ibid, 35.

[110] Ibid, 16. Bean states that this provision irked American mariners, since they were profiting from moving goods within Indian ports for freight charges, and to supply commodities where they were most in demand. Ibid.

During the Napoleonic Wars, however, the playing field tipped in favor of American trade. Neutrality led to great profits for Salem traders in Asia. From 1795 to 1805, United States trade with India surpassed the entire European continent, bringing in valuable cotton and silk textiles, as well as sugar, ginger, indigo, and drugs. The 1809 Embargo and the War of 1812 altered the Indian trade, though. At this point, raw materials were imported to fuel American industrialization rather than finished textiles. While waning in the 1820s, United States trade with India rose again in the 1840s and '50s.[111] American-Indian connections, therefore, spanned the antebellum period, and like China, travel narratives, prints, and export goods filled the American mind with visual images and a negotiated understanding of this Eastern land.

American voyages to India in the early years of the trade were not always well-calculated affairs, but still inspired young Salem mariners who were instrumental in this burgeoning exchange network. George Cleveland recalls his first trip to this region in 1798 at the age of 18 on the Brig *Hannah*, which he sarcastically notes as "a clever little vessel, without copper, and by the time we reached Calcutta, was very foul in her bottom, as may well be supposed, after being at Sea 5 ½ months."[112] Cleveland lists the cargo as, "the money on freight, Fifty Thous and Spanish Dollars, which were invested in Calcutta,

[111] Ibid, 17-18. During the 1807 Embargo, burgeoning American industries, such as the Slater Mill in Pawtucket, RI, grew while the number of imported goods decreased. At the time of the war's end in 1815, peace came to Europe and ended American dominance of neutral trade, thus negatively impacting American maritime trade. In addition, the United States Congress passed a tariff in 1816 that protected American made textiles by levying a duty on imported cotton textiles, thus making formerly inexpensive Indian products more costly. Ibid, 124.

[112] Diary of George Cleveland, 1838. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# DIA 44. Cleveland describes the pleasant experience of reaching India. "We saw no land from the time we left Cape Ann, until we made the land to westward of the Hoogly: the appearance of which & the beauty of the scenery on each side of the River, after being so long at sea, were more delightful, than I can possibly describe; indeed it seemed almost like enchantment…" Ibid.

in sugar and Piece goods," and his "knowledge of piece goods was particularly useful, in the selection of our cargo, & produced much surprise in the dealers there, as they had been in the habit of selling cargoes to men who knew nothing of these articles, from their previous modes of life;—it was a trade, they had not learned."[113]

Once in India, Salem merchants had to navigate through an established contact zone of Western-Indian exchange. In Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, like the Chinese ports of Canton, all business required the mediation of native agents to obtain desired goods. In Calcutta they were *banians*; in Madras *dubashes*. Regardless of their regional names, they were men who had forged a place in an India teeming with European traders.[114] With a burgeoning American presence in Calcutta and Madras, a few of these native agents started to specialize in trade with Yankee merchants. Their knowledge of the markets was invaluable, and they also extended credit to American clients, leading Benjamin Carpenter to comment, "The *dubasah* is useful when you are at loss for a market and will frequently dispose of your articles, when you have made every effort without success."[115] As American masters and supercargoes were indebted to these agents, especially in Calcutta, they formed strong bonds and even friendships.[116]

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[113] Ibid. After his schooling from age 8 to 14, Cleveland worked in the grocery and dry good store owned by John Gardner Jr. on Essex Street, and then went to sea in 1798 at the age of 18. Cleveland believes he was more useful on a trading mission than at home, as once he returned to Salem, he fell into the poor routine of all sailors ashore: "I spent the Summer of 1800 in Salem, with no other employment than the usual lounging about, of young sailors, when at home; which is anything, but profitable." Ibid.

[114] Bean believes these agents "brokered the commercial and social interactions between foreigners and local authorities and markets was crucial… In Calcutta…[t]hese men and their families became the elite of nineteenth-century Calcutta. As the founders of Indian modernity, they blended the Western with the indigenous, creating new cultural forms." Bean, *Yankee India*, 39.

[115] Quoted in Ibid, 39.

[116] As Bean notes, "These middlemen were the source of the most intimate connections Yankees had with 'native' society." Ibid, 40.

American mariners' understanding of Indian society was negotiated in these ports where they learned not only about the native culture but their new national identity as citizens of the United States. Until they landed on Indian shores, Yankee mariners' only exposure to this country were late-eighteenth century travel narratives and gazetteers and navigational charts, often acquired in London. William Rogers likely consulted one of these gazetteers as he writes about ports on the southwestern Malabar Coast he never visited before arriving on the *Tartar*.[117] Dudley Pickman had access to a then rare copy of the 1797 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and copied a long passage in his journal that "corroborated his own observations."[118] Unlike China, Westerners were not sequestered to one area outside a port but could fully immerse themselves in the region.[119]

In this early exchange, both cultures formed opinions of each other. Indians, through direct interactions with Yankee traders, identified them as a people distinct from the British.[120] Back home, an American understanding of Indian culture came through

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[117] Ibid, 16.

[118] Ibid, 16. Bean notes that Pickman "was critical of the British and their conduct in India" but attributed "European exploitation and dishonesty…to situation, not character. He did not see the dishonesty of natives as parallel to the dishonesty of whites. The latter merely took advantage of a situation to extract the highest profit, as any sensible businessman would do. The native's dishonesty was symptomatic of his natural—that is, racial—character. American ideas about race, which placed white Yankees above 'black' Indians, conveniently allowed New England mariners to pursue their commercial advantage, equipped to condemn the shortcomings of 'natives' and self-assured enough to ignore their own." Ibid, 89-91.

[119] Ibid, 18-19. Bean believes that "[f]or the mariners themselves, American identity had a range of meanings. William Rogers, whose journal was an exegesis on the failings of British monarchy set against the superiority of American republicanism, felt great pride in his country and was American to the core. For Benjamin Carpenter, who advocated forming an American East India company, national identity was a more pragmatic concern that could extend his business interests through the establishment of a nation—based mercantile company along European and British lines." Ibid, 267.

[120] Bean states that "[i]n the ports of British India, as in most places they traded, Yankee mariners were identified as Americans. Their ships carried American papers and flew the American flag. On the open ocean, foreign privateers and naval vessels dealt with them as Americans. In the ports where they stopped, trading privileges were awarded or denied according to their nationality…While national identity was

commodities and curiosities. Indian cloth, principally inexpensive cotton, was the principal import from this region at this time, and notices for its sale littered United States newspapers.[121] The objects collected by East India Marine Society members and other donors to the collection, therefore, reflected what these Americans viewed as "Indian" material culture and representations of "Indian inhabitants." Of the approximately ninety-one objects given to the museum in the antebellum period, the majority were figures of nineteenth century natives of this country, smoking devices such as hookahs or "hubble-bubbles" which were among the earliest objects from India presented to the Society, and religious sculptures. Other portions of this collection, the third largest collection of "artificial curiosities" in the Society's museum, were fans, weapons, and of course, the palanquin.

Among the first objects donated from India were objects associated with the markets of trade that cemented American-Indian relationships. Principal among the Indian agents specializing in the American trade in Bombay was Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia (1753-1814), who came from a prominent Parsi family.[122] He

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variably taken to heart, all Yankee mariners operated in a world where they were recognized as Americans and the salience of this identity was indisputable." Ibid, 267.

[121] Ibid, 74.

[122] Ibid, 71. Nusserwanjee earned distinction as an agent for the French trade. His portrait was installed in the Marine Office in Paris and he was awarded the Legion d'Honnaire by Napoleon. Ibid. Khorshed F. Jungalwala notes that Ardeshir Cursetji Wadia, grandson of Nusserwanjee's brother, was the first Parsi to visit the United States in 1849. He visited Caroline Howard King's home during his time in Salem, and she recalls "[a]mong the strange foreign visitors of those days, we were somewhat startled one evening by a friend's bringing a real live Parsee, with a tall calico headdress, to take tea with us. It was rather a revelation to me that a fire worshipper could take tea like ordinary mortals. But he was a harmless lion, and roared very gently, and drank his tea and ate his bread and butter quite like other folks and told us many interesting thing about his life in Bombay. I remember we all spoke very distinctly, as if we were talking to a child, and that he answered us in a very low cultivated refined voice, using much better English than we did." Khorshed F. Jungalwala, "The Wadias of India: Then and Now," *Web Journal on Zoroastrian Heritage*, Vohuman: A Zoroastrian Educational Institute.

developed a strong relationship with Society member George Nichols and helped Nichols purchase "a beautiful striped muslin, very delicate, made in Bombay for some distinguished person" to use for his fiancée's dress. He also gave him "a camel's shawl, quite a handsome one" for his bride-to-be.[123] In Calcutta, Ramdulal Dey (1752-1825), the most prominent and wealthiest banian specializing in the American trade, was also one of the most respected by Yankee mariners. In 1801, some merchants presented him with a life-sized portrait of George Washington.[124] As the most iconic figure in American history, Washington's likeness has been appropriated around the globe as a means of memorialization or unification since his death. In this instance, the portrait given to Dey was a reflection of a new American identity denoting the New Republic apart from the British rule.[125] Dey, like some of his new trading partners, came from modest means and built his fortune with keen business acumen to become the wealthiest man in Calcutta.

These Indian agents made some of the earliest donations to the Society's collection through their American business partners. Nusserwanjee gave "a complete Parsee dress" in 1803 consisting of shoes, a robe, shawl, and turban.[126] Soon after, John

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http://www.zoroastrian.org.uk/vohuman/Article/The%20Wadias%20of%20India.htm#The Yankee Connection and a Brush with American History.

[123] Quoted in Bean, *Yankee India*, 72. Bean states that the shawl was likely Kashmir, often mistaken by Americans for camel's hair.

[124] Ibid. Bean notes that the portrait was painted by William Winstanley in the style of Gilbert Stuart, and remained in the Dey family for two generations before it was bought by the Mulliks for their collection in the Marble Palace in Calcutta. It was acquired by Eric Kauders of Marblehead in the 1960s, and later by the present owner, Washington and Lee University, who loaned it to the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi in the 1980s. Ibid, 274, footnote 30.

[125] Washington's likeness was incorporated onto Liverpoolware for American merchants and sailors, and copied by Chinese export artists.

[126] Ichabod Nichols notes in a letter to Dalling dated September 27th that William Ward delivered him a letter from "our Good Friend" Nasserwanjie, which states that he sent Dalling a Persian dress for the Society as well as shawls for Nichols and his son. Nichols asks Dalling, "Will you sire have the goodness to enter them at the Custom House and pay the duties on them..." Typescript of a letter, Peirce-Nichols Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 468.

R. Dalling gave the Society a portrait of Nusserwanjee by Spoilum (fig. 57). Also in 1803, Calcutta banian Durgaprasad Ghose donated two musical instruments—a *dholak* (drum) and *tambura* (stringed drone)—and a *kittishal* (a parasol used for sheltering a palanquin). Ghose's gifts were intended for the Society's annual parades, adding yet another level of complexity to these performances.[127] The gifts from these Indian merchants are not merely indicative of friendly business exchange. As these two Indian donors knew of the East India Marine Society and its mission, they represent a conscious desire to represent Indian culture in this new American institution.[128] Like the figure of Yamqua, the Society made a mannequin of Nusserwanjee to display the clothing, likely after the portrait by Spoilum (fig. 58). This act signified their agency, too, in shaping the narrative of American exchange.

The figure of Nusserwanjee was the first of forty large and small figural sculptures of Indian merchants and other individuals that the Society collected. James Buffington Briggs, who went to India under the employ of Salem's leading merchant in the 1830s and 1840s, Joseph Peabody, acquired seven life-size clay figures of Indian figures for the museum in 1823 while master of the ship *Emerald* (fig. 59). One of these

[127] Bean, *Yankee India*, 81. Ghose had a relationship with many Salem merchants who were East India Marine Society members. On February 8th, 1825, Ghose wrote to Salem merchant and Society member Stephen Phillips (1764-1838) concerning business in Calcutta. "Sir, We have not had the pleasure to hear from you for some time respecting your welfare, consequently we embrace this opportunity of writing to you & hope this will find you & your amicable family with the good state of health…We enclose you a price current to which we refer you prices of goods. We further beg to request your attention that you will…recommend to your friends who happens to come out to India, & hope you doing so because we entirely depended upon your kind assistance." Phillips Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 58, Box 1, Folder 6.

[128] Bean, *Yankee India*, 79.

was a copy of the Greco-Roman Hellenistic statue *Boy With Thorn* (fig. 60).[129] Samuel Barton (1804-1840), another Society member and employee of Peabody as supercargo on the ship *George* during a voyage to Calcutta in 1834, donated twenty-one smaller scale figures in 1834. Indian agent Goundhun Ghose declares in a "contract" with W.H. Allen, second mate on the *George* on a prior voyage, that he "will supply him several sorts of Idols at the Bazar price."[130] They represent the servants, religious devotees, and entertainers familiar to Americans in Calcutta, which Barton would have encountered while renting a house at number 228 in the Old China Bazaar (fig. 61).[131] Artisans in Krishnanagar, West Bengal, crafted both sets of figures from sun-dried clay, painted with earth pigments in a tamarind-glue binder, finished with fiber hair, and finally dressed in cloth garments.[132] These figures, like those constructed by the Society, were intentionally made for Western display. The entire ensemble replicated American mariners' experiences in India for museum visitors, both real and exotic.[133]

Salem merchants were equally influential in trade with other ports in the East, and objects acquired in these regions also helped shape a nascent American identity. Four

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[129] Bean notes this object is symbolic of "the changing climate in which Calcutta's artists worked." Ibid, 183.

[130] From the Society archives, dated February 7th, 1833, and quoted in Ibid, 185. Ghose also notes, "In case I cannot do so as I make in this agreement, I shall be guilty towards the said W.H. Allen Esq."

[131] Ibid, 185. Bean notes, "The figures…represented what Ghose, and the unidentified clay modeler with whom he placed the order, believed foreigners would want as souvenirs… Figurines of native types continued to be popular souvenirs throughout the nineteenth century." Ibid, 188.

[132] Ibid, 185. Krishnangar was a small town about fifty miles upriver from Calcutta. The modelers there were part of a potter caste who made utilitarian clay vessels and images of Hindu deities for festivals.

[133] Ibid. Bean also states that the "[f]igures of entertainers, dancers and musicians, and religious devotees represented exotic India." Ibid, 187. Art historian Sria Chatterjee notes that the figures donated by Briggs "were not named individuals but were lifelike 'types' representing a larger community, in this case, of mendicants," while the Barton set "being true to life but reduced in scale…further serve to complicate the notion of representation and the categories of portrait and type." Sria Chatterjee, "People of Clay: Portrait Objects in the Peabody Essex Museum," *Museum History Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 2013): 203–221. The concept of "copying from nature" is a central theme of the Chatterjee's essay.

East India Marine Society members were part of the earliest United States voyages to Japan. The connections between these two nations began at the end of the 18th century, 160 years into Japan's *sakoku* or "closed country" policy and long before the voyage of Commodore Matthew Perry's "Black Fleet" in 1853. The only people allowed in the country during this period were Chinese and Dutch merchants, who were sequestered on the man made island of Deshima in Nagasaki Harbor. At the close of the eighteenth century, the Napoleonic Wars disrupted Dutch maritime commerce in the Pacific. In response to English privateers capturing their ships, Dutch officers in Batavia (today Jakarta, capital of Indonesia) chartered neutral ships trading in the port to make official voyages to Japan under the Dutch ensign.[134]

The Salem ship *Franklin*, captained by James Devereux (1766-1846), was the third American vessel to undertake this charter. When she returned to her homeport in 1800, the *Franklin* was the first vessel to enter the United States with a cargo from Japan. For this feat, Devereux was made a member of the recently established East India Marine Society. In return for his induction, Devereux donated Japanese objects obtained on the voyage, the first to enter an American collection. They included his logbook containing the specific orders and decorum Dutch merchants required Americans to follow when in Japan, and five multi-coloured Japanese wood block prints dating from the mid-to-late 1790s—four of female courtesans and one of a domestic genre scene of two women (fig.

[134] *日米交流のあけぼの：黒船きたる/Worlds Revealed: The Dawn of Japanese and American Exchange*, Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Edo-Tokyo Museum and the Peabody Essex Museum (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1999), 60. Following the monsoon pattern, vessels would leave Batavia in June and return in December. The chartered ships were required to follow exact protocols laid out by the Dutch as to not incur suspicion. The Japanese were not blind to the change in vessel type and sailors but allowed this digression to continue trade. Ibid.

62).[135] Unlike the export art produced for Western clients the objects Devereux brought back were acquired in a native context, purchased on the main island of Kyushu rather than on the freetrading island of Fapenberg where the other sailors bought personal keepsakes.[136]

In the next three years, more Japanese objects entered the collection, roughly two-thirds of the material from this country collected in the antebellum period. Though only representing a short moment in time in American and Japanese relations, these objects, like the prints, were more representative of native Japanese culture than those from China. The next vessel to take on a Dutch charter was the Boston ship *Massachusetts*. Onboard this voyage was twenty-three-year-old William Cleveland, who served as captain's clerk. Cleveland's journal kept onboard this voyage provides greater detail on Japanese culture than Devereux's formulaic logbook, depicting changing attitudes towards Japanese people and Eastern views of the West. Cleveland came to Japan as a young man "who had crammed into his head prejudices about stereotyped Japan" before entering this new land, a result of the "repeated cautions" of the Dutch agents aboard the ship.[137] Very quickly, though, he acknowledges that "many of the Japanese are assiduous in their endeavores [sic]… respectful & engaging," and states that the Dutch had told

[135] Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-Century America," 23. Nicole Rousmaniere notes: "the prints appear to be a representative selection of what was popular in Japan during the late 1790s, especially outside of Edo itself…To…Captain Devereux, these pictures might have represented the look of a Japanese woman of the period, or simply have been an exotic novelty." On display in the museum, they were "appropriated into a new context which used the objects' authenticity as an index of the virility of the newly reordered societies." Ibid.
[136] Ibid, 23.
[137] Entry from July 18th, 1800, transcribed in Madoka Kanai, ed. *A Diary of William Cleveland, Captain's Clerk on Board the* Massachusetts (Quezon, Philippines: University of the Philippines, Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series No. 1), 18.

them to "look upon the Japanders as a Cruel people before coming in."[138] Cleveland and his fellow crewmen quickly realized that "[m]any stories we now think exaggered [sic] and some intirely [sic] unfounded."[139]

While initially taken aback with "what a low opinion the Japanders have of America" Cleveland and his fellow crewmen worked to alter this misconception of their country.[140] He comments "some of them enquired to-day whether America was as large as Nangassacky [sic] & on being shown a Map of the World were astonished at the extent of America & the diminutive appearance of the Dutch dominions. Cliné! Cliné! said one, who at the same time express'd a wish to go to America, but said it was impossible."[141] He also observes things in the context of his own world. For example, Cleveland notes on July 17th, 1800, his second day in Nagasaki, that "the houses are built of Wood & have much the appearance of American buildings," and "The deep tones of Bells which appeared to something like the tolling of Bells in America, with about half a minutes[sic] pause between the strokes rendered the scene solemn as well as beautiful. Oh! home how I Love Thee!"[142]

Cleveland also provides some of the earliest descriptions of Japanese people by an American observer. When some Japanese inspectors come aboard the ship on July 18th, 1800, he gives a lengthy description of their dress:

> The Dress of the Japanders is neat, simple & not inelegant. They have a long loose gown of stripped Cotton, secure together by a sash, where they affix their

[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid. Although Cleveland spent most of his time aboard ship, he did witness events and interacted with Dutch and Japanese individuals who visited the ship.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Transcribed in Ibid.
[142] Transcribed in Ibid, 15-16.

> swords, Over which they have a loose frock of thin silk open before, which comes down to their middles; their sleeves are very deep & serve for pocket. They have little rings of White with flowers & various figures, stamp'd on the Clothes which we understood to be their Coats of Arms, several of them wear skirts like the Women of Europe or America. Their shoes are made of straw, they have no Tops to them except a piece of Rattan to go across the Foot, with another piece from the first to the soul [sic], between the great & second Toe.[143]

As a physical encapsulation of this description, Cleveland obtained "a Japanese sandal"—what we would describe as a "flip-flop" today—and donated it to the East India Marine Society in 1803 (fig. 63).[144]

A year later, the Salem ship *Margaret* took the annual Dutch charter from Batavia. Her master, Society member and later President Samuel Gardner Derby (1767-1843), also collected a large assortment of Japanese objects. William Cleveland's brother George, who served as Derby's clerk, notes on September 20th, 1801 the various types of Japanese goods acquired in Nagasaki, many of which Derby donated to the East India Marine Society:

> As the time was approaching for our departure, we began to receive our returns from the interior, brought many hundred miles. These consisted of the most beautiful lacquered ware, such as waiters, writing desks, tea caddies, knife boxes, tables, etc. etc. These were packed in boxes so neat that in any other country they would be considered cabinet work. We also received a great variety of silks, fans in large quantities, a great variety of porcelain, and house brooms of superior quality.[145]

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[143] Transcribed in Ibid, 17.

[144] Cleveland describes the complicated process of obtaining goods from Japanese shops. On November 3rd, 1800, he states "business is done with as much difficulty, " and on November 4th, he notes "I purchased about 18 or 20 pieces of Silk & several articles of laquer'd Ware & afterwards carried them to confront the innumerable examinations, checks, &c. to prevent Smuggling, [which] are vexing beyond measure, I am heartily sick of Cram." Transcribed in Ibid, 38-39.

[145] George Cleveland, "Journal," *Essex Institute Hist. Collections*, Vol. 2: 169, quoted in James Duncan Phillips, "The Voyage of the *Margaret* in 1801: The First Salem Voyage to Japan," *American Antiquarian Society* Vol. 54 (Oct. 1944): 10.

Among the objects given to the museum were many non-export cups, saucers, and pots associated with tea drinking; red-copper bars, one of Japan's chief exports; and a black lacquered tray with mother-of-pearl inlay depicting the foreign quarters at Deshima (fig. 64).[146] This object, like Cornè's painting of the Foreign Factories at Canton, was a reminder of Eastern control of trade with the West during the first half of the nineteenth century.

East India Marine Society members also obtained objects from Africa, initially as part of the continuing Atlantic triangle slave trade between West Africa, the Caribbean, and North America, and through new East Indies voyages that brought ships down the West Coast of the continent and around the Cape of Good Hope.[147] The majority of the objects donated to the Society during this period are weapons from Northern Africa, an area patrolled by hostile Barbary pirates during this period, or from the central and southern regions of the continent. In addition, Michele Felice Cornè was commissioned in 1804 to paint a fireboard of Cape Town, South Africa, a frequent stopping point for American ships to obtain provisions and conduct repairs (fig. 65).

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[146] William Cleveland describes weighing copper onboard ship on July 29th, 1800: "Towards Evening Came on board the ship, met Capt. H. on his way to the Wall with Capt. Stewart. They had received 500 Boxes of Copper, being the principal part of what was weigh'd to day. The Copper is in small bars of about 6 or 7 inches long, & an inch through some of them look'd like gold, others were Red, it is said to be the finest Copper in the World." Ibid, 22-23.

[147] Evidence for Salem's direct involvement in obtaining African slaves is limited. Art historian Susan Stedman notes that "[a] slaver is described by Felt in *The Annals of Salem* in 1785, and the diaries and notes of a Dr. Bentley document the activities of eight Salem shipmasters engaged in slave trade during the last fifteen years of that century." Susan Stedman, "The Peabody Museum of Salem," *African Arts* Vol. 10, No. 1 (October 1976): 43, 45-46. Ibid. In regards to Salem trade along the West African coats, John Grimes states: "Scattered along the African coast, European forts and trading settlements, called factories, were deprived of regular provisioning from their homeland. Neutral American vessels quickly capitalized on this situation by supplying beef, flour, tobacco, rum and lumber in exchange for African products, specie, or credit with European trading firms…[W]ith the cessation of hostilities in Europe, and the end of the War of 1812, American trading at French and British factories was banned." John R. Grimes, *The Tribal Style: Selections from the African Collection at the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1984), 5.

From this point on, American mariners ventured to the eastern side of the African continent. One of the areas of trade forged by Salem mariners was in Zanzibar, a junction for inland caravan routes and trading ships from the Indian Ocean, transformed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century by Sayyid Said (1804-56), the Imam of Muscat, into a locus for obtaining cloves, ivory and slaves.[148] The first New England vessels to reach Zanzibar came in 1817, and American-Zanzibar trade relations were formalized with a commercial treaty in 1835. Shortly after, an American consulate was created in Zanzibar, with Society member Richard Palmer Waters (1807-1887) appointed as the first consul.[149] Salem dominated the trade in this region for ivory, hides, gum copal, and peanuts, until the establishment of a British consul in 1841.[150] Trade with Africa remained active in the 1840s and 50s, but declined in Salem by the 1860s.[151]

Regardless of the level of trade activity, donations of objects to the museum from Africa were minimal compared to other regions of mercantilism. Still, they contributed to the formation of an American identity. Society member Henry Leavitt (1803-1830), who made several voyages to the East Coast of Africa, donated Arab spears, boat models, books, and natural history specimens from Zanzibar and Madagascar.[152] Other utilitarian

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[148] Ibid.
[149] As a young man, Waters records in his diary on Thursday August 11th, 1825: "in the evening I visited the museum and saw 16 wax figures among whome [sic] was Gen. Washington Gen. Lafayette Gen. Jackson." Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# DIA 229. Waters also notes on October 14th, 1825, that the Society was celebrating their anniversary and President John Quincy Adams was in attendance.
[150] Grimes, *The Tribal Style*, 6. Grimes notes: "African hides were an economical alternative to animal skins from South America and the western United States for the burgeoning New England tanning industry. Palm oil figured in the production of candles, and gum copal was an important component of varnish: Salem possessed processing plants for both. Peanuts, a native America crop that flourished in Africa, became a popular novelty food at fairs and circuses." Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid, 7.

objects and weapons entered the collection in the following years. Collectively, this random assortment of weapons, an Ashanti stool from Ghana, and other material of both Arab and African manufacture probably confused visitors rather than educated them. Two unusual watercolors "of a female Hottentot, taken by a French artist from the life, at the Cape of Good Hope," donated prior to 1821, further complicated matters (fig. 66). These provocative illustrations of a woman in profile and a detail of her sexual organs are more reflective of curious titillation and a stereotyped understanding of Africans than early anthropological interests.[153]

Atlantic trade routes in the New Republic and East Indies voyages throughout the antebellum period brought Society members to South American ports, an extensive trade network. Peru became a source of species used in obtaining goods from the East when "Rounding the Horn" to China, and as the decades progressed and Salem's trade diversified, it was a port for securing the fertilizer guano. Also, the rubber trade during the later antebellum period brought Salem captains into contact with indigenous people in the Amazon River basin. To East India Marine Society members and other tourists, South America was an exotic land filled with the remains of ancient civilizations and jungles

[153] For more on these drawings, see E.A. Hooton, "Some Early Drawings of Hottentot Women," *Harvard African Studies II (Varia Africana II)*, 1918: 83-100. The Society also owned two rare erotic volumes by the scandalous French antiquarian and artist Pierre-François Hugues (1719-1805), aka Baron d'Hancarville—*Monumens de la vie privée des douze Cesars: d'après une suite de pierres gravées sous leur règne* (Caprées: Chez Sabellus, 1780) and *Monumens du culte secret des dames romaines* (A Caprée: Chez Sabellus, 1784). These books, numbers 1420 and 1421, focus on the sexual practices of Roman Caesars and women, respectively. See Francis Haskell, *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 30-45, 230-32, and "Banned Books: d'Harcanville's *Monumens*…," http://peabodywunderkammer.tumblr.com/post/10767769358/banned-books-dhancarvilles-monumens-de-la-vie.

populated with feather-adorned Natives.[154] Still, like the African collection, the objects donated from this region were small in comparison to the Pacific Islands and the Far East.

Several important pieces were acquired in this region and donated to the museum, such as an impressive featherwork headdress used in fertility and initiation rites collected in the Amazon River Valley by Henry P. Upton and donated in 1839.[155] Another object from Brazil unifies the collections from Africa and South America as the only piece in the Society's collection that directly addresses the slave trade. In 1830, William Cleveland donated a West African *mbira*, a thumb piano or finger xylophone (fig. 67), noted in the museum's catalogue as, "a musical instrument used by the slaves at Rio Janeiro, probably brought by them from the West coast of Africa."[156] Together with a "A Glove made for the Bishop of Arequepa [sic]" donated in 1821 by Samuel Curson (1781-1847) of Havana, the East India Marine Society Museum exhibited objects denoting this continent's complex cultural makeup.[157]

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[154] Mary Lou Curran and John R. Grimes, "Salem and Native America: Toward a Dialogical Perspective," in *Uncommon Legacies*: *Native American Art from the Peabody Essex Museum*, John R. Grimes et al. (New York: American Federation of Arts in association with University of Washington Press, 2002), 58.

[155] See Ramiro Matos, "Indigenous Art of South America," in John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 239.

[156] This is on a list of objects donated from July to September, 1830, entitled "Donations to the S.E.I.M. Society's Museum" (MH#88, Box 18, Folder 4). For more on this instrument, see Marie-Therese Brincard et al., *Sounding Forms: African Musical Instruments* (New York: The American Federation of the Arts, 1989), 34, 73-74.

[157] Curson was a business man in Havana and donated four other objects. In 1818, he gave an iron helmet purportedly made before Cortez's arrival and a breastplate, both believed to be from Mexico. In a letter to Nathaniel Bowditch dated November 19th, 1819, Curson states: "By Capt Shephard I remit you a box containing a Breast plate & helmet for the Marine Museum under your charge, and which you did me the favour to show me when I passed through your place. I received these from Spain some time since as a present. The Breast plate seems of modern manufacture, but the helmet has every appearance of antiquity, & I should conjecture from the figures on it that it may have been made about the time of the conquest of Mexico." Correspondence Regarding Donations of Objects, 1799-1838. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88 Box 13, Folder 5. Don LaRocca of the Metropolitan Museum of Art notes in a December 1996 letter in the PEM object files that the helmet is North Italian "of the type referred to in English as a cabasset and in Italian as a zuccotto

The majority of the objects collected from South America were fifty-six Precolombian antiquities from Peru, primarily Incan and Chimú anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels, donated by several individuals from 1821 to 1836. Almost all are listed as a vase taken from or dug out "from the ancient Mounds in Peru," suggesting a cavalier attitude for acquiring objects during this period through pot-hunting.[158] In the diary of an unknown sailor aboard the brig *Herald* from 1825 to 1826, he notes when in Lima "I noticed on this road a great many of the Indian mounds or burying places, which are found in many parts of Peru & frequently contain many curiosities—some of them are very extensive."[159] There was also an active antiquities market at this time, and the Spanish government allowed Westerners to loot sites.[160] Lacking archaeological context, visitors would have no knowledge that a black pottery Chimú beaker in the shape of a llama's head, number 1651 donated by Richard Jeffry Cleveland (1773-1830) prior to 1821, was probably used for ritual offerings (fig. 68).[161] Nor would they known that

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aguzzo, dating from ca. 1575 to 1625…not rare," and the breastplate is a "cuirassier's…from the late 18th or 19th century. It should have been immediately recognizable as a roughly contemporary object to anyone acquiring it in the early to mid-19th century; just as we today would be unlikely to mistake a GI's uniform for something from the remote past."

[158] These objects were examined by noted Peruvian archaeologist Julio César Tello (1880-1947) of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, in the twentieth century.

[159] Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1628.

[160] Gilbert Farquahar Mathison records in "Each house had a vault beneath, in which were formerly deposited the mortal remains of its inhabitants, together with rude vessels of earthenware, and implements of war or husbandry. These vaults are here termed *huacas*; and an English gentleman, not long since, received permission from the Spanish Government to open several of them, from which he made a valuable collection of Indian relics." Gilbert Farquahar Mathison, *Narrative of a visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, During the Years 1821 and 1822* (London: Charles Knight, 1825), 269, quoted in John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 236.

[161] Ibid, 235. Cleveland, a cousin of William Cleveland and grandfather of President Grover Cleveland, was ship captain involved in many American trade routes. See Richard J. Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises, in Two Volumes*, Second Edition (Cambridge, MA: John Owen, 1843). Tello dated this piece to the Late Intermediate Period, about 1200-1400. Archaeologist Ramiro Matos sees this vessel and others "as indicators of religion's long-lasting role as a cohesive and dynamic force in American Indian culture." Ramiro Matos, "Indigenous Art of South America," in Ibid, 239.

number 3796, a black pottery figure with an inverted Y spout donated by Society member Jonathan Millett Ropes (1799-1873) in 1827, represented the Incan goddess of maize, Zaramama (fig. 69). Instead, visitors would have considered these vessels as among the most unusual objects in the Hall.

The East India Marine Society also accumulated material related to Native American tribes in the United States and Canada during the 1820s and 1830s, primarily through the contributions of outside donors. While many objects in the collection were bound to American mythologies about a disappearing Native American presence in the country, in reality Native cultures were dynamic during this period, reacting, reinventing, and reforming themselves in the presence of Euro-America.[162] At the time, there were few major collections of Native North American art in the United States. Peale's museum contained some material from the Northwest Coast and other regions.[163] In 1816, William Clark, then governor of the Missouri Territory, opened his own museum in Saint Louis.[164] This museum, the first west of Cincinnati, was attached to his house and was used as a council chamber for visiting Indian delegations.[165] Clark's collection grew over

[162] Karen Kramer Russell, PEM's Curator of Native American Art, characterizes this collection as one that "correlates to larger national movements of museology and, at times, federal policy." Karen Kramer Russell, "Over 200 Years of Native American Art and Culture at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts," *Tulsa Law Review* Vol. 45:33 (April 2010): 33. Curran and Grimes note "The twin myths, which, Janus-like, depict on one face the visage of the Disappearing Red Man, and on the other, that of the unspoiled Noble Savage, were constructed and unified during the early nineteenth century…Both faces were false, belying both the survival of Native culture and the long history of mutual interaction and trade." Curran and Grimes, "Salem and Native America," 58-59.

[163] Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 128. These later objects included material gathered after the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794; wax figures of the Shawnee leaders Blue Jacket and Red Pole; portraits painted by Peale; and some minor material from the Lewis and Clark expedition.

[164] A year later, Thomas Loraine McKenney (1785-1829), then Superintendent of Indian Trade, founded the first national museum of the American Indian in Washington 1817.

[165] Christian F. Feest, "Collectors, Collections, and Collectibles: Early Native American Collections in Europe and North America," in *Uncommon Legacies*: *Native American Art from the Peabody Essex*

the years, due in part to his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis from 1821 until his death in 1838.[166] The painter George Catlin, too, formed a large collection of Native North American objects during his travels in the West for most of the 1830s, and displayed them alongside his works in his Indian Gallery in the United States, and later in London and Paris.[167] Both men visited the East India Marine Society Museum; Clark came on June 12th, 1837 towards the end of his life, while Catlin toured the Hall a few months later on September 25th during a lecture tour in the northeast.[168]

When the Society was formed, native communities in New England were marginalized to small pockets within and on the periphery of towns and cities.[169] Many lived in marginal and liminal zones like marshes.[170] There are few objects in the Society's collection, therefore, that accurately reflect active native cultures in the

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Museum, John R. Grimes et al. (New York: American Federation of Arts in association with University of Washington Press, 2002), 40.

[166] Ibid, 40-41. Albert Koch borrowed a portion of Clark's collection in 1837 for exhibition at the Saint Louis Museum, and it appears kept the material and dispersed it in the United States and abroad.

[167] Ibid, 41. Catlin's collection was poorly documented, and he was forced to sell it out of financial concerns. The American locomotive manufacturer Joseph Harrison purchased it in 1852 after the United States government declined, and those objects that survived two warehouse fires and other damage in Philadelphia were given to the Smithsonian in 1878.

[168] In a letter from Catlin's father Putnam Catlin to George's brother Francis (dated Sept. 23rd, 1838, sent to the navy yard at Pensacola from Great Bend), he notes: "Your brother Geo is now at Boston, & has the favour of spreading his gallery in the famous Fanieul [sic] Hall, after having lectured two weeks in another building." George Catlin Papers, 1798-1874. University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library. BANC MSS Z-Z 114 Positive microfilm pt.1.

[169] Curran and Grimes, "Salem and Native America," 53, figure 2. Curran and Grimes note "[t]he scattered, rural Native communities of Massachusetts and southern New England would have commanded little, if any, attention by most of the non-Native populace. Salem captains, as part of their involvement with the trade along the coast of New England and the Canadian Maritime Provinces, would have been more familiar with the Penobscot and Micmac." Ibid, 88, 53. Native American tribes encamped around Salem into the 1830s. Henry Wheatland notes in his diary on August 13th, 1838 that he "[v]isited the Indians they had encamped on the South side of Castle Hill in S. Salem." East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Catalog 2.

[170] Emerson W. Baker II, "Salem as Frontier Outpost," in *Salem: Place, Myth, and Memory*, Dane Morrison and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, eds. (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 36. Baker quotes Hawthorne's short story "Main-street" when recounting these periods of expansion: "the pavements of the Main-street must be laid over the red man's grave."

Canadian Maritime Provinces and New England in the nineteenth century. These include the oldest recorded full-sized birch bark canoe donated in 1826, which had a major presence in East India Marine Hall; canoe models and a quilled box from the Micmac and Malicite tribes given as early as 1802; ancient bead and quillwork, clothing, and baskets; and a tomahawk from a French vessel during the French and Indian War, donated in 1827, which was probably viewed as a relic of an historical event.[171] In addition, the oldest known pair of Sioux moccasins was given in 1822.[172]

Northeastern Native American populations were represented in another way; as an ancient, extinct culture. Prehistoric and historic period artifacts, such as number 676, a Woodland Period "Hatchet found on Col. Pickman's farm in South Salem, by the N. American Indians," were donated by local inhabitants from their own fields or were found as urban roads and houses were constructed. They were then displayed alongside classical antiquities.[173] To further emphasize this narrative of a disappearing culture, the Society exhibited paintings from the distant past or Euro-American romantic interpretations of Native New Englanders.[174] One of a Native American encampment, painted by Cornè as one of the fireboards the Society commissioned in 1804 (fig. 70), is an allegory likely based on the plate *View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego* from William

[171] Dodge and Copeland, Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem, 16.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Boswell, "Re-enactment and the Museum Case," 54-55.
[174] Curran and Grimes believe that the lack of eastern objects in the Society's museum is less a reflection of their "beyond the Capes" collecting goals and more a product of "a lack of perceived value or exotic interest" among members. In addition, "Very little was donated to the Society's cabinet from the southern tribes; pre-removal and removal-era objects front these communities are, not surprisingly, rare in any museum collections." Curran and Grimes, "Salem and Native America," 53.

Anderson's volume on Captain Cook's voyages of exploration (fig. 71).[175] Here, the Native people are depicted as an embodiment of the wilderness, an object to be tamed, and Cornè added headdresses to reflect the common perception of Native Americans at the time.[176] Twenty years later, Samuel Bartoll encapsulates the prevailing reinterpretation of colonial encounters with Native Americans in his fireboard *Landing of the Pilgrims* (fig. 72).[177] Painted for the newly opened East India Marine Hall, Bartoll presents an anachronistic depiction of Pilgrims dressed in nineteenth century sailor's uniforms, and Native Americans who were not present during this event.[178] The overall message is that Europeans encountered a desolate landscape that was ripe for the taking.

There were also a number of objects from Atlantic and mid-western tribes. Many were collected during United States military campaigns in the first half of the nineteenth century and donated by United States Army officers or officials such as Enos Cutler (1781-1860) and David Bates Douglass (1790-1849), who were related or connected to Salem families.[179] The Great Lakes region and Midwest were sites of major conflicts between the United States government and Native Americans in the first quarter of the

[175] This plate after Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785) was based on the original watercolor by Alexander Buchan (d. 1769).
[176] John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 88.
[177] Curran and Grimes note in reference to this painting: "In 1802, John Quincy Adams, who was then an attorney in Boston, gave a speech commemorating the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, in which he responded pointedly to certain 'moralists' and 'philanthropists' who questioned European rights to the soil…saying that 'the tenant of the woods' who 'accidentally' ranged over land in search of game had no special claim to it. The ideas articulated by Adams…resonate in a painting depicting the landing of the Pilgrims...Adams's Plymouth speech is an unfortunate legacy of a president who later strongly opposed Andrew Jackson's Indian removal policies. Ironically, Jackson's supporters used the speech to bolster their views." Curran and Grimes, "Salem and Native America," 53-54.
[178] PEM curators note in the label for this painting in the museum's Putnam American Decorative Arts galleries that it is a close copy of an earlier version done by Cornè, who was possibly Bartoll's teacher.
[179] John Marsh (1799-1856), the sub-agent at the Indian Agency at Fort Crawford on the Mississippi River near Prarie du Chien, Wisconsin, also donated material to the museum. According to Grimes and Kramer, Marsh was a colorful figure in the early American West who became deeply involved with Native politics, even leading a group of warriors into battle during the 1832 Black Hawk War.

nineteenth century. The British maintained a presence and influence on native tribes after the Treaty of Paris in 1783, a source of tension that led to the War of 1812. During the war, the American military battled tribes siding with their foe, such as William Henry Harrison's defeat of Tecumseh and the Shawnee at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River and the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814. Afterwards, the United States military continued campaigns to gain control of the native inhabitants of this western frontier.

Like the tribes in the Northwest Coast during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Native Americans in the Midwest, too, had already been exposed to European contact.[180] By the mid-eighteenth century, souvenir objects were already being produced, such as miniature canoes and dolls, and later fancy boxes, trays, card cases, catlinite pipes, and other goods were made for sale to residents and visitors.[181] To the East India Marine Society members and their superintendents, these objects were still exotic and assumed as native crafts, a sign of their lack of knowledge of this region.[182]

Cutler was married to the daughter of Society member Henry Elkins (1761-1836) who commanded many of Elias Hasket Derby's ships in the Atlantic trade in the late eighteenth century, and it is likely that he donated material to the Society's collection

[180] Curran and Grimes, "Salem and Native America," 57. The objects produced for Anglo-Americans, according to Grimes and Curran, were "based on earlier forms and motifs" and "suggest cultural conservatism rather than a lack of Euroamerican contact." Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid. Curran and Grimes characterize the Society's knowledge of this region as "midway between their awareness of the Northwest Coast and their relative lack of awareness of the Native peoples of the East…For the Salem entrepreneurs, there simply were not sufficient commercial incentives to become familiar with the cultures and geography of the interior. Thus, the relative influence of economic incentives, national consciousness, and morality on the Euroamericans' use of power was different in the East, the Pacific Northwest, and the interior, with tragic consequences." Ibid.

through this channel.[183] While commanding officer from 1823 to 1825 at Fort Brady, an important strategic passageway between Lake Superior and Lake Huron near Sault Sainte Marie in Michigan, he acquired several objects. Of his eleven donations to the East India Marine Society museum between 1825 and 1827, seven were Anishinaabe (Chippewa/Ojibwa) objects—two trading canoe models, two pipes, a canoe paddle model, a war club and a set of bow and arrows. The canoe models, numbers 3389 and 3390 (fig. 73), in particular, have broader associations than simple tourists art based on a series of letters to Cutler from United States Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft (1793-1864). Schoolcraft instructs Cutler to place a military guard at the head of the Portage as a checkpoint to guard against the illicit smuggling of liquor that "excited unusual attention at Washington."[184] Schoolcraft notes "Indian canoes, having liquor or goods, should also be detained for examination, and in fact, no person whatever should be permitted to enter the lake, without exhibiting the proper authority."[185] Cutler resisted many of Schoolcraft's orders, though, and Schoolcraft attacked Cutler's character in letters to superior officers.[186]

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[183] Cutler was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, the son of Lieut. Abijah Cutler. He was a graduate of Brown, and settled in Cincinnati. Cutler served in the war of 1812, in the first Seminole campaign with General Jackson, and in the Creek war. He died in Salem in 1860. John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 197-198.

[184] Letter from Henry R. Schoolcraft to Enos Cutler, July 29th, 1824. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. Enos Cutler Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. Fam. MSS# 219, Box 1, Vol. 1.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Cutler's wife Harriet wrote to Lucy Derby, wife of Society member Elias Hasket Derby Jr. on October 14th, 1824, and provides a description of an army family in the mid-west frontier. She describes the region as a "savage wilderness" in comparison to Salem, "with but few luxuries of life...few charms for one used to polished society." Lucy Derby notes a small circle of "interesting" folks that "we live happily together" with in the Garrison, giving her family little temptation, "to go beyond the Pickets, surrounded by "a little '<u>mushroom</u>' village" whose inhabitants "are such as are the Pioneers of all new settlements—men of doubtful reputation & desperate fortunes determined to make merry at any rate from such we can expect nothing." Derby notes that Chippewa natives came in the summer, "about 20 to 30 Indian warriors with their families in wigwams," to fish in the rapids in "their frail bark canoe…with great dexterity…with a

David Bates Douglass was a member of the 1820 Cass Expedition, organized by Governor Lewis Cass (1782-1866) of the Michigan Territory and approved by John C. Calhoun (1782-1850) and President James Monroe (1758-1831). This expedition had scientific and geographic goals of surveying the western portion of Michigan Territory, from the southern shore of Lake Superior and its connections between the Mississippi, an area that Cass tells Calhoun was "little explored and its natural features are imperfectly known."[187] In addition, Cass wished to locate the sources of important minerals, specifically copper in the Lake Superior region, and obtain specimens of "virgin copper" that were "procured by the Indians, or by half-breeds" and move this material to the Atlantic coast "for naval purposes."[188]

These goals, however, were secondary to political and military ambitions. The United States Government and Cass wished to conduct "[a] personal examination of the different Indian tribes who occupy the country" specifically "their feelings towards the United States; of their numerical strength; and of the various objects connected with them, of which humanity and sound policy require that the Government should possess an intimate knowledge."[189] The expedition was also to "procure the extinction of Indian title to the land in the vicinity of the Straits of St. Mary's Prairie du Chien, Green Bay,"

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net." Derby, however, does not hold a high opinion of this nation, describing them in a stereotypical fashion common to this era. "The natives here (of Chipeway nation) fall far short of the character of the Alknomacks &c which we read of—they are timid, abject, filthy & miserable—their intercourse with the whites have rendered them if possible more wretched—they have learned to practice all their vices & distrust their virtues—for a single glass of whiskey they will barter their last morsel & leave their families to starve." Letter from Harriet Elkins Cutler to Lucy Brown Derby, October 14, 1824. Derby Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 37, Box 19, Folder 7.

[187] Letter from Lewis Cass to John C. Calhoun, November 18, 1819, transcribed in Sydney W. Jackman and John F. Freeman, eds., *American Voyageur: The Journal of David Bates Douglass* (Marquette, MI: Northern Michigan University Press, 1969): 114.

[188] Ibid, 115-116.

[189] Ibid, xiii-xiv.

move members of the Six Nations west from New York, subjugate the Ojibwa tribes who were loyal to the British, take control of certain Native land, and cut off British interest in the fur trade by finding out whether Native American tribes were loyal to the United States or Great Britain.[190] This expedition was part of Cass' larger legacy of Indian removal, highlighted by his influence in developing Andrew Jackson's policy while secretary of war from 1831 to 1836.[191]

Douglass, a native of New Jersey and a member of the Army Engineers Corps at West Point since the War of 1812, was Assistant Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Military Academy when he was tapped for the Cass Expedition. The objects he collected and donated to the East India Marine Society were a physical encapsulation of the expedition's scientific, ethnographic, political, and military goals. They include mineralogical specimens and Native American objects.[192] Douglass notes on May 22nd in his journal kept during the expedition that he went to the quarry at Grosse Isle and "procured some very fine specimens of the sulph of strontian" which became Society catalogue number 2353. The clothing and pipes Douglass donated, number 2339 to 2344, may have been reciprocal gifts from Native Americans employed as guides or as part of

[190] Ibid, xiii-xiv.
[191] Grimes and Curran also note that Cass "aggressively negotiated with Great Lakes Natives to exchange land for annuity payments. In fact, as the eastern woodlands fur trade had collapsed and the region was overrun with Euroamerican settlers, many of these groups had few other options for their livelihood. But annuities proved demoralizing, reducing incentives for self-sufficiency and resulting in widespread alcoholism." John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 172.
[192] It appears that Douglass knew William Story, as noted in an acknowledgement letter to then Society President Stephen White, and Douglass and White had a mutual acquaintance. Either channel was probably the impetus for Douglass' donations, as he had no known connection to Salem.

negotiations for land or allegiance (fig. 74).[193]. On July 15th, Douglass describes the meeting in the Fort on Sandy Lake:

> The men of this village held a talk with the Governor soon after his arrival by way of giving him welcome to their village and making interest for tobacco and whiskey. They assembled in the room of the agent and seated themselves 'round the floor with their pipes. Some tobacco was laid on the floor for them and after perhaps 15 minutes of silence the chief [Bookoo-sainge-gon, or Broken Arm] got up and shook hands with us all beginning with the Governor. Taking his position then before the Governor, he delivered his speech while an attendant stood by his side with a highly ornamented pipe of friendship in his hand which he filled in the meantime with kinnekineek [a mix of fauna substituted for tobacco]. As soon as the chief had done speaking he lighted it and presented it to each of us for a few puffs. To have refused would have been a gross insult.[194]

The next day, in a meeting with "a chief rather more graceful in his delivery than him of yesterday," [this was Brooken Tooth (c.1763-1828), chief of the Sandy Lake Chippewas] more gifts were distributed by Cass. The Chippewa men were "quite astounded at the liberality of his gifts and express great attachment to the American government" and agreed to his proposal to "go down with him to St. Peters and have a council with the Sioux for a peace between the tribes." Douglass notes that, "The pipe used today was given to the Governor".[195]

In contrast to these objects in the East India Marine Society collection are those donated by Native Americans to combat stereotypes of their culture. Elias Boudinot (1802-1839), a Cherokee who advocated for his nation and became editor of

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[193] Douglass notes on June 28th that Cass "distributed some presents among our four guides and the other Indians of the village who were sent for, for the purpose; Silver work, beads, chintz, knives, tobacco, and a little powder and lead, They appeared highly gratified with them, telling us that they were better and more abundant than they had ever received from the Red Coats and, as for their American father, they had never before received any from him." Jackman and Freeman, eds., *American Voyageur*, 61. These Native Americans were noted as Chippewa from a village near the mouth of the Ontonagon River that flows into Lake Superior on the western side of the upper peninsula of Michigan.
[194] Ibid, 79-80.
[195] Ibid, 79-80.

the Cherokee newspaper, the *Phoenix*, donated four objects that support his beliefs. In *An Address to the Whites, Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church* in 1826, he notes that "his purpose in speaking was to offer a few disconnected facts relative to…[t]he rise of these people in their movement towards civilization."[196] Boudinot wanted to dispel misconceptions of Native Americans "[t]o those who are unacquainted with the manners, habits, and improvements of the Aborigines of this country" where "the term Indian is pregnant with ideas the most repelling and degrading."[197] Boudinot cautions the crowd that "such impressions, originating as they frequently do, from infant prejudices…do great injustice to many of this race of beings…thus creating an opinion, inapplicable and highly injurious to those for whose temporal interest and eternal welfare, I come to plead."[198]

To counter these myths and misconceptions, Boudinot provides several examples of Cherokee progression. He informs the audience of the "invention of letters" and writing, and the "translation of the New Testament into Cherokee."[199] Boudinot points to this biblical text as a symbolic object, one that "has swept away that barrier which has long existed, and opened a spacious channel for the instruction of adult Cherokees. Persons of all ages and classes may now read the precepts of the Almighty in their own

[196] Elias Boudinot, An Address to the Whites, Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, on the 26th of May, 1826 (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1826), 7.
[197] Ibid, 3. According to the Southeastern Native American Documents at the University of Georgia Library: "Boudinot's speech was part of a fund-raising tour designed to procure money for the establishment of a printing press in the Cherokee Nation for publishing a national newspaper. In this speech,…He urges his audience to distinguish themselves philanthropically by supporting not only the publication of a national newspaper, but also the establishment of a seminary within the Cherokee Nation." http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=d6c44f68-cb4bd5a853-3066&type=doc&tei2id=BDT001.
[198] Ibid, 3.
[199] Ibid, 9.

language. Before it is long, there will scarcely be an individual in the nation who can say, 'I know not God neither understand I what thou sayest [sic],' for all shall know him from the greatest to the least."[200] While on a speaking tour of the Northeast in 1832 to raise fund for the *Phoenix*, Boudinot lectured in Salem. He visited the East India Marine Society museum on March 24th, 1832, and donated examples of Cherokee writing and a translation of "The Gospel According to St. Matthew," which he spoke about six years earlier (fig. 75).[201] Boudinot's donations to the Society and appeals to white Americans, therefore, reflected Native American agency, but also fell into line with larger missionary movements at home and abroad. Salem, as the headquarters of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), was involved in missionary efforts to India and other countries, as well as among the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Dakotas, and other native groups from 1817 to1883.[202]

In 1803, Captain Apthorp of HMS *Druid* donated eight objects to the East India Marine Society through Elias Hasket Derby Jr. Along with a Turkish pipe, a water jar, and some natural history specimens, was a mummified ibis from the "Catacomb of Sakkara." This is the first Egyptian antiquity to be displayed in an American museum, and among the first archaeological artifacts given to the Society.[203] While collecting

[200] Ibid, 9-10. Boudinot believes that the establishment of a printing press, the advancements in learning English, and the introduction of a Seminary were all examples of their good will and want of civilization.
[201] Next to Boudinot's name in the museum register, someone wrote in pencil "Indian." Boudinot became a controversial figure at this time. While lecturing, the Supreme Court had sustained Cherokee rights to political and territorial sovereignty within Georgia's borders in *Worcester v. Georgia*. Still, President Jackson pushed for Indian Removal. Boudinot urged the Cherokee to seek a binding treaty of removal rather than rally against this move, an unpopular stance among his people.
[202] Russell, "Over 200 Years of Native American Art and Culture at the Peabody Essex Museum," 36-37.
[203] The Society collected just over forty objects during the antebellum period, and today PEM has about 300 ancient Egyptian artifacts. For more on the collection, see Joyce Haynes, "America's Earliest Egyptian Collection at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem." *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* Vol. 11, No.

material from beyond the Capes, the Society amassed a sizable collection of archaeological artifacts at an early date—from Europe, the ancient Near East, and the Americas. American archaeological efforts in these regions were sparse in the antebellum period, and therefore merchants and travelers had the greatest impact on the field in connection to the rise of museum collections.[204] Many objects were acquired at the ports connected to the opium trade, such as Constantinople and Smyrna, a major city in the dealing of antiquities.[205]

The greatest access to antiquities was afforded to mariners in the merchant and naval services. During the frigate *Constitution*'s cruise in the Mediterranean in 1824 to 1828, schoolmaster and chaplain George Jones visited the ruins of Carthage and records in his journal when returning to the ship that he was "accompanied by four Moors engaged in carrying to the boat, some large mosaics, which I had purchased."[206] In Sounium he took pieces of a block of the temple on August 14th, 1826 "to show you the neatness of the fitting" and donated them to Yale College; and in Megara, the crew found

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2 (Summer 2000): 30-41. William B. Dinsmoor incorrectly notes, "The first Egyptian relics to come to this country were mummies, beginning with one presented in 1823 by Richard Van Lennep, a merchant of Smyrna, 'to the good people of Boston…'," which is currently owned by the Massachusetts General Hospital. William B. Dinsmoor, "Early American Studies of Mediterranean Archaeology," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol. 87, No. 1, The Early History of Science and Learning in America (Jul. 14, 1943): 94-95.

[204] Dinsmoor notes that American contacts with Egypt were limited in the early nineteenth century, with American Naval operations after the War with Tripoli in 1805 leading to an increased presence "for the protection of American commerce against the Barbary pirates" and Yankee naval architects "employed at Alexandria for the building of an Egyptian fleet for Mehemet Ali." Ibid, 95.

[205] Ibid, 99. The Salem brig *Telemachus* was the first American ship to reach Constantinople in 1810. In addition to American consulates in these areas starting in the early nineteenth century, Dinsmoor points to merchant shipping as the means for acquiring antiquities. Ibid.

[206] [George Jones], Sketches of Naval Life, with Notices of Men, Manners and Scenery on the Shores of the Mediterranean, in a series of letters from the Brandywine and Constitution frigates, by a "Civilian," 2 vols. (New Haven: 1829), quoted in Ibid. For more context on this voyage, see Elizabeth George, "Through the Eyes of Sailors and Citizens: How Sailors on the USS Constitution Viewed the Greek Revolution," *Bridgewater State University Undergraduate Review* Vol. 8 (2012): 33-39.

two colossal statues, one that was donated to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.[207] Jones also reveals the nature of antiquity dealers in the Near East at this time, who sold coins and other relics at ports of call like Smyrna, mentioned as the main supplier for European collections, and on ancient sites.[208]

The Society acquired material from Europe and the Near East in a similar fashion. In 1823, Thomas Tanner, commander of the British ship HCC (Her Company's Cruiser) *Antelope*, sent over thirty objects including wooden shawabty, parts of a mummy, and a piece of an alabaster sarcophagus found by the Italian explorer and antiquarian Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823).[209] In a letter addressed to "Capt. Ropes and the American Gentlemen at Mocha, Members of the Museum of Salem in William Messervy, James B. Briggs, George Archer Jr." dated April 15th, Tanner states:

> Having lately visited the celebrated remains of antiquity on the Nile, & having personally collected a few trifles from the scite [sic] of the Ancient 'Diospolis', I do myself the pleasure of presenting them to you with such explanation as it is in my power to give of them. I am sorry I have nothing of greater consideration to offer you that you might deem more worthy of presenting to your Museum at Salem, for the success of which I have the pleasure of expressing my best wishes & believe me my dear sirs."[210]

A year later, Captain William Montgomery Crane (1776-1846) of the United States Navy donated four objects, including a fragment of papyrus with a painted vignette of the "Weighing of the Heart" scene from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.

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[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid, 89. Jones notes that some of the material sold was counterfeit.
[209] Shawbty were burial figurines in the shape of a mummy or person that animate in the afterlife and assist the deceased. http://educators.mfa.org/shawabty-144523. Joyce Haynes notes in relation to Belzoni, "Given that the Italian adventurer heavily plundered the Tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings, one wonders whether this is a fragment of that king's sarcophagus." Haynes, "America's Earliest Egyptian Collection at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem," 32.
[210] Correspondence Regarding Donations of Objects, 1799-1838. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 5.

East India Marine Society members, too, contributed to this antiquities collection. Like the description of Precolombian objects in the museum's catalogue, this material similarly indicates the looting done to acquire them. Many architectural fragments, coins, figurines, and other objects are noted as "broken off" of a larger monument, or taken from burial mounds. John Barton describes a visit to Herculaneum and Pompeii while in Naples in a letter to his sister and mother dated February 25th, 1800. He notes that "all our leisure time is employed in viewing the Curiosities & antiquities of this part of the world…I saw a Dog…taken out apparently Dead & Revived in the same space of time, but appeared to suffer very much."[211] A few years later, fellow member Abijah Northey (1774-1853) donated "A model of a dog's leg, found in Herculaneum," number 689 (fig. 76).[212] While this object and dozens more were presented to the museum with more contextual information than most looted antiquities, their provenance was not nearly as important as their physical representation of the ancient world coming to America.

The East India Marine Society also collected objects that can be classified as relics, which in the antebellum period were mementos connected to historical personages, events, or sites.[213] Like the classical antiquities, many were "broken off" from historic or archaeological sites. These acts of vandalism included three fragments of Plymouth Rock; two bricks from Columbus' birthplace at Genoa; and one specimen of the rock on

[211] Barton Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 110, Box 3, Folder 3.
[212] Northey owned a farm in Boxford from 1828 to 1833. See Vickers, *Farmers & Fishermen*, 305-309, for more on this period in Northey's life.
[213] See Teresa Lynn Barnett, "The Nineteenth-Century Relic: A Pre-History of the Historical Artifact," University of California, Los Angeles, 2008. United States—California: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, v-vi.

which British general James Wolfe died during the Battle of Quebec in 1759.[214] One third of these objects served to augment the maritime experience in the Hall. Along with ship models crafted by many cultures from around the globe, paddles, fishing equipment, and marine paintings, were three pieces of the rock on which Captain Cook was killed in Hawaii. Some served to instill a patriotic fervor. A "Tassel taken from the bed curtain, on board the Frigate *Guerriere*, at the time of her capture, by Richard Dunn of Marblehead," was donated by Andrew Wallis of Beverly, Massachusetts in 1845, and a "Part of a chain which was stretched across the Hudson at West Point to prevent the ascent of the British fleet during the Revolutionary war" was presented by Samuel Pearce, Esq. of Gloucester, Massachusetts in 1830.[215]

The Society's understanding of relics likely included an older meaning of the term associated with religious reliquaries. Along with a "Roman Catholic Rosary," donated by member Johnson Briggs in 1803, and a "A very minute figure of the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus carved in ivory" presented by Miss Sally Skerry in 1801, was a carved terminal rosary bead, *pater noster*, or "prayer nut." (fig. 77) Donated by Elias Hasket Derby Jr. to the East India Marine Society in 1806, it was one of the smallest objects in the collection but by far one of the most popular and had a lengthy listing in the

[214] There were also mementoes connected to Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), more numerous than any other class of relic. Whether American mariners liked or disapproved of the emperor, they collected objects, particularly one's connected to his demise.

[215] In an article entitled "Curiosity" published in the *Gloucester Telegraph* of October 23rd, 1830, the author states, "We saw yesterday at the store of Messrs. Hough & Stacy, two links of the great chain, which was thrown across the North River, at West Point, during the Revolution, to prevent the British from passing up and down…In search of other property, with a diving bell, the above was found, where it has lain about 50 years…We understand that it is the intention of the gentleman, who brought the above to town, to present them to the proprietors of the Salem Museum."

catalogue.[216] Rosary beads and other small devotional objects were produced in the monasteries in areas of modern day Belgium primarily in the early 16th century. Their minute, detailed carving made them attractive to wealthy patrons who commissioned beads of the finest craftsmanship and materials. This example contains one hundred and ten figures representing the Resurrection Day of Judgment and Purgatory. When examined with a magnifying glass, visitors marveled at the craftsmanship and, regardless of their religious affiliation, considered this object as one of the most exquisite pieces in the museum.[217]

The East India Marine Society also displayed a substantial collection of classical and Western art that has received little scholarly attention apart from the commissioned paintings by Cornè. The Society collected European paintings of biblical scenes, such as *Susanna and the Elders* by Delano donated by Ichabod Tucker Jr. in 1807, and the *Adoration of the Magi* by Van Wyck of Antwerp, given by Society member Stephen Wilkins (d. 1868) circa 1824 to 1826. These eighteenth and nineteenth century versions of Renaissance paintings were collected during the American Grand Tours of local families such as the Derbys, Peabodys, and Gardners. While these works are not considered masterpieces by modern standards, in the antebellum period they were displayed in the home and considered symbols of their enlightened experiences.

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[216] According to the entry and the *Description of An Ancient Carved Box in the Museum of the East-India Marine Society in Salem*, a 1819 pamphlet published by the Boston artist John R. Penniman which was available to visitors, a gentleman "from Westphalia who was then travelling in the United States" purportedly presented it to Derby and, "assured him that he obtained it in Italy and that it was executed as early as the fourteenth century."

[217] The popularity of this object is even more surprising in the context of United States history of anti-Catholic political and social movements.

One painting, though, had larger significance for the Society. In 1825, George Peabody (1804-1892), son of Joseph Peabody, donated a nineteenth century version of Antonio Balestra's (1666-1740) *The Death of Abel* (c. 1701-1704), executed by an Antwerp artist (fig. 78).[218] This painting, which Peabody acquired while in Europe the same year, depicts Abel after the mortal wound inflicted by his brother Cain.[219] He lies on his side, bleeding from the head, on top of branches gathered for a ritual sacrifice. The fire on the altar in the middle ground denotes Cain's rejected sacrifice.[220] This visual encapsulation of the fall from paradise can be read today as a parable for Salem's diminishing maritime trade and the Society's eventual demise.

In addition to these works were American paintings and prints, portraits, and busts. A *View of the Temple of Apollo and Athens*, executed in 1812 by the young Salem artist Theodore Fisher (1789-1819) after a 1760 engraving done by William Woolett (1735-1785) of Claude Lorrain's (1600-1682) painting, was donated by Benjamin Merill in 1813 and highlights the classical antiquities in the museum (fig. 79).[221] Several

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[218] This painting is currently at the David Owsley Museum of Art at Ball State University. It was originally purchased by Robert Fulton (1765-1815) and bequested to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts upon his death. They deaccessioned it in 1988, and it was sold through Christie's in 1989.

[219] George Peabody likely acquired this painting while in Haarlem. On July 31st, 1825, he notes in his journal: "we walked from the Cathedral to the Palace which is in the environs of the town situated in a wood. Here also was an Exhibition, which consisted of pictures of Dutch modern artists and all for sale. Many of them were superior paintings." Joseph Peabody Family Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-178, Papers, Series II: George Peabody (1804-1892) Papers: Subseries C. Writings, Box 14, Folder 1.

[220] "*The Death of Abel*, about 1701-1704," David Owsley Museum of Art at Ball State online object label, http://idialabprojects.org/BMwebsites/TheDeathOfAbel.html.

[221] William Bentley critiques this painting in his Nov. 7th, 1812, diary entry: "Thursday I visited Rev. N. Fisher, at the request of his Son Theodore, to see a painting in Imitation of Claude Lorrain's Temple of Apollo, from an engraving by Wootton. Mr. Fisher has enlarged it to 6 feet square. The natural scenery is excellent. His animals well done. The temple & worshippers rather too strong colours. But the Grove below is pure nature & the execution compared with his former paintings discovers the rapid progress of his improvement. As my acknowledgement I presented to him the engraving from which he has executed this

members commissioned plaster busts of American military heroes George Washington, General Lafayette, Alexander Hamilton, and Andrew Jackson, and patriots like John Adams.[222] In homage to European cabinets, the museum owned marble busts of philosophers like Rousseau and Voltaire, mathematicians such as Newton, classical writers and thinkers like Homer and Cicero, and the gods Apollo and Diana.[223] In addition, portraits of maritime heroes such as Cook were accompanied by influential Salem merchants like Elias Hasket Derby, painted by James Frothingham (1786-1864), and American presidents such as John Quincy Adams executed by Charles Osgood (fig. 80).[224] Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) visited the museum on June 5th, 1835 with his patron Lumen Reed (1784-1836) and Reed's son-in-law Theodore Allen (1800-1850),

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work & urged that it might be displayed in the Athenaeum or E. India Museum." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. IV, 129.

[222] The bust of Adams is likely a cast of John B. Binon's (fl. 1818-1820) bust of Adams commissioned by the Massachusetts State Legislature for Faneuil Hall. The manuscript addition to the Society's 1821 catalogue notes that it is "modeled by Benor." The drawing of this bust in James Emerton's 1879 sketch of East India Marine Hall is similar to the Binon bust as well. A receipt in the treasurer's accounts dated May 24th, 1824, notes it and a bust of Franklin was purchased from John Pedrick for $2 (MH-88, Box 4, Folder 26), but a "A List Of Purchases Made for the East India Marine Society" (MH-88, Box 18, Folder 4), notes it was $1.06 for each bust. Object card in Essex Institute files note it was donated by the Peabody Museum on May 15th, 1915. The current whereabouts of this bust, and almost all owned by the Society, are unknown.

[223] The cast bust of Apollo is likely after period examples based on the Apollo Belvedere, and the cast bust of Diana is probably based on one after the statue of Diana by the Greek sculptor Leochares in the Louvre collection, given the drawing of both in James Emerton's 1879 sketch of East India Marine Hall.

[224] This posthumous portrait was donated by the family in 1824 in the belief that, "It is certainly time—'that to his enterprize in a great degree is to be attributed the establishment of the East India trade in Salem' and of course establishment of your respectable society—a Society which marks among its members some of our most skilful Navigators our most intelligent Merchants & our most respectable citizens." Letter from Benjamin Pickman on behalf of John Derby and the family of E.H. Derby dated April 21st, 1824 in MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 2. According to Joseph B. Felt in his *Annals of Salem*, Vol. II, Frothingham opened a room in Salem in 1818 that he maintained for six or seven years. There are three donations to the Society from a James Frothingham in 1821 and 1823, including the bust of Diana. A visitor to the museum recounts asking custodian Thomas Saul, "'Of whom is that portrait, may I ask.' Going to the nearest sand box and relieving himself of a surplus of tobacco saliva, and then carefully shifting the quid to another corner of his mouth he replied. 'That's Cap'n Eilus Hawsket Derby, one of Salum's most famous murchants.' 'Indeed,' I said. 'I thought at first that it was Ralph Waldo Emerson, it certainly bears a striking resemblance to Mr. Emerson.' 'Yum, it does, it does.'" Charles A. Andrews donated the portrait of Adams in 1834.

and it is likely they came to view this portrait as Durand was working on one of Adams at the time.[225]

To enhance the maritime flavor of the ensemble, a few marine paintings entered the collection starting in the 1820s. Society member Nathan Cook (1783-1827) and an unknown donor gave Mediterranean ship portraits, one by the French artist Montardier (active 1812-1848) of Le Havre and the other by Cornè. Like Liverpoolware, American mariners commissioned these paintings as keepsakes for the home or merchant counting houses.[226] In 1824, Society member William Henry Neal (1799-1851) donated a watercolor of American merchant ships in Mocha in the coffee trade, and a year later, member Henry Ropes (1791-1861) donated two paintings by his late older brother George Ropes Jr., (1788-1819), a deaf and mute artist who was a pupil of Cornè (figs. 81 & 82).[227] One depicts the capture of the United States frigate *Essex* by the HMS *Phoebe* and HMS *Cherub* in the Bay of Valparaiso.[228] The other is a scene of a British and French naval engagement. The former highlights early American naval heroism as the

[225] Reed commissioned Durand to paint portraits of the first seven US Presidents in 1835. One copy of this series was donated to the Naval Lyceum and Reed kept the other. Wayne Craven, "Luman Reed, Patron: His Collection and Gallery," *American Art Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Spring, 1980): 47. According to Reed's donation letter to the Lyceum, "The portraits of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, are copies made by Asher B. Durand, Esq., of this city from originals by Gilbert Stuart…The portraits of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, and President Jackson, are originals, painted by Durand, that of Adams in the month of June, and that of President Jackson in the month of March, of the present year." "U.S. Naval Lyceum," *The Naval Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January, 1836): 9.

[226] Cook, who was lost at sea, was also a member of the Salem Marine Society, and his older brother James was an East India Marine Society member as well. Lander's brother Peter was also an East India Marine Society member. Two more ship portraits were donated by Nathaniel Brown (1827-1879) in 1855, who became a member in 1866; one of the Ship *Sooloo*, 1848, by Domenico Gavarrone (1821-1874) of Leghorn, Italy, and the other of the Salem ship *Salley*, 1802, attributed to Cornè.

[227] Their father, George Ropes (1765-1801), was also a member of the East India Marine Society and Salem Marine Society. While master of the brig *Venus*, he was lost near Gibraltar when taking sounding readings from the vessel. In addition, their brother Jonathan Millet Ropes was a member of the East India Marine Society who left the organization in 1867 after moving to New Jersey.

[228] The *Essex* was built in Salem by Enos Briggs from 1798-1799 with public funds contributed by many Salem merchants and captains.

Essex fought valiantly for two and a half hours against heavily armed ships. The other painting alludes to the European wars that allowed for American neutral trade in the early Republic that contributed to Salem's mercantile successes.

Several prints contributed to the allusions of American patriotism in the collection. In 1824, printmaker Benjamin Tanner (1775-1848) of Philadelphia donated six of his engravings, numbers 2755-2760. Two relate to America's triumph in the Revolutionary War—"The surrender of the British at Yorktown, Oct. 1781," after J.F. Renault (active mid nineteenth century) and a plan of Yorktown—while three depict celebrated naval victories in the War of 1812—"Perry's Victory on Lake Erie" after John James Barralet (c. 1747-1815); "MacDonough's Victory on Lake Champlain" from a painting by Hugh Reinagle (1790-1834); and the "Capture of the *Macedonian* by the *United States*" based on a Thomas Birch (1779-1851) painting. The sixth print, "America, Guided by Wisdom: An Allegorical Representation of the United States, Denoting their Independence and Prosperity" after Barralet, is most symbolic (fig. 83).

According to Tanner's lengthy description of the scene on the engraving:

> On the fore ground Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom, is pointing to a Shield, supported by the Genius of America, bearing the Arms of the United States, with the motto UNION AND INDEPENDENCE, by which the country enjoys the prosperity signaled by the horn of plenty at the feet of America. The second ground is occupied by an Equestrian Statue of WASHINGTON placed in front, indicating the progress of the liberal arts. Commerce is represented by the figure of Mercury, with one foot resting on bales of American manufactures, pointing out the advantages of encouraging and protecting Navigation, signified by an armed vessel under sail, to Ceres, who is seated with implements of Agriculture near her. The Bee Hive is emblematic of industry, and the female spinning at the cottage door, shows the first and most useful of domestic manufactures.

Described by historian Michael Kaplan as a "Neoclassical Allegory of American Exceptionalism" this print anchors and is augmented by the classical arts in the Hall, and along with another Barralet work in the collection, the *Apotheosis of Washington*, signals American ascendency.[229] Here, it is accomplished through maritime strength.

One of the long forgotten objects in the East India Marine Society museum was number 4399, "An ornamented table and show box, for the exhibition of perspectives," donated by Society members Samuel Benson (1789-1862), Joseph Webb (1802-1846) and Ephraim Emmerton (1791-1877) circa 1832-1833.[230] While this perspective machine no longer resides in the PEM collection, close examination of the left side of James Emerton's watercolor of the north side of East India Marine Hall give an idea of what this device looked like (fig. 98). A September 20th, 1832, receipt in the Society's treasurer's accounts too provides some clues as to the operation of this machine. This document notes that Benson was paid fifty cents for a hood for fitting up a Camera, seventy-five cents for a mirror, twelve cents for parte board for print, and $2.75 for painting of the board. From both sources of information, a perspective view, or *vue d'optique*, would

[229] Michael Kaplan, "America Guided by Wisdom: A Neoclassical Allegory of American Exceptionalism," *The New Jacksonian Blog*, December 5th, 2010. Kaplan notes: "The print draws on the Neoclassical tradition of the Enlightenment, where the United States was often portrayed as an idealized Roman Republic reborn. Issued in…the wake of Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the print expressed the heady nationalistic optimism that the republic had been reborn in the forge of the War of 1812, a second war of independence against Great Britain. Barralet used classical imagery and the symbolism of Greco-Roman mythology to vindicate the triumph of America's exceptional republican liberty." In addition, Kaplan states that Barralet, an eccentric and erratic Irish artist of French descent, had an, "ability to interpret American exceptionalism to a public that wanted to see it expressed in the language of neoclassical allegory." Ibid.

[230] Another object relating to the development of photography appears in the minutes for the September 2nd, 1829 meeting, when a negative vote is recorded, "in relation to having a Camera Obscura placed in the cabinet." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

have been inserted into slot within this obelisk hood and viewed through a glass lens on the front surface of the covering.[231]

Vues d'optiques were hand-colored prints designed to create an illusion of depth and popular in America since the 1740s, offering people glimpses of lands around the world. These works were viewed in fashionable drawing rooms as well as traveling town fairs.[232] Some were correct depictions, while others were imagined scenes. Balthasar Friedrich Leizelt, a German artist active in the second part of the eighteenth century, incorporates purely European style ships into an American port setting in his *Vuë de Salem* (fig. 84). Dennis Carr of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston notes this print is evidence that Salem was known in European circles and attests to the port town as "a thriving point of exchange of European ideas and culture" during its Golden Age.[233]

Perspective tables are classified as zograscopes. This device, developed in Europe in the seventeenth century and used through the end of the nineteenth century, contained a double-convex lens to both magnify a print and heighten a viewer's sense of perspective, thus creating the illusion of depth and a break from the outside world.[234]

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[231] "A collection of perspective views" donated by Society member Charles Treadwell (1789-1855) is on a list of "Donations to the S.E.I.M. Society's Museum" given between September and November 1828, and on a list of objects donated from September to November 7, 1828 entitled "Donations to the S.E.I.M. Society's Museum." Supplements to the Catalogue. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 18, Folder 4.

[232] Dennis Carr notes that these devices were viewed as peepshows by the end of the nineteenth century, and carried "a low-class or even risqué reputation." Carr, "Optical machines, " 2. Also see Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992).

[233] Ibid, 12. According to E. McSherry Fowble, this print was probably based on prints of Europe circulating in Augsburg, and thus the print is a mixture of American and European ideas. E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680-1880, A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987), 247, cited in Carr, "Optical machines," 13.

[234] Ibid, 7. Carr notes that the curvature of the lens makes the image appear bowl shaped, with the effect of "wrapping the image around the viewer, enclosing the viewer within the scene." Ibid.

Zograscopes were also popular in early America, particularly in Salem, and contributed to a change in the role of vision as they transported individuals to new worlds.[235] The Rev. John Prince was central in creating an interest in scientific inquiry in Salem, and zograscopes were, incorporated into social space."[236] As part of a larger world of illusion in the early Republic that included pictorial devices like trompe l'oeil paintings, American museums used zograscopes "for the practice of visual perception and the performance of republican identities" according to art historian Wendy Bellion.[237] By taking in and exhibiting a perspective table, the East India Marine Society aligned itself with other institutions, though decades later. Their perspective table may also signify a shift of these devices out of the private circle of the country's elite into the public realm, and likely enhanced visitor's feeling of circumnavigating the globe when touring the Hall.

Premier among the group of the statuary in the museum—which included a bronzed plaster cast of Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar and one of Hercules and the Nemean Lion, both donated by the Rev. John Prince in 1825—was a large cast of the Laocoön group donated by a William Osborn of New York in 1826 (fig. 85).[238] This impressive sculpture, one of the greatest of the Classical world, was a featured object for

[235] Ibid, 4. Carr argues the zograscope, like the microscope and the telescope, transported individuals to new worlds, "giving rise to the concept of the zograscope as an optical 'machine' that could literally perform manipulations." Ibid.
[236] Ibid, viii, 13, 2. Carr notes, "All of the known American-made zograscopes…and many of the important early print collections in America trace original ownership back to prominent Salem and greater Boston-area families." Ibid, 13. Prince's notebook containing methods of scientific experimentation and observation in the Prince Family Papers in the Phillips Library, MSS# 73, includes a page on "Mode of Skinning and Preserving Birds."
[237] Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2011), 16.
[238] There was a William Osborn who was a member of the Society since 1824, but it is unclear if he donated the cast.

visitors to East India Marine Hall. As it was removed in 1876 and moved around to a few other Salem institutions in the next century, and its current whereabouts are unknown, its importance to the museum has been lost.

Until the end of the Gilded Age, America was fascinated with plaster casts. Art historian Pamela Born traces the origins of making copies of sculptures from the Classical world to mid sixteenth century Italy, when the Italian artist Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570), in the employ of Francis I, King of France, "arranged to have molds made of statues primarily from the Bramante-designed Belvedere Courtyard in Rome, a statuary gallery assembled by Pope Julius II during the early sixteenth century."[239] Of the molds ordered by Primaticcio—which included statutes of Cleopatra, the Apollo Belvedere, Venus, Commodus as Hercules, and the Tiber Antinous—the Laocoön was one selected for the project. Born notes, "These works soon comprised the core of what today we think of as the 'canon' of classical art. The statues were repeatedly copied in Europe from Primaticcio's molds and as the popularity of antique statuary spread, a booming industry evolved in Italy to satisfy the need for classical copies."[240]

The original Laocoön sculpture was unearthed in excavations in Rome in 1506 and taken to the Vatican and installed in a niche in the Belvedere courtyard. It remained there until Napoleon's conquest of Europe and was removed to the Louvre from 1797-

[239] Pamela Born, "The Canon Is Cast: Plaster Casts in American Museum and University Collections," *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Fall 2002): 8. Born bases this date on Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny's *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*, Fifth printing (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). Ibid.
[240] Ibid.

1815, when it once again returned to the Vatican.[241] In the classical world, Pliny the Elder, who attributes the statue to three sculptors, described this work "of all paintings and sculptures the most worthy of admiration."[242] This praise seeped through the centuries, and the Laocoön was copied in plaster and bronze many times and placed within princely and noble cabinets.[243] John Singleton Copley, writing to his wife from Florence June 9th, 1775, believed the Laocoön was "not only the best work of art in the world now, but it was esteemed by the ancients the first in point of merit that the chisel ever produced."[244]

While casts of these sculptures are better known in American museums between 1874 and 1905, they found their way into antebellum institutions such as Jefferson's small collection at Monticello, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts that began a cast collection for students in 1805, and the Boston Athenaeum who acquired their first

[241] The East India Marine Society's cast was likely made during this period. Their cast never appeared in the published museum catalogues but appears on an internal list of objects given between March 1st to May 3rd, 1826, which notes that it came from the Royal Museum in Paris (MH-88 Box 13, Folder 7).
[242] Haskell and Nicholas, *Taste and the Antique*, 243.
[243] Art historian Jan Zahle notes: "Any plaster cast, of course, reproduces its original at the time of reproduction. This explains why two different Laocoöns exist...One variant consists of casts that reproduce either a plaster copy with restorations from c. 1685 or the original as it appeared in 1800 to 1815 when these restorations were mounted on the marble original proper. The second variant reproduces the original's wellknown appearance throughout the nineteenth century and until 1957." The Society's cast is an example of the former given Laocoön's outstretched right arm. Jan Zahle, "*Laocoön* in Scandinavia–Uses and Workshops 1587 onwards," in *Transformationen der Antike: Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand, eds. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 143.
[244] Copley adds that "[a]lthough I had seen fine casts [presumably in London or Paris] and read Pliny's description, when I saw the original I was astonished, not that the copies are defective in form, for the models have been made on the original, but there is in marble that fine transparence that gives it both the softness and the animation of real life." He also tells his wife that he purchased a cast of the sculpture in Rome. Martha B. Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), 53.

cast in 1822.[245] The Society's Laocoön was integral in denoting several things. As one of the greatest sculptures of the ancient world, it provided cache to the Society's small collection of Western Art (about 176 objects out of over 6,000). It symbolized the dangers of the maritime experience in a more concrete manner than other objects, like James Drown's calendar stick and the journal of shipwrecked sailors written in blood. Laocoön was a Trojan priest to Poseidon, and he and his sons were killed by a sea serpent after angering one of the gods. As the Hall was arranged in a manner akin to taking a voyage around the world (discussed in the next chapter), with objects that would be above and below the water, this was the one object that straddled both environments.

The Laocoön group also imparted a forewarning of the Society and Salem's decline. As Laocoön warned the Trojans not to take in the Trojan horse, the East India Marine Society would not bend in modifying its by-laws as other marine societies had done and would do. Ultimately, like Laocoön, the Society and mercantilism would be trapped in the clutches of American industrialization like the snake that ensnares Laocoön and his children. Starting in the late 1830s, Salem's coastal trade began to wane since canals and railroads were used to transport goods from cities to the interior and vice-versa. By the mid-nineteenth century, the wharves in Salem were being used to warehouse goods such as stone, coal, wood and fish from the commercial fishing

[245] Ibid. Born notes that the Athenaeum "staged its first public loan exhibition of paintings, original contemporary sculpture, and casts in 1827. When its public sculpture gallery opened in 1839 it was the only one in New England." Ibid, 8. She does not mention the small collection of the East India Marine Society in her analysis. Jefferson envisioned several copies of statuary for what would be his exhibition space/museum at Monticello. For more on the Athenaeum's collection, see Hirayama, *With Éclat* and Katherine Wolff, *The Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009). Also see Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradiction*, 38-58.

industry.[246] In 1839, the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was constructed on the site of Brigg's shipyard, where ships imported raw cotton and distributed textiles.[247] Also, in 1838, the Eastern Railroad was extended from Boston to Salem to transport granite, a sign that rail was replacing ships in the coastal trade. By mid-century, the city was concentrating on the urban economic industries of leather and textile manufacturing.[248]

Salem had never before had a maritime section of the town like other American port cities, a sailortown, because the entire area was tied to the sea. This changed as Salem's mercantile elite built stately homes in new areas of Salem in the first decades of the nineteenth century or moved to Boston and beyond. Now French Canadians who came to work in the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Mill in the 1840s, and boardinghouses were constructed in the area of the mill to accommodate them. In addition, Irish immigrants were attracted to the Salem waterfront after 1850. Once dominated by East Indies sailing ships, the waterfront was transformed from a commercial trade center to a landscape dominated by bulk good storage and processing reflective of industry.[249]

The number of objects donated from the 1830s and on was also reflective of the changing nature of American oversees trade established in the early years of the century, and the decline of Salem's mercantile Golden Age. George N. Cheever, an officer under John H. Eagleston, writes on June 5th, 1835 while aboard the ship *Emerald* in Upolu, Samoa, "They had but little to dispose of in the curiosity line there being but few shells

[246] Amy Friedlander, *Salem Maritime National Historic Site: Historical Research 1626-1990* (East Orange, NJ: Cultural Resource Group, Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1991), 25.
[247] Stephen Mrozowski, et al., *Salem, Massachusetts: An Archaeological Survey of the City* (Salem, MA: Prepared for the City of Salem, 1988), 62.
[248] Friedlander, *Salem Maritime National Historic Site*, 28.
[249] Ibid, 34.

on the Id. & these command a high price from the Whalers that frequently visit here. Warclubs & spears are fast giving ground to muskets & other weapons of our own manufacture."[250] After 1837, only 567 objects were donated to the museum over the next thirty years—392 from 1838-1850 and 175 in the remaining years (1851-1867). In comparison, the Essex Institute collected over two thousand "ethnographic" objects from 1845 to 1867. During this time, some donors to the East India Marine Society also gave material to the Essex Institute, such as Society member John Henry Eagleston—a telling sign of a seachange in Salem's cultural societies.[251]

The few objects donated at this point, though, symbolized changing dynamics in America towards continental expansion and increased hegemony. In Hawaii, native inhabitants embraced Christianity through American Protestant missionary efforts in the early part of the century, and destroyed many vestiges of their prior religious practices. In 1846, John T. Prince of Boston donated one of the few remaining vestiges of this pre-Christian Hawaii, a six foot seven inch sculpture of the god Kuka'ilimoku (fig. 86).[252] In an October 13th letter to then Society President John White Treadwell, Prince states:

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[250] *Emerald* (Ship) Log, 1833-1835. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# Log 1497. In the Marquesas, early nineteenth-century contact lapsed, and encounters with Maori in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, did not continue after the establishment of British sovereignty in 1840s. A significant American presence in the Fijis continued until this trade died out by mid-century when the British took control of the region. In other regions, such as Tahiti and other Society Islands, American voyages were sporadic after early contact. Dodge, "Early American Contacts in Polynesia and Fiji," 106. From 1821 to 1831, 110 objects from Polynesia were donated (the same number accumulated in the first two decades of the museum), but dropped after that point.

[251] E.A. Emmerton, Pickering Dodge, and Matthew Adams Stickney are a few of the other individuals who donated objects to both institutions during this period.

[252] Prince worked at the Boston Customs House in 1839 when Nathaniel Hawthorne was employed there, and visited the East India Marine Society Museum with his family in October of that year. Apart from his work in the Custom house from 1834 to 1840, there is no apparent connection to maritime activity. He works in a stationers shop before opening his own in 1845.

> I am in possession of a South Sea Idol, sent me from the Sandwich Islands by a friend resident there…He was procured after considerable solicitation from one of the native chiefs, now a convert to Christianity, who intended to make an Auto de fe of him. As he is actually the last of the gods on these islands I deem him worthy of preservation, as curiously illustrating the moral degradation and mechanical skill of these children of nature ere Christianity had commenced their work among them. Knowing no institution to which it so appropriately belongs to as the East India Marine Society of your city, in whose halls the curiosities of distant seas are so admirably arranged, I beg you would in their behalf accept 'his godship' and give him an abiding place in their museum.[253]

Prince follows with another letter from October 17th, where he notes that the figure was on a plinth eighteen feet above the ground, and states that "[t]he natives could not be induced to saw him off, and the ship's carpenter was called in to perform the operation." This masterpiece of Polynesian sculpture was created for a *heiau* or temple of the great warrior chief Kamehameha I, who unified the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1800s, and likely overlooked the coast. This sculpture became a prominent figure in East India Marine Hall during the last twenty years of the Society's museum and has been viewed as the most important part of the collection since the twentieth century.[254]

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[253] Original letter from the East India Marine Society archives transcribed in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 49-50. It was likely acquired by Abraham T. Russell (1806-1875), captain of the whaling bark *Bartholomew Gosnold* of New Bedford in the 1840s. On April 17th, 1842, it was anchored off Koloa on the northern island of Kauai, and Russell, went on shore to pay some calls. Born in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Russell spent his life in the whaling business and first visited Hawaii in 1827. During this visit, it is noted that he ran his ship aground near Kahului one dark night attempting to sail between east and west Maui (it has been said he was not the best of navigators). News of the wreck reached the princess Nāhi'ena'ena, and she sent help to him and his sailors. She became so attached to Russell that, in the fashion of Hawaiian chiefs, she adopted him as her "son." Russell began to spend a good deal of time in Lahaina, probably as a member of the princess' household. It is fair to speculate that there may have been a romance between Russell and the princess, especially from what is known of Nāhi'ena'ena's temperament. On her deathbed in late December of 1836, Nāhi'ena'ena charged Kauikeaouli and the high chiefs with the care of her "son." Russell thus became a pensioner of the royal family when he returned in the 1860s until his death in 1875. Majorie Sinclair, *Nāhi'ena'ena: Sacred Daughter of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The University press of Hawaii, 1976), 133.

[254] Only two other figures of Kuka'ilimoku from the temple survive. One is in the collection of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaii, and the other is in the British Museum. According to PEM's online catalogue, "Among his many attributes, the god Ku embodies family, strength, prosperity and warfare. He would have been honored with chants, offerings and processions, and he continues to inspire deep respect

On the Northwest Coast of America, the increased presence of Westerners had a greater impact on the native population.[255] William Cushing, the son of a successful Newburyport merchant in the fur trade, describes the region wrought by disease in 1844, where "the Indians have decreased very rapidly."[256] He also remarks that "ere many years have passed not a red man will be found in all the lengthe [sic] and breadth of America—from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico—from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the broad Pacific."[257] Increased contact also influenced artistic traditions, and with the waning sea otter trade in the 1820s and 1830s, native craftsmen created new tourist art to replace the beneficial aspects of the fur trade. One of the new types of objects created were pipes made by Haida artists from argillite, a black, or sometimes red, shale indigenous to the Queen Charlotte Islands. Between 1830 and 1832, four different individuals donated argillite pipes to the Society. While many were infused with native cultural traditions and depicted episodes in their cultural mythology, others were geared directly to their clients. Number 4264, donated by John Coffin Jones, the first U.S.

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from Pacific visitors, who sometimes show their reverence by conducting protocols of greeting." http://explore-art.pem.org/object/oceanic-art-and-culture/E12071/detail.

[255] As the sea otter population declined in the 1820s and beyond, it had a negative impact on Native cultures. Curran and Grimes notes, "For Native communities, the fur trade had both social and political importance. It elevated the standing of Native leaders and traders, especially those positioned between the maritime traders and other Native groups. Access to guns tipped the scales of intertribal power and provided leverage in negotiations with Euroamericans. As sea-otter pelts became scarce in the 1820s, the Natives were in a 'seller's' market, and the cost of prime pelts escalated dramatically. Before long, however, the sea otters had been burned to near extinction, and the fur trade shifted to the interior, out of the control of coastal Native middlemen." John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 128.

[256] Quoted in Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 28. Cushing came to the Columbia River in 1844 on a family owned vessel, the *Chenamus*.

[257] Ibid, 29.

Consular Agent to the Kingdom of Hawaii, is a Western ship seen through the eyes of a native artisan (fig. 87).[258]

Until the late 1830s, the objects from China in the Society's museum were the most significant American collection of material from this country, considered one of the three great collections of Chinese objects in the world according to *The Gentleman's Magazine*—"the collection at the Hague, that in the rooms of the East India Company in London, and the Museum at Salem, Massachusetts."[259] In 1838, Nathan Dunn opened his Chinese Museum, or "Ten Thousand Chinese Things," in Philadelphia.[260] Dunn was involved in the China trade as a merchant, and assembled a collection that was acknowledged by many as surpassing all American collections due to the respect he showed to the Chinese and his opposition the opium trade.[261] Still, Dunn's museum was a financial failure, and in 1849, P.T. Barnum purchased its collection and the remains of Peale's Philadelphia Museum for his own American Museum in New York.[262] The short-

[258] John R. Grimes et al., *Uncommon Legacies*, 156. The billet head of the vessel is exaggerated and flows into a crosshatched and dot-motif trailboard that can be seen as the ship's keel. In addition, Dan Finamore notes that the deck-level crosshatching may be a repelling net, used by Western traders in this region who were wary of being attacked by Natives in canoes. Ibid. Mary Malloy notes that Jones worked as the Hawaiian agent for the Boston firm of Marshall and Wildes (c. 1827) and later became the U.S. Consular agent in Hawaii (c. 1836-1837). In this capacity he encountered almost every vessel involved in the NW Coast trade, and he had ample opportunity to collect objects from the region and send them back to New England. Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade*, 76.

[259] C.F.W., "CHINA: No. I.," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Feb 1839): 119.

[260] Dunn's museum opened in a new building which also housed the Philadelphia Museum, formerly the museum of Charles Willson Peale. Haddad, "The Romantic Collector in China," 14.

[261] Haddad, "The Romantic Collector in China," 10-11. *The Gentleman's Magazine* claims that Dunn's museum was now "the richest collection in the world," and his vast collection was acquired due to his amicable relations with Chinese merchants and officials. In regards to the Society's collection, the author believes that the, "large, interesting, and valuable deposit of eastern curiosities in the Salem Museum, which has been accumulating through a long series of years by the intelligent and generous enterprize of the hardy sons of the ocean," was like London's East India Company, which "boasts comparatively few objects, either natural or artificial, from the Celestial Empire." C.F.W., "CHINA: No. I.," 119.

[262] Barnum focused on Chinese spectacles such as Ah Fong Moy, a live Chinese Woman, in 1834, and Chang and Eng, the "Siamese Twins," who visited the East India Marine Society museum in 1831.

lived Boston Chinese Museum (1845-1847) displayed Chinese objects during a critical moment in Sino-American relations when the influx of opium, assisted by some American merchants, spurred conflict in the country. The Boston China Museum's collection and displays were tied to the first trading agreement between China and the United States, containing natively produced objects used to promote Chinese-American diplomacy rather than Euro-American imperialism.[263]

While Dunn's enterprise and the Boston Museum closed shop soon after they opened, like many American museums in the antebellum period, the East India Marine Society museum marched on. A few objects from China that entered the Society's collection during this period reflect changes in Western relations with China. In 1855, Dr. Charles E. Parker of Pepperell, Massachusetts, donated "A Chinese Pin-Jall taken at the Battle of Shanghai April 4, 1854 by Robt. C. Murphy Esq. U.S. Consul at Shanghai."[264] The most telling objects, though, were three portraits painted by the export artist Lamqua (1801-1860). Donated by William C. Hunter of Canton in 1838, they depict patients of the Framingham, Massachusetts, medical doctor and missionary Peter Parker, who treated patients at the Canton Hospital with large tumors or other major deformities.[265] One of a forty-one year old shoemaker named Woo Pan affected with a cartilaginous

[263] Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Between 'Crockery-Dom' and Barnum: Boston's Chinese Museum, 1845-47," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (June 2004): 273.
[264] According to the museum catalogue entry, "Murphy and Capt. Kilham stood by Capt. Peirson of Newburyport when mortally wounded and carried him from the field. Peirson was wounded by a ball from a Pinjall, and there is a strong probability that this was the identical weapon."
[265] Lamqua made multiple copies of these and other paintings, with examples at the Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library at Yale University and the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell. Specific descriptions of the conditions and treatments of patients were published in *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 6 (May 1837 and January 1838). See Ari Larissa Heinrich, *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Duke University Press, 2008): 39-72. Also, S.L. Gilman, "Lam Qua and the development of a westernized medical iconography in China," *Med. Hist*. Vol. 30, No. 1 (January 1986): 57-69.

tumor on left side of the neck denotes the souring relationship between China and the West and the new vision of Chinese in America as a threat after the gold rush (fig. 88).[266]

Closer to home, a few objects entering the collection associated with Native North Americans resonated with continuation of the United States federal policy of Indian removal. Along with number 4905, a "Sash of Red Jacket chief of the Wolf tribe of the Seneca Indians, died Jany. 20, 1830, aged 78" donated by John Langdon of Brooklyn, NY, was a print entitled *Queenston and Lewiston Suspension Bridge! The Largest in the World!!!*" (fig. 89) The bridge was designed by Edward W. Serrell (1826-1906) to help Lewiston, NY, control trans-Niagara traffic, but it was expensive to maintain and was torn apart by 1864. Written on the print is the following, "Presented by Maungwudaus… Maungwudaus of the Chippeway Indians, while standing in the middle of this Wire Bridge, said, 'I have seen many wonderful works in Europe, but this Bridge beats all. — What would my grandfather think if he should rise up out of his grave and see this Bridge of the Yankees?!!' March 21st 1851."

Maungwudas (c. 1807-after 1851), or George Henry, was an Ojibway Methodist missionary and performer. He donated a few objects to the Society in 1850, and was likely travelling with P.T. Barnum in 1851 when he donated this print. Historian Bettina A. Norton notes:

> In the 1840s, the few Ojibway around Niagara were still supplying white settlers with fish and game. They were concentrated west of the Niagara, though they

[266] During the gold rush, American attitudes towards the Chinese changed. Robert Lee defines the new relationship as one that "relied on distance. This construction of racial difference as distant and exotic was displaced (but not completely replaced) by a construction of racial difference as present and threatening. Once thousands of Chinese lived in the United States, they could no longer be imagined as simply foreign, made strange by their distance. Chinese in America were now alien and threatening through their very presence." Lee, *Orientals*, 28.

> occasionally crossed from Canada into New York State. But by 1851, the year that the Queenston and Lewiston suspension bridge was opened, all but a few had deserted the area for land near the headwaters of the Mississippi.[267]

With no Native presence on the print apart from Maungwudas's handwriting, this object speaks to American commercial and geographic Westward expansion and the costs of this Manifest Destiny.

One of the last objects donated to the Society was perhaps one of the most telling—number 5255, "Frontier scene, A beautiful piece of sculpture representing the mother, and daughters." (fig. 90) In 1863 Louisa Lander (1826-1923)—a Salem-born sculptor, student of Thomas Gibson Crawford (1814-1857), and granddaughter of Elias Hasket Derby—presented the Society with the plaster cast used for this work. During the September 2nd, 1863 meeting, President Allen Putnam (1794-1868) read a letter from Lander accompanying the gift "'The Captive Pioneer Mother and Daughters' modelled [sic] in Rome 1860."[268] In Putnam's reply to Lander, he calls the cast "one of the most beautiful and attractive works of art that is in the Museum, and it being the work of a native Lady of the City, makes it doubly valuable on that account."[269] The *Salem Observer* of August 15th, 1863 echoed Putnam's remarks:

> Miss Lander, the Artist, of whose genius and skill in sculpture our people are so justly proud, has presented to the East India Marine Society, the original cast of one of her most elaborate groups…This interesting work manifests rare talant [sic]. The Spartan heroism exhibited in the mother, the terror of one daughter, and

[267] Bettina A. Norton, "This Bridge of the Yankees: Engineers and Indians at the Niagara Frontier," in *Prints and Printmakers of New York State, 1825-1940*, David Tatham, ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 133-144. Norton notes that Maungwudaus claimed to cross the bridge when it opened, as there was a small Ojibway settlement nearby. He and 10 others traveled to Europe in 1844, and were painted by George Catlin for his Indian gallery. Ibid.
[268] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.
[269] Ibid.

> the helpless beauty of the other as she lies fainting supported by the mother's arms are admirably represented, and the entire grouping, attitudes and surroundings, are indicative of the artist's genius and worthy of a pupil of Crawford. Miss Lander's grandfather and other relatives were early members of the Society and her own artist aspirations were fostered and stimulated by her youthful visits to the Hall containing its unique collections. Her donation will be a superb acquisition to the Society and all the more interesting as being the work of a native of Salem and connected by family ties with several of the early and influential members."[270]

Like the Laocoön, this sculpture held a silent parable for the country and the Society; the dangers of American westward expansion and the end of the Society's golden age.

In the mid-nineteenth century, as the United States continued to move away from mercantilism as the engine of growth and expansion, the stories told by Melville and other sailor-authors, as Vickers notes, "gripped the imagination…because their subject matter constituted such an extraordinary foil to modern life—so different from anything one encountered on the main streets of eastern cities, let alone in the cornfields of the Midwest."[271] The objects brought back by, and given to, the East India Marine Society functioned in a similar fashion, contributing to a sense of American identity among the now more global citizens and visitors to the city, which increased in diversity through industrialization and immigration.

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[270] "Valuable Donation," *Salem Observer*, August 13th, 1863, reprinted from the *Salem Register*. In "A Salem Artiste in Rome" from the *Salem Register* and reprinted in *The Living Age* (vol. 56, 1858), the author notes: "For the credit of Salem as a patron of the fine arts and a due appreciator of native genius and talent in a high and difficult department, some permanent memorial of Miss Lander's skill ought to be deposited in one, at least, of our public buildings. And what place more appropriate for this tribute to one lady, of such rare accomplishments, than the noble Plummer Hall with which Salem has been endowed by the liberality of another? There are several niches in that elegant building designed for works of sculpture…" A niche was found for her work, but it was in the newly restructured East India Marine Hall of the Peabody Academy of Science as seen in figure 91.

[271] Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*, 250. Vickers cautions a literally reading of these books as its risks "forgetting that in much of the world and through most of America's age of sail, maritime labor was not all that exceptional. In Salem it was simply what young men did when they grew up beside the sea." Ibid, 251.

When Story donated the model of *Friendship*, he probably did not realize how this object reflected the multifaceted nature of the East India Marine Society and its membership. It encapsulated the entire maritime experience in the antebellum United States, bound together in the objects acquired for the museum. The *Friendship* model also represented the conduit for acquiring and shipping back objects for private and public contemplation. As Salem's fortunes changed as the nineteenth century progressed, and this maritime port industrialized, fewer vessels like *Friendship* plied global waters. The model, therefore, became a relic of a vanishing age, reflective of a virtual "united" Union and cohesive American identity that that was coming apart in the decades leading to the Civil War. The unusual objects that once filled her hold were now exhibited alongside her to recount America's and the Society's past.[272]

[272] The National Parks Service used the model of *Friendship* when building a full-scale replica of this vessel form 1996 to 1998, which is docked at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site. As no plans of this vessel exist, the model was the most accurate depiction of this Salem East India trading vessel.

CHAPTER FIVE:

"To Form a Museum of Natural and Artificial Curiosities": Exhibition and Display

The East India Marine Society archives at the PEM's Phillips Library holds a 14 x 12 inch green album from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. According to the frontispiece, written by John Robinson, it contains the "Original First Manuscript Catalogue of the Specimens in the Museum of the East India Marine Society, entered in order as received, with such lists and notes as pertain to the museum. Placed in order Oct. 1884." At the second formal meeting of the Society held on November 6th, 1799, a committee of Benjamin Crowninshield, Jonathan Mason Jr. and Benjamin Carpenter were appointed "to list and arrange the articles in the cabinet (and to note by whom deposited)."[1] From that point to 1821, thirty lined sheets were used to record the work done by members and outside donors to fulfill the collecting goals established by the Society in 1801.

Approximately 982 objects are entered into theses pages, each hand written. Starting with the steady strokes of one of these three members, number 1, a "Kemo from Tappanooly, Capt. Jonathan Carnes" was recorded in the catalogue (fig. 91).[2] By 1821, though, this document had become a disorganized mess and contained under half of the objects amassed at this point. After 1803, donation years were approximations, with periods of 1804 to 1806, 1810 to 1812, and 1820 to 1821 used instead of annual listings. By 1818, objects were recorded by either the donor or member who received an object, as

[1] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.
[2] The first eighteen pages are single-sided, and all are mounted into the first twenty leaves of the thirty-three page album.

the handwriting changed with each entry. The numbering system, too, broke down by this point. One numerical digit was used for multiple objects, so the last recorded object, "A Box Contg Sundry Specimens of Corals and Fuci," was actually the thirty-eighth object with the number 781. While a hodge-podge system at the beginning of the 1820s, the entries made by multiple members symbolized the communal nature of this recording endeavor. The 1821 printed catalogue notes that the construction of the Society's museum "has been obtained to a considerable extent, chiefly by the voluntary donations of the members as well as of others friendly to the institution; and the whole collection is placed in the Hall where the Society holds its meetings." Like the *Friendship* model, multiple individuals both within and outside the Society built the first catalogue of the museum's collection.

Conversely, the catalogue in 1820 was symbolic of the museum's disorganization and need for professionalization. Nathaniel Bowditch, the Society's new President, recognized this and acted swiftly. He hired Seth Bass to organize and maintain the museum, the first of seven superintendents of the East India Marine Society Museum. By creating this new post, one of the earliest curatorial positions in the nation, an individual outside the organization was now responsible for stewarding the collection. As the first published Society catalogue notes, the museum in 1821 was now "lately arranged in a new and more scientific manner, and a catalogue made under the direction of Dr. Seth Bass, who has thus rendered very important services to the Society and to the public." His successor, Malthus A. Ward, was tasked with redisplaying the collection in East India Marine Hall, and subsequent superintendents like Henry Wheatland incorporated new

accessions into the Hall and attempted to maintain standard practices and procedures. As the institution's finances declines, the burden of running the museum fell back chiefly to Society members.

Most scholars who have written about the Society's museum focus on certain moments in time or jump back and forth between different periods. The museum, however, is not akin to an archaeological site, where structures discovered from multiple eras are presented as if they existed simultaneously. In addition, few, if any academics have examined the Society's internal minutes as a record of operating an early American museum. Throughout the antebellum period, the East India Marine Society expanded, evolved, and regressed. As previously discussed, the collection grew at an amazing rate in the first thirty-one years, but severally decreased over the next three decades. Once East India Marine Hall was constructed, though, the museum became more static in its arrangement apart from the inclusion of new accessions. A careful examination of the collection within the context of the Society's disparate catalogues, organizational meetings, and sketches of the Hall based on first hand accounts presents a unique opportunity to assess how an antebellum American museum functioned. In addition, the antecedents of some contemporary museum practices and procedures come to light, as well as the "cost and pains" it took to run this institution.

At the first formal meeting of the East India Marine Society in October of 1799, the thirty members present laid the groundwork for the formation of their museum. John Osgood, Jonathan Mason Jr. and John Ropes were tasked, as a committee, with searching

for and reporting to the President on "a suitable room for the society to meet in."[3] At the following quarterly meeting, "held at their Hall" on Wednesday November 6th, 1799, this committee reported that they found a suitable accommodation in a brick building owned by Dr. William Stearns at the corner of Essex and Washington Streets (fig. 92).[4] For forty dollars per year, they rented quarters on the third floor above a marine office.[5]

At that same meeting, a committee of Crowninshield, Mason Jr. and Carpenter was formed to organize an internal catalogue of the collection. Once museum quarters were established, and the formal accessioning of donations commenced, the physical construction of the space began. A partition was installed "to deposit Books Charts etc.," and "two dozen chairs at eight dollars per dozen" were purchased from a Mr. Johnson.[6] During the July 2nd, 1800, meeting, the members voted that "Glass cases be provided to secure the curiosities agreeable to the judgment of the committee to be chosen for that purpose."[7]

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[3] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[4] Before 1867, almost all meetings were held at the Society's museum quarters. Internal minutes, though, note an occasional meeting at other locations in Salem—the Sun Tavern, Essex Coffee House, and the Franklin Hall—the later used before the Society moved into East India Marine Hall. The minutes for the meeting note a vote of thanks to Thomas Perkins Esq., "for his politeness in loaning the Franklin Hall, during this evening." Ibid. For more on Stearns, see Harriet Silvester Tapley, "Dr. William Stearns, Merchant and Apothecary, With Some Account of the Sprague Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (January 1928): 1-19.

[5] Ibid. Whitehill notes that this committee was tasked with asking Edward Holyoke whether "he will sell or lias [sic] a peice [sic] of land in Market Street for the purpose of erecting a building for the Society." There is no record if any meeting with Holyoke ever took place. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 5.

[6] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. In May of 1821, nine bamboo chairs were purchased of Thomas Perkins at $12. Treasurer's Accounts. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 23.

[7] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

Almost immediately, museum business became an important feature of Society meetings. Internal minutes illustrate that operating the museum did not fall to one person alone as multiple members were tasked with improving and maintaining the collection. At the March 5th, 1800 meeting, a standing committee of Clifford Crowninshield, Benjamin Carpenter, and Josiah Orne were "authorized to get Perus [sic] voyages and charts bound & lettered," and a year later, during the July 1st, 1801 meeting, these three men were "requested to provide a Chinese face in the figure dressed."[8] Most importantly at this meeting, the standing committee and Jonathan Mason were tasked "to compleat [sic] a catalog of donations for the cabinets of curiosities."[9] In addition, donors were acknowledged at every gathering, beginning at the March 5th, 1800 meeting, when the standing committee offered "the thanks of the society to Mr. John Derby for the curiosities presented by him."[10]

In less than two years, the Society had built up a small museum worthy of notice as Bentley records during his visit on August 13th, 1801. At the beginning of the following year, The *Mercantile Advertiser* of New York reports on the anniversary dinner for the Society and states "The Museum of the Society already contains many curiosities collected from the eastern quarter of the world."[11] By that time, though, the Society's quarters were already proving inadequate for exhibiting the collection. At the November

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Donations to the collection were acknowledged here and there during the early years of the Society. During the March 2nd, 1803 meeting, it was noted that, "A letter received from Moses Townsend—from Calcutta—informing the Brethren that Capt. West-Lander-Orne-Mugford-& Townsend-had purchased a Pallinquin-& sent it home by Captain Mugford in the *Ulysses* as a present to the Society." Ibid. At the following meeting in May, Jeffrie's donation was recognized, and during the September 4th, 1805 meeting, it was noted that Benjamin Perkman Jr. Esq. donated $50 for "the purpose of purchasing books for the society, Captain B. Hodges received the money to appropriate it as directed." Ibid.
[11] *Mercantile Advertiser*, January 15th, 1802.

3rd, 1802 meeting it was "Voted, that the Standing Committee be empowered to agree with Dr. Stearns to enlarge the Hall of the Society, and to make proper arrangements for fitting up the Museum."[12] It does not appear that sufficient accommodations were made, however, and two years later a large space was acquired in a new building on Essex Street built by Colonel Benjamin Pickman originally for the Salem Bank but used by the Salem Marine Insurance Company instead (fig. 93).[13]

In order to prepare the museum's new space, a committee of nine members—Samuel Derby, Nathaniel Silsbee, Jonathan Moses, Dudley Pickman, Henry J. Prince (1764-1846), Stephen Phillips (1764-1838), Nathaniel Robinson (1770-1835), and Joseph and Jonathan Ropes—were selected during the September 1803 meeting "to examine the Hall of the Society—& report what additional by laws & regulations necessary for the benefit of the society or any other matters which may come before them."[14] In March, Benjamin Crowninshield, Moses Townsend, and Clifford Crowninshield were added to

[12] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[13] Historian and politician Robert Rantoul notes in 1881 "Besides the two occupants of the ground floor, the several institutions of learning have, one after another, found a shelter in its chambers. The East India Marine Society moved into them from the Stearns building in 1804, and surrendered them, twenty years later, to the Athenaeum and Historical Society. The Essex Historical Society in conjunction with the Salem Athenaeum rented them from 1825 until 1841. Then both removed to Lawrence Place. To these the Essex County Natural History Society succeeded in 1842 and remained here until its union with the Historical Society in 1848. From 1848 until the removal of the building, its second floor was the home of the Essex Institute. The Athenaeum was in Lawrence Place from 1842 until 1857. Then Plummer Hall received both." Robert Samuel Rantoul, *A Collection of Historical and Biographical Pamphlets* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1881), 115, Footnote 4.

[14] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. At the next meeting on November 2nd, 1803, the committee reported on some tension in regards to the rent of their new space. The minutes state, "the society will not give two hundred dollars for the room over the new Bank…the society will take the room over the new Bank if it can be procured at a rent not exceeding hundred $175 per and annum." Based on the extant treasurer's reports, the Society was successful in negotiating an annual price of $160. Ibid.

this committee "for removing & sorting the Curiosities at the New Hall."[15] Bentley again gives one of the first descriptions of the museum in its second home. On June 11th, 1804, he notes:

> Spent the morning in the newly arranged Museum of the East India Society in the New Room. They have spared no pains to supply & to decorate it. On one Chimney is painted the landing of Plymouth & on another the launching of the Essex with devices. There is a delineation of the Cape of Good Hope, & of Wampum in China. They have the Eastern dresses & arms. Many American curiosities. A good collection of shells & some valuable things in natural History. Upon the whole their progress has been great & their success equal to any attempt in our country. They have many hundred Articles happily displayed. They have a painting of Capt. Cook done at the expence [sic] of the Society by Mr. Corne.[16]

Compared to his earlier account in 1801, Bentley seems pleased with the organization and display of the collection, and given his mercurial nature, he bestows high praise on the museum in comparison to other institutions in the country. More importantly, this account illustrates that the Society's collection of "American curiosities" not from beyond the Capes were noticeable.

Once established in new quarters, the Society could focus on the internal operations of a museum.[17] Most business revolved around the day-to-day maintenance of

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[15] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Samuel Gardner Derby proclaims in a letter notifying the Society that he could not attend the 1825 dinner in the new East India Marine Hall, "I am truly delighted with the progress the Society is making & I have no doubt it is destined to rank as high (if not higher) than any institution of the kind in the world." Scrapbook of 1825 dinner invitation responses and newspaper clippings. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Volume 1.

[16] Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 93. The image of the "launching of the Essex" on one chimney was numbers 268 to 271, "4 prints representing the different situations of the Essex from the commencement of a gale to her safe arrival at Bombay" given by Samuel Gardner Derby in 1803. The British ship *Essex* was dismasted in a storm in 1782 and towed into Bombay harbour and refitted. The prints by Francis Jukes (1747-1812), after Thomas Luny (1759-1837), were published in 1785.

[17] Multiple individuals were hired to clean the hall once the Society moved to their new quarters in the Pickman building. Joseph Joyce was paid twenty-five dollars annually for cleaning the hall, and from the second half of 1820, Benjamin Blanchard was paid for doing the same work at the same rate. Lamon Shillaber cleaned before meetings for three dollars and was paid for carrying objects to the museum in 1824

the institution. At the January 7th, 1807 meeting, President Benjamin Carpenter and the Committee of Observation—Samuel Gardner Derby, Benjamin Crowninshield, and Jonathan Mason—were "authorized to employ some suitable person, to arrange & make out a catalog of the curiosities contained in the museum."[18] While coinciding with the early stages of disorganization visible in the catalogue, there is no record of any person being hired to perform this duty.

The Society also corresponded with other museums during this period. At the May 7th, 1806, meeting, "A letter was laid before the Society for Mister John Abbott Bowdoin College soliciting assistance for their museum. Voted, that the request of Mr. Abbott cannot be complied with consistently with the nature of our institution, and that the President and committee answer his leather through Mr. John Derby to that effect."[19] Three years later, during the March 1809 meeting, a letter from Daniel Bowen was read to the Society "Requesting the loan of our hall and museum."[20] It was then voted that this request could not be granted.[21] Bowen had lost collections from his various commercial

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and 1825, such as one dollar for moving the statue of Batavia. In 1825, before the inaugural dinner in East India Marine Hall, Abraham Williams was paid for cleaning. Others were hired, and further research will unearth biographies for these individuals.

[18] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Bentley similarly notes in his diary entry for January 20th "A new Committee is chosen for Salem Museum. S. Derby, Jona. Mason, & B. Crowninshield. They intend arrangements." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 273.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Bowen appears to have been friends with William Bentley. On July 7th, 1803, he notes, "Mr. Bowen, in Salem, attempting to get articles for his Boston Museum which had lately been destroyed by fire. I supplied him with every thing which was at hand. I gave him an Armadilla [sic], 4 Bottles with snakes, Lizards, &c., Palm branch & nuts, & a selection of Shells, &c. His museum is intended for Show, & he has made a great deal of money by it, but Turell has the most rich collection for a natural historian. We found a most happy arrangement in the room of the Salem Marine East India Association." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 31-32.

[21] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. William Ives (1756-1814) was expelled from the Society at this meeting for failure to pay dues, the first member to be cast out.

museums due to fire in 1803 and 1807, and perhaps his for-profit endeavors did not sit well with the Society. Still, these were the first instances of the Society's inter-museum relations, and while they were unwilling to lend assistance, they acted more favorably when called upon for assistance at other points during their history.

The East India Marine Society also started to expand its museum collections beyond donations. A bill in the treasurer's account dated 1802 notes payment to William Molloy in the amount of sixty-four dollars for his collection of birds and butterflies.[22] During the July 1st, 1807 meeting, the present members voted "unanimously that the President and standing committee be empowered to purchase a collection of curiosities brought from New Holland by Capt. William Richardson provided he would sell the them at the cost and charges."[23] The Society also acquired objects through exchange. On March 4th, 1812 minutes, President Samuel Gardner Derby and the Committee of Observation—Moses Townsend, Robert Emery (1773-1841), and James Devereux—were authorized to accept the proposal of Mrs. Rich, wife of the diplomat and a founder of the Boston Athenaeum, Obadiah Rich, "for the exchange of shells belonging to the Society, if in their opinion it will be advantageous to the Society."[24] Two years later,

[22] Treasurer's Accounts 1802. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 4.
[23] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.
[24] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Bentley notes this proposal in his entry on January 23rd: "My friend Obadiah Rich lately returned from his five years travel in Europe, has informed of his arrival in Boston & of his wish to exchange some valuable Charts for the duplicates in the Salem E. I. M. Museum of such shells as may serve to complete his own Collection in Conchology to which he says he has paid particular attention in his travels. I sought for the late Master Capt. J. Nichols but did not find him. Mr. N. Bowditch the Mathematician, who takes a deep interest in the Museum, told me that Capt. Jonathan Hodges was Master elect. Upon some conversation with the members he informed me that the reluctance shewn [sic] in such things heretofore were from the want of proper indemnification, the requests being rather to

Colonel George Gibbs (1777-1834), a mineralogist and collector, proposed an exchange of minerals for shells "whereupon the Society Voted, that the President be requested to write the Rev. Doc. Prince and inform him, that the Society Decline acceding to Col. Gibb's proposal."[25]

By 1820, the collection had grown to more than 2,500 objects and was difficult to maintain. At the January 2nd, 1820 meeting, a committee was appointed to consider the preparation of a published catalogue and the rearrangement of the collections.[26] Naturally, Nathaniel Bowditch, voted as President during this meeting, was part of this committee as his organization and attention to detail were beneficial to the Society at many points during its history.[27] During Bowditch's tenure as President, donors to the

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beg than exchange. Mr. Bowditch is to call upon Mr. O. Rich in Boston." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. IV, 80.

[25] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. According to F.W. Clarke, Gibbs "was a man of some wealth, who owned a large country place at Sunswick, on Long Island…He was an enthusiastic mineralogist, and gathered a collection which, ultimately sold to Yale College, became the nucleus of the great cabinet since made famous by the labors of the two Danas, Brush, and Penfield. It was perhaps the control of the Gibbs collection which first led J. D. Dana to write his classical 'System of Mineralogy.' Colonel Gibbs, for whom the mineral *gibbsite* was named, was himself the author of several memoirs upon mineralogical subjects; and his oldest son, also named George, achieved some reputation as a geologist and as a student of ethnology." F.W. Clarke, *Biographical Memoir of Wolcott Gibbs 1822-1908* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1910), 3.

[26] The minutes for this meeting note, "That the President & Committee be authorized to procur [sic] printed copies of the Catalogue now preparing to furnish each member (or the family of each member deceased) with a copy, and to present the same in the name of the society to such gentlemen of the town & its vicinity as the President & Committee may think proper." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[27] The extent of Bowditch's organization is apparent at this meeting. More measures are passed pertaining to organizational matters than during prior meetings. For example, of the seven votes during this meeting, there is one stating, "that Henry Elkins Esq. be appointed distributor of the blank journals to hold under his care at the Custom House & that he be requested to report at each meeting the number he has so distributed," and, "That the Inspector of the Journals be requested to make a report of the Journals he may receive from time to time & that if anything contained in either of Journals should be thought important or useful to the society…that it should be noted at the time of the report." A year later, the position of Corresponding Secretary was established, "whose duty shall be to write a reply to any letter on behalf of the Society to communicate the vote of thanks made by the Society to any Persons, and to perform the duties of the recording Secretary in his absence." John White Treadwell was then unanimously voted as the

collection were acknowledged on a regular basis during each quarterly meeting, which became the first recorded item of business preceding elections and other matters. Before Bowditch's tenure, objects were mentioned sparingly.[28] In addition, by the early 1820s, certificates were sent to donors (fig. 94). These precursors to modern day deeds of gift were common practice among other learned societies in the nineteenth century.

Bowditch's report was submitted at the July 5th, 1820 meeting, and reveals that the museum's displays were a heterogeneous hodge-podge of objects (Appendix D, Document 1). He notes that "The elegant arrangement which had been made soon after it was placed in the present Hall" in the Salem Bank Building had become:

> considerably broken in upon by the great accumulation of articles since that period, and which, for want of room had been stowed away wherever a spot could be found to place them in, so that things of a similar nature, instead of being collected together, were scattered about all over the Museum, and it became therefore absolutely necessary to make a thorough alteration in every part of it.[29]

To aid in this endeavor, at the conclusion of the report, it was voted "That the President and Committee be authorized to engage Dr. Seth Bass to superintend the Museum under their direction for such compensation as they may judge reasonable . . . [and] . . . that Dr. Bass be requested to attend the meetings of the Society."[30] This new position was codified in Article XXIV, and the superintendent was given the authority "to enter the articles presented to the Society, in the catalogue, and to make such alterations in the

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first person to fill this position. Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[28] For a brief time in 1830, both the object and donor were noted in the minutes. This may relate to Charles Lawrence's short tenure as recording secretary.

[29] Report of July 5th, 1820, East India Marine Society Records, 1799-1972, Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, MSS# MH-88, quoted in Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 36.

[30] Ibid.

arrangement of the Museum… as may be judged expedient."[31] Still, the Society's officers, like modern day museum directors and trustees, needed to sign-off on all displays, as the article notes arrangements were made "under the direction of the President and Committee."[32]

Within a year of Seth Bass' hiring at an annual salary of one hundred dollars, the first catalogue for the museum was published.[33] This one hundred page volume entitled *The East India Marine Society of Salem* lists 2,269 objects, preceded by the Society's act of incorporation, by-laws, lists of members and officers, and the catalogue of journals of voyages presented to the society.[34] Part institutional history, part public relations piece, this document, one of the earliest American museum catalogues, allowed the Society to both encapsulate their mission and collecting efforts and promote their endeavors to a wider audience. Copies were sent to other learned societies in the United States and abroad and to American presidents.

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[31] East India Marine Society, The East-India Marine Society of Salem, 12.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Seth Bass was paid for other work in addition to his annual salary. In 1823 he was given five dollars for cleaning and varnishing shells, war weapons, fish etc. from Vanderford's donation; ten dollars for 5 days of arranging objects; twenty-five dollars for labeling donations; fifteen for extra labor with Mr. Fulsom in arranging the ancient coins at his rooms for 3 weeks; fifty cents for extra labor for shells from Sumatra, two dollars for setting up box of antiquities from Egypt, among other work. Also there are receipts for chemicals bought from Jonathan Webb and used by Bass. Treasurer's Accounts 1823. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 4, Folder 25.
[34] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 37. Following the Society's by-laws are recent additions. "Since the acceptance of these By-Laws, the following additional articles have been made. Art. 23. A Distributor of the Journals shall be chosen, whose duty it shall be, to provide every member bound on a voyage, with a blank Journal, to be kept by him for the use of the Society. Art. 24. A Superintendant [sic] of the Museum shall be chosen, whose duty it shall be, to enter the articles presented to the Society, in the catalogue, and to make such alterations in the arrangement of the Museum, (under the direction of the President and Committee) as may be judged expedient. Art. 25. A Corresponding Secretary shall be chosen by ballot, whose duty it shall be, to write any letters in behalf of the Society; to communicate the votes of thanks passed by the Society to any persons; and to perform the duties of the Recording Secretary in his absence." East India Marine Society, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*, 12.

This catalogue represents the first public encapsulation of the three founding goals of the Society—benelovency, improving global navigation, and establishing a museum. Its organization demonstrates the accomplishments made in all fields. A detailed breakdown of the Society's funds are given, an accurate listing of the sixty-eight journals amassed by 1821 are printed, and most impressively, a detailed catalogue of objects with donors made the museum more accessible to visitors and scholars.[35] The catalogue also documents the Society's promising depiction of their endeavors and bright future, noting "it is hoped, from the late accession of a great number of young and active members, that more will be done to increase our nautical knowledge, and to render the Museum a still greater object of attention to the man of science."[36]

Close inspection of the catalogue reveals that Bass applied Linnaeus' artificial system for classifying natural history to man-made objects. Since the original numbering system used by Society members broke down over the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Bass renumbered all objects. He notes this problem at the conclusion of the catalogue. "Some of the articles presented to the Society, several years since, were entered on the journals in a very imperfect manner; the donors, the names of the articles, and where they came from, being frequently omitted; for that reason it was not possible

[35] The Society's funds at this point were $8,829.16, equivalent to the purchasing power of $181,719.79 today. http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp. Apart from $191.01 in cash, the rest was invested in shares of bank stock in the Merchant, Beverly, and Salem Banks, the Union and Salem Marine Insurance Companies, and Stock of the United States. Following the list of journals, is the following statement: "Besides the usual occurrences of a ship's journal, this collection contains many observations of the variation of the compass, in various parts of the world; observations of the latitudes and longitudes of places; sailing directions for many places and coasts; manner of transacting business at several of the native ports in the East-Indies, with the weights, coins, imports, exports, &c. The limited nature of the present publication will not allow of a more complete account of these Journals than that we have here given." Ibid, 22, 29.

[36] Ibid, 4.

to make the preceding catalogue so complete as could have been wished. The time allowed for the preparation of this Catalogue, (consisting of such a large number and great variety of articles) did not permit a more thorough investigation. This must be the excuse for any defect or inaccuracy in the work."[37] To denote a "clean slate" of object organization, Bass physically labeled each object with large and small numbers in paint or ink (fig. 35).[38]

Bass also recognized that the greatest portion of the collection at the time consisted of objects from the Pacific Islands. The first 156 objects in the catalogue, therefore, are weapons from predominantly this region followed by a few miscellaneous objects, twelve canoe models, twenty-four pipes (opium, hookahs, etc.), musical instruments, and some Western armor. These artifacts are organized in a manner similar to anthropological museums in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, akin to Smithsonian curator Otis T. Mason's (1838-1908) display of objects organized by technological function and development, following Lewis Henry Morgan's (1818-1881) evolutionary theory of culture.[39] Bass also appears to follow a model portrayed in the plates accompanying the volumes of Cook's voyages (fig. 45)

Following this material are the first natural history objects—horns of various species and the saw of the saw fish—and then the first figures of Indian and Chinese merchants (some full size, the porcelain figurines, and the alabaster Jos), and the busts of

[37] Ibid, 100.
[38] Labelling objects with a big, bold number may be akin to what Barnett notes as relics serving as, "the ledger of its own history by having its date of provenance or information about the historically significant event with which it was associated painted or scrawled directly across its surface." Barnett, "The Nineteenth-Century Relic," 35.
[39] Franz Boas (1858-1942), the "Father of American Anthropology" and an advocate of cultural relativism, battled Morgan in letters to the journal *Science* in 1887.

poets and political figures. The catalogue jumps around from this point on, with natural history specimens followed by examples of ethnographic material. Bass lists a specimen of cava root, number 255, which is then followed by a human intestine, Samuel Gardner Derby's donations from Japan (260 to 277), miscellaneous glass objects, a coconut shell sugar pot, and fourteen teeth of various species such as an elephant and whales. His organizational system returns with number 333, a pair of moccasins, the first Native North American objects listed in the new catalogue, which is grouped with other shoes from Asia and Africa.[40] The catalogue ends with the "Catalogue of Shells", the "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Coins and Medals", and "Catalogue of Paper Bills"— running from numbers 1739 to 2265— and the final three objects that are additions to the catalogue.

Whitehill believes that Bass "recorded good, bad and indifferent with disarming impartiality" and without a defined classification scheme.[41] There are certainly many examples to support his conclusions. Object number 1649, misidentified as "The Royal Robe of Tamahama, King of the Sandwich Island, made of the intestines of the Ursine Seal," is followed by 1650, "A Coffee Cup and Saucer that once belonged to the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, procured at St. Petersburg, Francis Peabody."[42] Apart from the loose connection as material culture owned by monarchical figures, these two objects are

[40] After the shoes are Western paintings, starting with number 353, *Susana and the Elders* by Delano. *Columbus and the Egg*, ship portraits, and the portraits of mariners come next. Fishhooks, fans, and gourds, with some miscellaneous objects in-between each type, are the next objects, and then more weapons and riding equipment later in the 400s. Approximately forty specimens of dress and cloth are listed from 576 to 616, and then one randomly mentioned at 669. Prehistoric Native New England artifacts begin at 670, lasting until number 711, and examples of marble from Italian archaeological sites start at 822 until 838. The first book is 1419, "Chinese Art of Curing Diseases," with more from 1527 to 1562.
[41] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 37.
[42] East India Marine Society, The East-India Marine Society of Salem, 77.

from disparate contexts. Items 671 to 703, stone implements of New England Native Americans including mortars, pestles, hatchets, and arrowheads, contains an archaeological relic from the Old World, 689, "A model of a dog's leg found in Herculaneum" donated by Abijah Northey.[43] Bass' natural history and medical background, though, is evident as the birds and shells, and the coins and medals, are classified in detail with scientific names for almost all specimens.[44]

Nicole Rousmaniere sees this cataloging system as creating "a kind of spectacle, with no attempt made at a systematic approach…The ordering reveals no separation by country, material or quality. Each object is given equal weight, and accessioned in bold numerals with their own internal logic."[45] While a correct deduction, her hypothesis, shared by other scholars, has been erroneously applied to the display of objects in the museum. Bass' catalogue, while erratic in organization, documented the East India Marine Society member's worldly adventures at sea, but once the collection was moved into East India Marine Hall, it was organized in such a fashion where visitors could recreate a voyage around the globe. With Bass's, and later Ward's, catalogue in hand and a clear numbering system in place on both object and text, museum patrons could easily identify what they were looking at to the extent of the information supplied to them. As Finamore notes, "The museum catalog…refrained from telling tales of adventure, but

[43] Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 40.
[44] At the end of Henry Wheatland's list of objects presented in 1844, Wheatland notes "The coins have been rearanged [sic] according to the several nations by whom they were issued & an addition has been made of several hundred specimens—some by purchase—the others by donations from W.P. Richardson, W.S. Cleveland, M.A. Stickney, H.F. King…" Donation lists, 1820-1862. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 7.
[45] Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-century America," 25. Rousmaniere is incorrect in her assessment that Bass' catalogue is the original listing of the Society's collection.

provided what was perceived to be the essential documentation, including the names of mysterious objects…the locations where they were collected, and the names of those who had donated them…This scientific presentation provided just enough detail for the viewer to deduce a singular message behind the otherwise random assemblage of objects."[46]

Three years after the publication of Bass' catalogue, the East India Marine Society tackled important museological issues. During the January 1824 meeting, separate committees were formed to investigate protocols for purchasing objects, "the power of exchanging articles of curiosity," and "the subject of enlarging the hall or procuring another Hall."[47] At the March 1824 meeting, a committee of Dudley Leavitt Pickman, George Cleveland, and William H. Neal (1799-1851) reported that, "With respect to purchasing curiosities for the museum," they recommend "That the Superintendent of the museum be authorized to purchase any articles of curiosity for the use of the society to render their collection more complete…and the Superintendant shall, previous to the annual meeting in January deliver to the president and committee an account in writing of all purchases made by him, which account shall be laid before the

[46] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 47. Finamore also notes "The objects collected served as three-dimensional documentation of the encounter between the shipboard community and peoples of the Pacific. The concept of the museum closely linked commerce with enlightenment philosophy in a scientifically palatable manner that placed mariners not only in the role of merchants but, simultaneously, that of intellectuals. The objects were embodiments of vastly different ways of thinking and living, and also manifestations of mercantile relationships that linked culturally and geographically disparate groups. In both cases, the collector/donor of the object was the integral player, much more so than was the maker." Ibid.

[47] Ernest Dodge states, "That the compilers of the new edition of Horsburgh's *East India Directory* wished to consult journals of the Society is an indication of the high regard for and reputation of the Salem captains and their observations. While there is no surviving correspondence on the subject, it is certain that the Society did not allow Horsburgh to consult the journals as it would have been necessary to send them to England." Ernest Stanley Dodge, "The Contributions to Exploration of the Salem East India Marine Society,"185-186.

Society by the President at said annual meeting."[48] Afterwards, the committee of Nathaniel Silsbee, Jonathan Hodges, and Henry Prince recommended that the Superintendent should be authorized to "exchange any articles of the collection which may have been presented by members or purchased by the Society and of which there may be more than one specimen, for other articles of which the collection may be deficient and which may be deemed not less valuable to the Society."[49]

Both measures empowered the superintendent of the museum, allowing him to grow and refine the collection. Like contemporary museum acquisition and deaccession policies, which require the approval by a chief curator, director, and/or a collections committee, the Society stipulated that the superintendent obtain written authorization of the President and two members of the Committee of Observation, or three members of the Committee in the absence of the President, for adding and removing objects. In regards to exchanges, a practice that continued among American museums until the second half of the twentieth century, the committee notes that any object donated, "by persons who are not members," could not be removed, "without the written assent of such

[48] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. The report notes that the superintendent's purchases needed to be authorized by, "a written order for that purpose signed by the President and two members of the committee of observation, or by three members of the committee in the absence of the President, which order shall specify the articles so authorized to be purchased." Ibid.

[49] Ibid. While several exchanges were made throughout the East India Marine Society's history, not all were accepted. D. Rich of Georgetown, D.C. references charts he wished to sell to the Society in a letter dated December 7th, 1812. "Shortly after I sent to the care of Dr. Bentley the collection of charts etc. by Tofino: I left Boston for this place without being able to visit Salem: I informed him however that if the society wished to purchase the Charts, I would sell them at a fair price; Notwithstanding, I should not have any objection to adhere to my first proposal of exchanging for duplicates of objects of Natural History in the Society's Museum. If any way could be pointed out, by which it might be effected. I shall be happy to learn the sentiments of the society on this subject." Correspondence regarding donations of objects, 1799-1838. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 5.

persons."[50] Unless stipulated in a deed of gift, no museum today would adhere to a policy requiring consent from the donor for deaccessioning an object.

Two months later, President Stephen White, chairmen of a larger committee looking into the state of the Society's quarters, reported that:

> it would be inexpedient to alter or enlarge the Hall at present occupied by the society, as no arrangement in their judgment beneficial to both parties can be made with the providers for that purpose. The Committee are however of opinion that a new building may be erected that will accommodate the Society on the most convenient manner and they sojourn for their consideration the following 'proposals' which if they be approved the committee recommends should be offered for Subscription.[51]

Stephen White's committee then laid out the parameters for constructing the Society's first permanent home on a lot of land near their current quarters, which could be built in about a year (Appendix D, Document 4). To pay for the cost of construction, the Society would do two things—rent out the bottom floor of the new building, which, "would yield to the subscribers an annual interest of five per cent annum and perhaps more," and that,

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[50] The Peabody Academy of Sciences stayed true to this provision to keep the East India Marine Society's collection intact in the twentieth century and beyond. At the June 10th, 1911 meeting of the Committee on the Museum, John Robinson, the secretary at the time, notes in the meeting minutes: "Mr. Morse called attention to the conditions in the agreement with the E.I.M. Soc. By which objects belonging to their museum might be exchanged for other objects to add to the collections and asked that definite action be taken in the matter regarding such exchanges. It was then voted, that, owning to the great and increasing value of the objects in the museum received from the E.I.M. Soc., no object from that collection which may be considered a duplicate shall in future be exchanged from the museum without the unanimous vote of the Committee on the Museum upon the recommendation of the Director." Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. In regards to museum exchanges, former PEM Oceanic Art Curator Christina Hellmich Scarangello notes, "this policy remained in place through the mid 20th century, and in later years, exchanges with institutions such as the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University, became frequent occurrences; both museums intended to build encyclopedic collections." Scarangello, "The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum," 74.

[51] Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. White did not deliver this report at the March 1824 meeting as his group could not "come to any definite conclusion of the course which it may be best for the society to adapt in relation thereto" and asked for "leave to define their final report until the next meeting of the Society." Noting the possibility of delaying any plans to alter displays in the Hall, they resolved "that the President & Committee of Observation be authorized whenever they may deem it necessary to make such alterations in the present hall of the society as they may think proper with the view to a better arrangement of the articles, and in conformity to the plans here with submitted." Ibid.

"an association to be incorporated…under the name of the 'East India Marine Hall Corporation'" be formed, "for erecting a building of about forty five feet by ninety five, for the East India Marine Society and other purposes."[52]

The East India Marine Hall Corporation was a publicly traded entity, but the Society held the majority of the shares and its members filled the ranks of its officers. Former Peabody Museum of Salem Trustee Stephen Wheatland (1897-1987) notes:

> It was thought that the sale of 150 shares at $100.00 each would allow sufficient money for the construction of a building, and that the rental of the ground floor to the Asiatic Bank, the Oriental Insurance Company and the United States Post Office would allow payment of 5% on the investment. The Society arranged to take a one hundred year lease of the Hall in the building at $200.00 a year, and voted to purchase the stock of the Corporation as fast as funds of the Society would admit of it at not exceeding par. An original subscription for 50 shares was made for $3,750.00 on which $1,000.00 more seems to have been paid in 1825.[53]

Unfortunately, no Corporation records exist to construct a more in-depth sketch of this entity.

The first proposals for the construction of East India Marine Hall were made in May 1824, and news of the Society's proposal to erect a new building ran in publications across the country, including the *Charleston Courier*, which reprinted a notice from the *Salem Register* on July 10th, 1824. This account attests to the connection between Salem and the southern United States, as trade routes brought businessmen up north and Salemites moved throughout the country to establish new companies.[54] The East India

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 191-192. This plan did not work out as constituted, though. Wheatland notes "Apparently the sale of 150 shares did not raise sufficient cash to construct the building, for when the building was sold in 1867 to the Trustees for the George Peabody Fund, there were 250 shares outstanding, the Society owning 121 of them." Ibid, 192.

[54] There are many signatures in the Society museum guestbooks of visitors from New Orleans, Charleston, and other areas in the United States who enter the museum with family members still residing in Salem.

Marine Hall Corporation purchased a piece of land on the south side of Essex Street opposite the junction of St. Peter Street on July 22nd, 1824, for $4,000.[55] At this time, and for the majority of the nineteenth century, Essex Street was the principal thoroughfare through Salem, which Whitehill notes as, "a handsome residential street, well away from the brawls and smells of the waterfront."[56]

Seth Bass' tenure as Superintendent of the museum ended before the opening of East India Marine Hall. The minutes of the January 1825 quarterly meeting recount two complaints made against him. One claimed that he had "mutilated" a mineralogical specimen, and the other accused him of interfering with the election of the Society's officers at the prior annual meeting. Subsequently, a committee was appointed to look into these allegations. To further humiliate Bass, and perhaps as a sign of emasculation, it was voted "That the Key of the Museum Hall be placed in the care of Capn. Abijah Northey, until the opinion of the committee of OBS. be known" and "That no person be

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Further biographical research on some names reveal they were expanding their business opportunities by relocating to other regions or extending established businesses.

[55] Chad Smith notes that on the land "stood a house and outbuildings raised during the first half of the eighteenth century by James Lindall. Ultimately, the property had been sold to Captain John Gardner, whose widow continued to occupy the house and to lease portions of it to boarders for almost forty years after her husband's death in 1783. Then, in May 1824, it was acquired from the Gardners by John Andrew, a Salem merchant, who, in turn, disposed of it to the East India Marine Hall Corporation. The old house was removed, and East India Marine Hall began to rise from the ground." Smith, *East India Marine Hall*, 24.

[56] Whitehill, "Foreword," 1. When it opened in 1825, East India Marine Hall was, as Smith notes "flanked exclusively by residential structures. On the western side, behind a garden, stood the mansion built in 1750 by Benjamin Pickman (1708-1773) and occupied successively by his son Benjamin (1740- 1819) and grandson Benjamin (1763-1843). All had become eminent merchants in the town…The gambrel-roof house on the eastern side of the Hall had been built in 1765 by the father of its present occupant, Captain Peter Lander. Captain Peter's son, Peter Jr., was a member of the East India Marine Society and was its Secretary at the time the Hall was constructed." Smith, *East India Marine Hall*, 28. The buildings that flanked the Hall, unlike the Hall itself, went through continual residential and commercial changes to the present day. See Ibid for reconstructed drawings and description of these changes up to 1976.

permitted to take the Key of the Museum Hall, unless he be an Original member."[57] This committee presented their findings at a special meeting on January 29th, 1825 and found that Bass was not guilty of any of the charges.[58] Still, Bass had tired of the "peculiarities" of the East India Marine Society and resigned his office as superintendent and became Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, a post he would hold until 1846.[59] He did maintain some association with his successor Malthus Ward, writing a letter to him in 1829 concerning the exchange of shells.[60]

[57] A "Mr. Cornelius of Salem" is noted as charging Bass with mutilating the specimen. This was the Rev. Elias Cornelius (1792-1832), an American missionary and teacher of Elias Boudinot, who donated over twenty specimens to the Society. Records/Minutes 1799-1824. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. His report recounting the circumstances of this charge, dated January 14th, 1825, were not intended to "do any injustice to the superintendent of the museum." Cornelius also sent a copy of this statement to Bass. East India Marine Society. Records, 1799-1972. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3.

[58] While the committee exonerated Bass, they did note "there have been many Exchanges of duplicate specimens of Shells for other Shells and Minerals, of which there appear to have been a regular account kept in a Book handed us by Dr. Bass. Although these exchanges have been made without consulting the Committee of Observation, as required by the Vote of the Society, authorizing exchanges of duplicate articles, it appears to have been done by the Superintendent, from a misapprehension of his powers, as he represents he was not present when the vote passed, and never was furnished with a copy of that vote, and that he did not know until a short time since, that he ought to have consulted the Committee of Observation before making any exchanges." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. Still, the Society did offer a vote of thanks to Bass in May of 1825 during a meeting of the Committee of Observation "for his devotion to the interest of the Society while their superintendent." Ibid.

[59] Malloy believes that Bass "affronted some members" by "exhibiting a collecting style somewhat at odds with the sailors he worked for. While they were collecting tarantula eggs and 'three thousand yards of human hair, braided,' he was donating 'a portion of a human intestine." Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 98.

[60] Bass' letter to "Dr. Ward" states: "Sir, I return to you all the Specimens rec'd for examination with the list of names of every shell (except the worn specimen, which cannot be verified)—and are worthles [sic] and do not deserve to be placed in a Cabinet—if you have duplicate Specimen of the 4 shells marked thus * I should like to have one of each reserved for me &—if you have others that you have doubt about you may send them when convenient." Correspondence 1807-1883. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Volume 1.

Ward's first task as superintendent was to install the collection in the new Hall.[61] As Finamore notes, Ward "arranged their collection…which included items of so disparate in appearance as 'a ball of hair from the stomach of a cow from Madagascar,' 'drawers worn by females in Lapland, made of the Hair of the Rein Deer,' 'strips of tortoise shell, used by natives of the Fegee Islands for scratching themselves,' and 'three thousand yards of human hair, braided'…into a formal New England architectural environment that included fireplaces, portraits of the members, ship models, and Anglo-Irish glass chandeliers."[62] In many ways, Ward's arrangement resembled Ishmael's depiction of the entrance to the Spouter-Inn in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*:

> On one side hung a very large oil-painting…a Cape-Horner in a great hurricane…The opposite wall of this entry was hung all over with a heathenish array of monstrous clubs and spears. Some were thickly set with glittering teeth resembling ivory saws; others were tufted with knots of human hair; and one was sickle-shaped, with a vast handle sweeping round like the segment made in the new-mown grass by a long-armed mower. You shuddered as you gazed, and wondered what monstrous cannibal and savage could ever have gone a death-harvesting with such a hacking, horrifying implement.[63]

Once installed, Ward continued to update the displays by incorporating new accessions that were entering the collection at a growing rate.[64] Caroline King comments

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[61] Capt. Joseph Ropes, Capt. John B. Osgood, Capt. Samuel Rea, Jonathan P. Saunders, James B. Briggs, and Richard S. Rogers were chosen to assist the Committee of Observation to move the collections to East India Marine Hall and were also selected to oversee the "public dinner…all the expences [sic] incident thereto be defrayed from the Society's funds." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[62] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 47. Malloy believes that "Dr. Ward closely followed the standard set by his predecessor, grouping like objects together, rather than exhibiting artifacts in a cultural context. He and his successor Dr. Wheatland attempted to 'bring together such articles as bore a resemblance to each other or were used for the same purpose in the economy of life by the different nations, such as the cooking utensils, shoes, hats, warlike instruments, etc., etc.'" Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 99, quote from Whitehill.

[63] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick; or, The Whale* (New York: Harper & Brother, 1851), 11-13.

[64] Ward and his successors likely consulted volumes in the Society's library when organizing certain portions of the collection. In 1824, William Luscomb donated a copy of Ennio Quirino Visconti et al.,

that she and her companions were "rarely disturbed in our happy afternoons there, except by some old sea captain, who dropped in to have a crack with Captain Saul, or to see if his last contribution from the East had been placed to advantage," an allusion to members' wanted or unwanted opinions relating to the superintendent's installation of their donation.[65] An account of a visitor that ran in the Baptist magazine the *Christian Watchman*, notes:

> We were much gratified, while on a late visit to Salem, to witness the many alterations and improvements which have been made within a few years in this 'Hall of Science.' The additions are extensive; many curiosities in nature and of art, are continually increasing its well selected assortment; and they are all classified in such good taste and with so much judgment, as to produce the most happy effect. The Institution is a private Society and the greatest ornament to Salem as a place for amusement…We unfeignedly say in reference to the *East-India Marine Hall*, that we believe this Repository of Curiosities to contain within its galaxy of beauties—the quintessence of all the Museum and Theatres, that adorn the cities of the U. States.[66]

This patron points to numerous objects he viewed during his visit "diversified in their beauties as these few specimens are dissimilar in their character and while the collection was vast," evidence that Ward used the spacious dimensions of the Hall to minimize overcrowding and allow for close inspection of objects.

Description des antiques du musée Royal (Paris: Herissant le Doux, 1820) and *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la galerie du musée royal* (Paris: C. Ballaro, 1823), likely used when cataloging the small collection of antiquities and Western art.

[65] King, When I Lived in Salem, 33.

[66] This was reprinted as "East-India Marine Hall, Salem" in the *Salem Gazette* of March 30th, 1830, and in the *Sailor's Magazine, & Naval Journal* of December 1st, 1830. The visitor notes in regards to the collections, "The curiosities are chiefly imported from the East-Indies, and display many of the wonders of these regions of idolatry." Literary historian Anirudra Thapa interprets this piece as an example of the "spectacle of oriental goods and artifacts displayed in trade exhibits and museums" that "crystallized binaries between activity and passivity, display and use, and between stagnation and progress… Quite remarkably, the viewer contrasts the soaring eagle, an emblematic expression of the new nation's upward moving energy with Eastern sloth and lethargy, thus not only setting a fault-line between 'us' and 'them' but also reaffirming his own sense of national allegiance." Anirudra Thapa, "The Indic Orient, Nation, and Transnationalism: Exploring the Imperial Outposts of Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literary Culture, 1840-1900." Texas Christian University, 2008. United States—Texas: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*, 29-30.

On May 3rd, 1826 it was voted "to place $5,000.00 insurance on building and $5,000.00 to $10,000.00 more as the President and Observation Committee may deem best on the Cabinet and that the Cabinet be valued in the Policy at $10,000.00."[67] The impetus for this act was likely the massive growth of the collection in the 1820s. By 1830, the collections had more than doubled, and the Society voted to have a new catalogue produced. Ward crafted this revised version in almost identical style to Bass' 1821 volume, continuing the numbers of objects from where Bass had left off until the number 4,299.[68] A careful examination of this updated version, however, clearly shows some changes. A range of numbers used by Bass are reappropriated for different objects, perhaps due to the decay of some natural history specimens, but principally the result of removing the "Catalogue of Shells," the "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Coins and

[67] At a meeting of the Committee of Observation on October 1st, 1845, the Treasurer was voted authorization (under the direction of the President) "to keep $6000 Insured on the curiosities in their Hall when it can be done at a resonable [sic] rate of premium." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2. By 1863, the value to be insured was reduced to $5,000, and at the May 3rd, 1865 meeting, it was voted to cease insuring the collection once the policy expired. At the next meeting on November 1st, only one or two objects had been given to the museum, so paltry a number that Thomas Saul, the superintendent, did not report on them. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[68] During the May 7th, 1823 meeting, a vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Tudor Falsom for "making a Catalogue." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1. It is unknown whether this was an internal catalogue created between the 1821 and 1831 printed catalogues, or something else. In regards to the 1831 catalogue, an 1832 Memorandum in the Society's archives lists the discernment of catalogues. The non-members receiving copies were J.G. Treadwell, Lieut Freeman of the State Fencibles, Judge Story of Cambridge, Harvard College, the Indiana Historical Society in Salem Indiana, the Asiatic Society of London, J.P. Cushing of Boston, William Fettyplace (several copies), and Dr. Ward who was given three. Assorted Documents 1801-1857. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 4. In January of 1832, the Society voted to send catalogues to all the members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland after receiving communications from them asking for copies (a copy of the receipt exists in the Society archives), which was listed as "Account of the East-India Marine Society, and Catalogue of its Museum, kc. kc. 8vo.. Salem, 1832" donated on June 16th, 1832 in the "Appendix, No. IV. Donations to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" from the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol. 3, No. 3 (1834): lxxvii.

Medals," and the "Catalogue of Paper Bills" from the text. In addition, new articles added to the by-laws since 1821 are included, such as those relating to purchasing and exchanging objects and insuring the collection, as well as journals donated by members since the last publication.[69] Once the catalogue reached number 2270, however, the first new number for this catalogue, the collection is recorded by date of entry. In essence, it resembles the original catalogue, recording objects as they entered the collection except for slight variations in comparison to Ward's internal lists of donations.

Ward resigned his post in the fall of 1831 after being offered the chair of natural history at the University of Georgia.[70] Dr. George Osborne (1798-1882) was hired as the third museum superintendent, the first East India Marine Society member to assume the role.[71] In addition, the Society enacted further measures to support the museum. Due to

[69] The only change to the "Introduction" is "Malthus A. Ward" put in place of "Seth Bass," and the date of Oct. 1831. Other notable additions to the by-laws include "May 2d, 1821—Voted, That a Corresponding Secretary be chosen by ballot, whose duty it shall be to write a reply to any letters in behalf of the Society, to communicate the votes of thanks, made by the Society to any persons, and to perform the duties of the Recording Secretary in his absence."; "January 5th, 1825—Voted, That the Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society by advertisement, signed by him and published in two or more of the public papers printed in Salem, five days at least prior to the meeting."; "May 3d, 1826— Voted, That the President and Committee of Observation, be authorised to buy the Stock of the East India Marine Hall Corporation at not exceeding par, (without reference to any rent that may be due) as fast as the funds of the Society will admit of it, always reserving on hand the sum of sixteen hundred dollars to meet any contingent expense." The funds of the Society had only risen slightly to $8862.11, $6,357 invested in the Hall Corporation Stock.

[70] Ward's letter of resignation was read at a special meeting on October 17th, 1831. He appears to have left on good terms, as his letter to the Committee of Observation notes "I beg that you and the whole society will accept my gratitude and thanks for the liberal and friendly treatment which I have ever experienced at your hands, together with my best wishes for your individual happinings [sic] and the prosperity of your admirable Institution." Bills and Correspondence, 1804-1910. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 4.

[71] Osborne, like his father and grandfather who were sea-captains, went to sea as a supercargo aboard two voyages to Sumatra and one to European ports. Afterwards, in 1826, he focused on medicine and studied with Dr. William G. Walker of Charlestown and received his degree in 1829. He had a practice in South Danvers, today Peabody, until severe facial neuralgia forced him to retire in 1872. Osborne was President of the Warren Five Cents Savings Bank and Treasurer of the Peabody Institute Fund. In addition, he filled an unexpired term in the Massachusetts State Senate and was a Democratic candidate for Congress. A.H.J.,

"the great and increasing number of visitors to the museum, more especially during the summer months" that "has rendered the duty of attending upon them, exceedingly burthensome to that part of the society, whose business is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hall," a new position was created, assistant superintendent. This individual, ideally a member of the Society "if practicable," was "to be paid not in excess of $100.00" and work from May 1st to November 1st "from 10 AM to 1 PM & from 3 to 5 PM to receive and wait on visitors, who may wish to see the museum" and aid the superintendent when requested.[72] In the past, those wishing to visit the museum needed to find one of the Society members at the museum and obtain one of his admission tickets.[73] Society member Joseph Preston (1780-1840) was elected to fill this role in 1832, but by

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"Obituary. Dr. George Osborne, of Peabody," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 107, No. 26 (December 28, 1882): 624.

[72] The Society also noted that "it being expressly understood that on no occasion shall he be allowed to receive any compensation from visitors." During the November 6th, 1833 meeting, a committee was put together to explore "the expediency of receiving fees from Strangers on admission to the Museum to pay the salary of the assistant superintendant [sic] instead of paying him from the funds of the society." This was not enacted, and when visitors insisted on paying a fee, it was not received positively. In the minutes for the November 7th, 1838 meeting, the President Richard Saltonstall Rogers (1790-1873) told the Society: "a Gentleman visiting the museum in September last offered to the asst. Superintendant [sic] a gold coin as a fee for admission, the same being contrary to the rules of the Society and was so explained to him at the time and notwithstanding the express and positive refusal of the asst. Superintendant [sic] to accept or receive it did on his departure leave the money in the Hall and was afterwards given to the President for safe keeping. Resolved that the same being repugnant to the feeling of the society that the gold coin be deposited in the museum until called for by the person to whom it belongs. Resolved that it is the particular wish of the society, that persons visiting the museum would abstain under any circumstances from offering a fee or renumerations of any description to the assistant superintendant [sic], or other persons, by whom they may be admitted. Voted the above or so much as the President thinks proper be printed in the newspapers." Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[73] The appointing of an assistant superintendent was probably devised in response to questions regarding admission and acquiring tickets brought up at the September 2nd, 1829 quarterly meeting. A vote was passed requesting the President and Committee of Observation "to devise some method whereby visitors may be admitted to the Museum in a manner less burdensome to the Members than that at present practiced, and to report thereon at the next meeting." At the next meeting on November 4th, the committee was unable to provide any other method, and the subject tabled.

1834, this position was terminated in favor of a custodian chosen by the President from the membership and paid no more than twenty dollars per month.[74]

The Society also tried to increase national exposure for the collection at this time. During the March 6th, 1832, President William Fettyplace read a letter from Jonathan H. Jenks of the Boston Athenaeum pertaining to a request to publish "in numbers either weekly or semimonthly a popular & scientific description of curiosities in the Hall of this society, with engravings of some of the various articles."[75] A motion of Joseph Ropes that unanimously passed stated "That the President and other officers of this Society be requested to aid Mr. Jenks in the accomplishment of his proposed undertaking, by granting him and the Gentlemen he may employ, free access to the Hall and its curiosities at such times as they may deem proper."[76] Unfortunately, no article or series appears to have been produced.

At the January 7th, 1835 meeting, George Osborne stepped down as superintendent, and the Rev. Charles Grafton Page, M.D. (1812-1869), a naturalist and a founding member of the Essex County Natural History Society at the time, was elected to replace him at a salary of seventy-five dollars per year (a reduction of twenty-five

[74] By the January 1834 meeting, however, the election of this position was changed by a vote "that hereafter all persons, members of the society, who may me desirous of the office of assistant superintendent shall make application for the same in writing to the President & Committee and that the name shall be laid before the society at their annual meeting or whenever a vacancy may take place in said office." At the next meeting, on March 5th, per a motion of Dudley Pickman, it was voted unanimously, "That the President & Committee be authorized from time to time at their discretion, to employ some person or persons being members of this Society, to attend at the Museum such time as they may judge best, between the first day of May to the first day of November, who shall admit visitors free of expence [sic] but under such regulations as the society or its officers, shall from time to time establish," terminating the position of assistant superintendant. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

dollars).[77] The Society also voted "that the Superintendant be requested to take some public notice of the donations to this society Museum with the approval of the President."[78] This appears to be the seeds of the last published museum catalogue. During the July 8th, 1837, meeting it was voted "that as there is 371 articles not on the catalogues in this museum they be printed in a supplement to the catalogues." The new superintendent, Henry Wheatland, who replaced Page after his short tenure, crafted a supplement to the 1831 catalogue, published in December 1837, containing additional objects and journals that had been added to the museum over this six-year span.[79]

The Introduction to this new volume, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Articles in the Museum, Journals &c. of the East India Marine Society* states:

> Since the publication of the Catalogue in 183l, new members have been admitted to the Society, the board of officers have several times been changed and by the zeal and activity of its members, and the liberality of its friends, many additions have been made to the collection of curiosities, both natural and artificial; it was therefore deemed expedient that a Supplement be printed, containing only such additions and alterations as have occurred [sic].[80]

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[77] Page is best known for his work and inventions related to electricity, specifically his induction coil and circuit breaker patents and attempts at electromagnetic locomotion. He was a professor at Columbian College in Washington from 1844-1849 (today George Washington University) and worked as an examiner at the United States Patent Office from 1840 until his death. In addition, Page, a trained ventriloquist, wrote a work exposing the fraudulent practices of spiritualists. For more on Page, see "Art. 1—Charles Grafton Page," *The American Journal of Science and Art*, Second Series, Vol. 48, No. 142 (July 1869): 1-17 and Robert C. Post, *Physics, Patents and Politics: Biography of Charles Grafton Page* (New York: Science History Publications, 1976).

[78] Ibid.

[79] Between the July 8th meeting and the printing of the catalogue, and additional sixty objects came into the museum, raising the total to 431 published in the catalogue. Only fourteen journals had been added, though, during this time.

[80] Following this section is a new section entitled "Extracts from the Records," which records the acts passed since 1831 regarding an assistant superintendent, custodian, and the creation of a supplement. The Society's funds rose to $9,533.58, $7.012.21 invested in 74 shares of East India Marine Hall Corporation stock.

Unlike the prior two catalogues, the Society's by-laws, articles, and incorporation were not reprinted in this volume, and all listing of members, officers, and journals pick-up where the 1831 catalogue left off.[81]

During Wheatland's tenure, the East India Marine Society museum was at the apex of its tenure, and he took his job seriously. In the year after the publication of the Supplement, he undertook a thorough examination and modification of East India Marine Hall. At the September 6th, 1838 meeting, he read a detailed report of the new arrangement of the gallery (Appendix D, Document 5). Wheatland notes:

> Time, the great destroyer, had been making extensive ravages; the moth & corroding rust who, in their inventive gambols, do much serious injury to man, had been permitted to sport with boundless freedom. Thus being the state of affairs the Committee of Observation deemed it expedient that something should be done, and that quickly, to prevent further destruction. Accordingly in May I attempted to make a thorough cleansing of this Augean stable & devoted several weeks to the undertaking, aided at times by one or more assistants.[82]

Wheatland took all objects out of their cases for cleaning, and changed the places of many. He notes that this was done, "in order to bring together such articles as bore a resemblance to each other or were used for the same purposes in the economy of life by the different nations, such as the cooking utensils, shoes, hats, warlike instruments etc.

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[81] In 1849, Willis Earle, Curator of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, wrote a letter dated October 6th addressed to "the Secretary to the American Oriental Society" accompanying a copy of their catalogue and the last two annual Reports, "which will give to the members of your Society an idea of the nature of the Institution and the liberal principles on which it is conducted." East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 2. Willis, "feeling assured that an interest will be felt in such an Institution," then requests a copy of the East India Marine Society "journal" for their collection "on account of the interesting nature of their contributions." Also, on September 8th, 1846, the Lyceum of Natural History in NYC acknowledged receipt of the Society's catalogue, 1837 Supplement, and a copy of the Description of an Ancient Carved Box. It is signed by John R. Redfield, the Corresponding Secretary and was sent to Henry Wheatland. Correspondence, ByLaws, Minutes, and other papers, 1802-1869. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 3.

[82] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

etc. The natural productions are in like manner brought together, such as the corals, specimens of the different wood & fruits, fishes reptiles etc."[83] Apparently, Bass, Ward, and Osborne had not fully applied Linnaeus' artificial system, and Wheatland appears to have corrected their deficiencies as best he could. In addition, he notes that visitors had damaged many of the figures of Chinese and Indian merchants. As a result, he decided to encase the newly carved figure of a Canton merchant by Joseph True (1785-1873) of Salem, commissioned to display China trade merchant Abiel Abbot Low's (1811-1893) donation of a full dress.[84] This was done partly "to prevent any injury or defacement that may arise from the exposure to the air, dust," but mostly to protect it from "the excessive handling by visitors; A habit to which the Yankies [sic] are very much addicted and one which is said by some peculiar to this genius."[85]

The Society heeded some of Wheatland's words, and after this report was read, the President and Committee were authorized to "take such measures for the deposit of umbrellas and cains [sic] of visitors as they shall think necessary."[86] Also, during the March 6th, 1839 meeting, a vote was passed "That the President and committee of Obs. Be authorised to adopt such further regulations with regard to the admission of visitors to the Museum, as they may deem necessary and expedient and report their doings at the

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Lahikainen states that True was Salem's leading carver after McIntire's death. Lahikainen, *Samuel McIntire*, 46. Like his predecessor, True was paid twelve dollars for carving the head and hands of a figure per a receipt in the Society's archives. Low's donation letter from Canton addressed to East India Marine Society President Nathaniel Leverett Rogers on January 6th, 1838, states he sent "a Mandarin's dress and appendages complete," via the ship *Asia*, Capt. Cale from NY. Correspondence Regarding Donations of Objects, 1799-1838. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, folder 5. The dress is a blue silk coat that is heavily embroidered with flowers and many dragons, black crepe pleated band sleeves, and brass buttons.

[85] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

[86] Ibid.

next stated meeting" in response to "frequent depredations being committed by the visitors to the museum on articles."[87] At the next meeting, May 1st, 1839, free admission tickets, to be signed by members, were created, "to relive the members from the tax of accompanying visitors personally to the doors of the museum and there pass them over to the doorkeeper as was required under the old regulations—and at the same time to afford every practicable facility to strangers to gain access to the museum."[88] (fig. 95) Ten years later, the Society voted unanimously to bar children under fourteen from the Hall unless accompanied by a parent or guardian "to take proper care of them."[89]

Whitehill notes that "the arrangement of objects made by Dr. Wheatland lasted for twenty years without material alteration. As the great period of additions to the

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid. The report notes "a blank space left on the face of each of them for the member to insert his name. They then become his private property and can be given out by no one but himself & when so give out for the admission of visitors, they will be taken in by the doorkeeper who will deposit them in a box on which are the letters of the alphabet & members will find their tickets again in the parting of the box indicated by the initial letter of their surname, the doorkeeper in this case will have no authority to deliver to any person other than those whose names are written upon them under the forfeiture of being immediately removed from his place. He has it also expressly enjoined upon him not to admit any visitors who are unaccompanyed [sic] by a member of the society unless they are provided with one of those tickets or with a written request from a member to admitt [sic] them." Whitehill notes, "This was a fine opening for naughty small boys, who would obtain tickets from members under pretense of wishing to visit the museum themselves, and would then sell them to strangers for small sums of money. On becoming aware of this the members of the society had the passes stamped 'Free.' In 1851 a similar difficulty occurred when railroad companies began advertising in the Lowell and Haverhill papers that excursion tickets for parties which they were organizing included free admission to the East India Marine Museum. That was dealt with by a vote of 3 September 1851 which provided that all large parties, whether excursions or military companies or children from public schools, would require written permission from a member of the committee or the president of the society to visit the museum. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 51-52. It was also voted at the 1839 meeting that "the key of the museum be taken from its present place in the Oriental Ins. office and deposited in the Marine Ins. office." Perhaps the requirements for admission were too strict. A comical reaction comes in a letter from John T. Morse to Henry Wheatland on August 8th, 1866: "I propose to go to Salem tomorrow afternoon unless prevented by the weather to see the Asiatic Society's Museum etc. etc. and expect to be there at 4 ¼ to ½ P.M.—Now if you are at all inconvenienced, don't you think of me—possibly we might get in by a simple request, especially if accompanied by a full Oriental Salaam." Letters received, 1864-1867. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 3, Folder 5.

[89] Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

museum was coming to a close with the decline of Salem's foreign trade, fewer and fewer gifts could be expected."[90] Thirty years after resigning as superintendent, Wheatland and others assisted John Robinson in recording and documenting the history of the East India Marine Society. Robinson enlisted the help of fellow Peabody Academy of Science curator James Henry Emerton (1847-1931) to craft drawings of the interior of East India Marine Hall as it existed prior to 1867, from four perspectives—facing north, south, east, and west.[91] In addition, in 1890, Peabody Academy of Science assistant and librarian Arthur Robinson Stone produced a similar set with an overhead schematic of the Hall, which contained a key identifying objects on display.[92] Wheatland's reminiscences of his tenure at the museum from 1837 to 1848 were the primary basis for all these illustrations. Combined with the current state of the Hall at the PEM, which can still be accessed from the original staircase that nineteenth-century visitors used and is organized in a similar fashion, it is possible to create an accurate reconstruction of this gallery at its apex.

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[90] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 47. At this time, Wheatland states that museum contained "a small yet valuable library consisting of manuscript volumes of Sea Journals of the members, books on travels, the natural sciences etc., and containing about 200 volumes." "History of Essex County institutions," undated [circa 1842]. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 8, Folder 11, 26-27. Based on Wheatland's manuscript, the East India Marine Society' library was the smallest in comparison to the other learned societies in the vicinity at this time, with the Essex County Natural History Society holding 300 volumes and the Salem Athenaeum at the top of the list with 9,000 volumes. Seven years later, in a letter to Prof. C.C. Jewett, Wheatland puts the Society's library at around 300 volumes "some 20 or 30 of them are…Journals of the voyages of the members," still the smallest of the local societies (with the Athenaeum up to 11,200 volumes in 1849). Letters written, 1841-1890. Henry Wheatland Papers, Letters Received 1844-1846. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 5, Folder 9.

[91] Oral accounts of other individuals, such as George D. Phippen, were used to construct theses drawings. Emerton was known for his natural history illustrations and his books on arachnids, and previously worked in the museum of the Boston Society of Natural History and the Essex Institute.

[92] Stone was John Robinson's cousin.

Once entering the East India Marine Hall building from Essex Street, a visitor would walk down a narrow corridor before reaching the foot of a staircase on his/her left, which still is accessible for contemporary patrons (fig. 96). At the base of the first set of stairs, nothing was visible apart from a landing, but once a visitor reached the top and made a 180-degree turn up a second staircase, the enormity of this expansive Hall was palpable (fig. 97). Light filled the 100 by 45 foot room, and though there were wall and floor cases with many objects, its twenty-three foot high ceiling made the gallery airy. Almost immediately you would feel surrounded by the sea. Looking left towards the south end of the Hall was a birchbark canoe and sealskin kayak perched above floor cases and Kuka'ilimoku, and beyond the five tall, arched windows you could see Salem's wharves, ships, and the harbor (fig. 98).[93] To the north, two models of Malay trading ships hovered above identical floor cases (fig. 99). Just behind, the Laocoön, flanked by "Neptune's goblets", wrestled with a great sea serpent in front of seven more arched windows that looked out to Essex Street, revealing Salem's commercial businesses that supported the port's mercantile ventures.

The East Indies also greeted you right away (fig. 100). Seated figures of Raj Kissen Mitter and Rajinder Dutt (fig. 101), the most prominent Indian agents in the 1830s and 1840s, flanked either side of the staircase; a larger group of East Indian figures in the

[93] Society President Charles M. Endicott notes that the museum in 1855 was "the last abiding place of '*Koila Moku*,' the god of medicine, with his capacious mouth and star-like teeth, from the immense pile of human bones, 'sufficient to fill Faneuil Hall' with which he was surrounded in his native home, the Island of Hawaii, one of the Sandwich Island group." Endicott is quoting Prince's letter to the Society accompanying his donation of this sculpture in 1846. Endicott also notes, "He is the last of the gods on these islands, and curiously illustrates the moral degradation and mechanical skill of these children of nature previous to their conversion to Christianity." Endicott then proclaims "In fact, it would be an easier task to describe what is not, rather than what is, seen within this Hall." Endicott, "East India Marine Society, Salem," 63.

center of the floor encircling the standing carving of Nusserwanjee, all enclosed by a low iron railing; standing figures of Chinese and Indian merchants were positioned in front of the north windows guarding "Neptune's goblets"; and the Laocoön was partially obscured by the hexagonal case containing Joseph True's Chinese mandarin figure.[94] Over Dutt and Mitter's heads and the stairwell was the palanquin, used by the Society as a public display of their worldly mercantile success through global objects. Just in front was a box containing an eagle noted in the *Christian Watchmen* as "the bold *eagle*, as if ready to soar to the sun," an allusion to American ascendency in the world, but countered overhead by the Biblical parable presented in the *Death of Abel*.[95]

The majority of the collection was displayed on the east and west walls (fig. 100 and 102). There were eight chimney flues in the Hall, but only four of them had active fireplaces. All were used to display objects. The active one's held Cornè's *Canton Factories* and *View of Cape Town* on the east wall, and his depiction of a Native American encampment and Samuel Bartoll's *Landing of the Pilgrims* covered the western fireplaces.[96] Between the chimneys were mahogany and glass bookcases that held the Society's books, shells, and minerals.[97] Mantel cases above the two fireplaces on

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[94] Endicott described this arrangement in 1855. "Here you may see the grave and dignified mandarin of China in his splendid robes, looking complacently, as it were, upon a group of natives, of different castes, from Calcutta, seated upon the floor, after the custom of their country, and surrounded by birds of the most gorgeous and exquisite plumage, from the upper provinces of Bengal and different parts of India." Ibid, 62-63. For more on the figures of Mitter and Dutt, see Bean, *Yankee India*, 215-216, 218-221.

[95] "East-India Marine Hall, Salem," 109.

[96] The minutes for January 1st, 1823 note "Voted-That the Committee be authorized to draw on the Treasurer for twelve dollars expended by them on cost of a picture of Mr. Sam. Bartoll." Records/Minutes 1799-1824. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 1.

[97] Whitehill notes, "According to the *Visitor's Catalogue of the Museum of the Peabody Academy of Science* (Salem, 1879), p. iv, the mahogany cases along the western wall were built especially for use in East India Marine Hall in 1825, while the cases along the eastern wall had been brought from the society's

the east wall contained insects, and the standing floor cases held a mix of natural and artificial curiosities. Perched on top of many wallcases were busts of American patriots like John Adams; European philosophers, and Classical deities such as Apollo and Diana.

Portraits of Eastern merchants such as Eshing were exhibited alongside these Western objects, as were Southeast Asian religious sculptures that stood on top of the wall cases.[98] Many of these statuettes were "Bengalese idols," as Bean notes, crafted in "a more abstract traditional style" than the human figures in the Hall.[99] Among this ensemble was a small painted image of Jagannatha, "'Lord of the World,' whose worship is centered at the great temple complex in Puri, Orissa" (fig. 103); "Jagaddhatri, a local form of the widely venerated goddess Durga,…depicted as a yellow-skinned goddess in red garments on her lion mount above the vanquished elephant-demon"; and "an image of the goddess Parvati enthroned, holding her infant son Ganesha, accompanied by her consort Shiva and an attendant carrying her other son Kartikeya."[100] With the simple title of "idol" printed in the catalogue, the true meaning of these complex figures was likely

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earlier quarters. The same source, in describing the museum before 1867, mentions that 'the dried head of a Feejee islander in one of the cases was thought at this time to be hardly a proper object for public exhibition, and a curtain was therefore hung before it, which those who dared could raise.' The 'dried head' was actually that of a Maori from New Zealand." Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 141 footnote 17. This is likely number 3398, "Embalmed head of a New Zealand Chief," donated by William Dana in 1826. Mary Malloy notes in relation to these heads "Scarce in the late-eighteenth century, these heads became very popular souvenirs in the nineteenth century…and Melville used such heads to dramatic effect in both *Typee* and *Moby Dick*, where it was remarked that the New Bedford market was 'overstocked…with heads to be sure.' Malloy, "Sailors' Souvenirs at the East India Marine Hall," 95.

[98] Some of these figures were donated by Ephraim Emmerton, an employee of Joseph Peabody on the *George* and other vessels bound for Calcutta. Bean, *Yankee India*, 189.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid. Bean notes that images of Durga, "gained favor in early-nineteenth-century Bengal," and the figure of Rama was, "probably made for worship on Rama's birthday, the day on which Bengali merchants usually began their year's accounts." Ibid.

lost to visitors.[101] While Bean believes that this exotic, heathen message allowed visitors to, "feel comfortably affirmed in their convictions of moral and cultural supremacy, innocently unaware that their understanding was superficial or distorted," many were exhibited on the same plane as Western objects.[102] Perched above a viewer's head, they imparted a notion of reverence and human frailty in the presence of a supernatural force rather than Western cultural supremacy.

Portraits of revered mariners, merchants, and members, and other American Grand Tour paintings, were hung directly above and behind the busts and small statues on the west side of the Hall.[103] Visitors viewing these works could reenact the pilgrimage of their worldly contemporaries. On the eastern wall dummy flues were a few of Tanner's patriotic prints on the left and British prints of India on the right, both topped by crossed fans. An intricate pattern of criss-crossed spears and clubs from the Pacific Islands were arranged above the bookcases on the eastern wall.[104] Geography played a small part in the organization of the Hall, as Asian merchants and deities were displayed on the eastern wall, while American and European portraits and busts, and classical gods, were on the western wall. This system was not binding, though, as examples of Eastern and Western

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid, 189-190.
[103] Charles M. Endicott notes: "As the visitor enters the spacious hall of the museum where the Society holds its meetings, his attention is arrested by an admirable full-length portrait of its late president, Doctor Bowditch. Here he still seems to preside in person over a favorite scene of his labors, infusing his own life and energy into every department of the Society. Beside this, there are several other portraits of our most distinguished merchants and statesmen of former times, the whole of which, taken in connection, 'affording a proof alike of the enterprise, taste, and liberality, of such of the citizens of Salem as have followed a seafaring life.'" Endicott, "East India Marine Society, Salem," 63-64.
[104] Whitehill notes that the thirty-foot curved table used during meetings and dinners stood opposite the stairway in the west side of the hall, but is not pictured in Emerton's drawings. It is, however, sketched in Stone's overhead rendering of the gallery. Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 48.

art were mixed throughout the Hall. The gallery was also anchored on the north and south end by two sculptures that imparted mythological or divine significance—the Laocoön Group, and Kuka'ilimoku. Together, the vast cultural ensemble that some scholars have characterized as a chaotic mix was in fact an organized display of the natural, cultural, and spiritual world bound by water and open to visual inspection through the efforts of American mercantilism.

Society members passing time in the gallery, frequently including the custodian, heightened the global voyage around East India Marine Hall. They were usually willing to interpret objects for interested patrons, and in some cases, provided a more personal experience—a guided tour. One visitor who partook of this option, after climbing the stairs to the Hall, immediately felt the watery world before him. He was "transported in a moment to far-off tropic lands, where palms are waving in air, serpents and strange and terrible beasts lurking in jungles; or coral reefs were rising on the surface of shining seas,—for one is, in fancy, afloat on oceans of the Orient, where 'spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,' or where the merchant lades his vessel with wealth of Ormus or of Ind."[105] When examining the group of figures in the middle of the gallery "so life-like that they seem almost ready to speak to us in their unknown tongue," he engages the custodian, an "ancient mariner…first a sailor, and then a sea-captain for more than fifty

[105] Unidentified newspaper clipping entitled "A Day in Old Salem, By a Wayfarer," Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 1, 1875-79. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. The clipping does not contain the newspaper header, but since the author mentions that he was in Salem during the 250th anniversary celebration of the landing of Gov. John Winthrop, that would date his visit to September 18th, 1878. At this point, the Peabody Academy of Science had reorganized East India Marine Hall and more material was included in the gallery, but still the mainstays of the collection were visible.

years."[106] He asks him if he has been to India, and if the figures are accurate "natural" representations. Answering in a language all his own, "provincial and original, and not arranged according to rules of grammar or rhetoric," the Society member exclaims, "'Natural! I guess you'd think so!...Bless you! I've talked with that fellow many a time,' pointing to a snake-charmer. 'And them, too, that is there in front with the beads, I've seen many a time saying their prayers; and that is one of their priests. They call him a Brahmin.'"[107]

After inquiring as to where the custodian had ventured to and if it was hard to now be a landlubber, he replies:

> "Well, I'd like to see any place I haven't been in. I've been in India and the South Sea Islands, and I was just as well known in the Sandwich Islands as I am in Salem to-day." "Missionaries? Yes, indeed, know lots of 'em…Thirteen years ago I made a voyage to Cape Horn. We was drifted into the icebergs; nothing but ice all round us,—great mountains. Two hundred forty-two days I wasn't heard from in Salem; and then I made up my mind, if we ever got home, I'd never set foot on ship again."[108]

After being satisfied with the custodian's reply "a satisfaction in thinking that the captain had found so fit a place in which to rest, living over his former voyages," the visitor concludes his global voyage around the Hall and reflects on his unique experience. "Leaving the ancient mariner and all his treasures of foreign lands and many climes, I took my way through streets of stately and slumbrous houses, monuments of the old

[106] This custodian is likely Joseph Hammond (1806-1890). An obituary published in the *Visitor* of September 3rd, 1890 notes "The death of Captain Joseph Hammond, so many years associated with the museum in East India Marine Hall in Salem, removes one of those unique figures for which Salem has ever been famous. It is very doubtful if another could be found who would combine all of the interesting characteristics and be possessed of the charming gift of telling a sailor's yarn in the peculiarly talking style of Captain Hammond. His audience came from every quarter of the globe and each went away with a pleasant memory of the old Salem sea captain. His death was quiet and fitting the long and active life." Hammond continued in his role as custodian for the Peabody Academy of Science when formed in 1867.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

commercial prosperity, to where the sea itself rolls, as it rolled when these precious freights came over its waters, and was soon revelling in that 'odor of brine,' so grateful to the inlander."[109]

After the publication of the 1837 Supplement, all cataloguing was done internally. The precipitous decline in donations to the Society was mirrored by the state of East India Marine Hall. Despite his conflict of interest in his duties with the East India Marine Society and the Essex County Natural History Society, Henry Wheatland had done his part to take care of the museum displays. In one of his final reports to the Society on November 4th, 1846, he notes:

> During the past summer the wet preparations have been overhauled, the bottles replenished with alcohol, the mouths cemented over & painted so that they will need very little if any attention for several years. Some of the other departments of your valuable collection will by another season require considerable time & labor to be spent in the rearrangement of—but at present they are not in a suffering condition—all that is necessary to the preservation of the specimens have been attended to by myself aided very much by your recording secretary Capt. Saul who has devoted much time in the accomplishment of the duty assigned.[110]

Wheatland's successor and friend George Dean Phippen (1815-1895), the first librarian of the Essex Institute, does not appear to have been up to the job.[111] In a January 27th,

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[109] Ibid. The custodian then gives the visitor a lengthy and in-depth interpretation of the carved Heaven and Hell rosary bead, "Among the curiosities (not Oriental)…which seems to excite more wonder than any other…Not usually enjoying showmen's explanations, I should have declined the offer, had not a friend previously charged me to be sure not to lose the ancient mariner's explanation. From long poring over the mysteries of this representation, he seems to have caught the spirit of the artist who fashioned it in religious devotion; and, though no Catholic, he reverences this revelation as though it were to him all that it must I have been to the faith which first inspired it." The visitor's allusion to his friend's mentioning the rosary bead attests to the object's public notoriety. Ibid.

[110] Donation lists, 1820-1862. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH 88 Box 13, Folder 7.

[111] Phippen's father, Hardy Phippen, was a ship captain who sailed to the East Indies and navigated the vessel Nathaniel Bowditch used to chart Salem Harbor in the early 1800s. He worked in the counting room of Fiske Allen after leaving school, and afterwards as a bookkeeper and cashier at the Salem Bank until his

1841 letter from Francis Putnam to Wheatland, who was traveling to Para at the time, Putnam asks "how would it do now you are away from home to write Geo. D. Phippen & advise him to learn to prepare, stuff & put up etc. I say now you are away because I think you can do it with it a better grace by letter than by word of mouth & he has learned enough out of Bank hours to attend to things of that kind & I have no doubt he would like it after a little practice."[112] Still, Phippen remained as superintendent until 1855.

At this point, the Society decided to terminate the post of superintendent given the state of their funds. Two years later, however, Society member Thomas Saul (1787-1875) assumed the duties of this role until the museum was sold.[113] Saul was the quintessential "old-salt", but while surly in his demeanor, appears to have endeared himself to visitors. He was one of the members who had a great affinity for the museum, and when retired from sea, Saul spent a considerable amount of time at the Hall. Caroline King remembers him as a, "gruff and surly old janitor…who, having an especial esteem for my father, was always good to me," and every time she visited the museum, Saul, "went through his never-failing ceremony of presenting me with a slip of sandal wood cut from a huge log

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death. Phippen was a member of both the Essex County Natural History Society and the Essex Historical Society before they merged in 1845, and was a floriculture specialist. "The Late Geo. D. Phippen, Memorial Adopted by the Essex Institute of Salem," *Salem News*, January 8th, 1896.

[112] Henry Wheatland Archives. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# 464, Box 1, Folder 4.

[113] Saul's father was born on the Isle of Jersey and came to Salem in 1770. Thomas Saul went to Fiji in 1809 on the *Active* with William Putnam Richardson and Benjamin Vanderford. He was master of several ships in the East Indies trade, such as the brig *Java* around 1822. When he retired from the sea he was toll gatherer on the Salem turnpike and a constable at the court house for the last 30 years of his life. According to an unidentified article in a scrapbook in the Phillips Library, "A quaint and picturesque character was Capt. Saul, who had charge of the East India Marine Hall, or, as it was commonly called, the 'Museum.' He was rather short in stature, wore a stiff black satin neck stock with a 'dickey' that projected nearly up to the middle of his cheeks; he wore a last year's stove pipe hat, winter and summer, and a black frock coat. But the most distinguishing feature about him was his countenance, oh how stern; if the very heavens fell, I do not think that such an unlooked for occurrence would have disturbed the rigidity of that countenance, which looked as though it would consign all evil doers to suffer the torments of the damned."

that stood near the door, or a sweet-smelling Tonquin Bean."[114] Saul was unpaid in his position, a reflection of his love for the museum and devotion to the Society's benevolent aspirations. At the November 1865 quarterly meeting, it was unanimously voted to pay him a gratuity of one hundred dollars, "in consideration of the faithful services," at a time where the Society had very little money.[115]

Saul was not a trained doctor or caretaker but did his best to maintain the museum's displays during its final years under the Society's stewardship. In his first Superintendent Report dated November 4th, 1857, he notes:

> during the Spring & Summer the Articles in the Cabinet, has been carefully examined, and all those, especially of a perishable nature, has been properly attended to,—there is however some of the Cases, that requires some further attention—but those, being articles <u>not</u> liable to inquery [sic], may be attended to at some future period. The large number of visitors during the last summer months, prevented me in part from accomplishing <u>all</u> I should wish and intended to do.[116]

While the Society's funds were diminishing, its attendance was not. Saul would annually examine and attended to objects "more especially those articles of a perishable nature," and would add alcohol and other chemicals to jarred specimens that "by constant evaporation is subject to decay."[117] He also reorganized some displays, noting in November 1860 "I have made some different arrangements in the Cabinet during the past

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[114] King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 29. Martha Nichols, granddaughter of Society member George Nichols, recalls that she and her sister were "in mortal terror of the janitor, Captain Saul, who glided silently about, every now and then saying to us in a sepulchral tone, 'Don't make so much noise, little girls,' when we had not dared to speak above a whisper. Martha Nichols, "Chapter VII. With the Children," in *A Salem Shipmaster and Merchant: The Autobiography of George Nichols*, Edited with Introduction and Notes and Concluding Chapters by His Granddaughter Martha Nichols (Boston: The Four Seas Company, 1921), 112.
[115] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.
[116] Donation lists, 1820-1862. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH 88 Box 13, Folder 7.
[117] Ibid.

year, by presenting them in more conspicous [sic] places—in making those alterations, I have by the kindness of one of the Gentlemen of the Committee of Observations, be as much assisted—The Articles of the Cabinet is now in quite good preservation, and with care will continue so."[118]

While the museum's collections and displays were properly maintained, by 1860 Saul's reports become more somber in respect to donations:

> Gentlemen, since the last annuall [sic] meeting very few donations has been received—The only article added to the Cabinett [sic], is one, from Capt. Joseph Hammond, who presented to the Museum, the Streinur [sic] or part of the mouth of the Grey whale from, California, this is all the donation we have received during the past year.[119]

Saul's November 6th, 1861 report records only the donation of a portrait of Henry Elkins, and the following year he acknowledges that the Essex Institute, and not the East India Marine Society Museum, was regarded as Salem's premier institution to which to donate objects. "Since the Plummer Institute has been erected," he wrote, "I presume most of the donations formerly received by this Society have been presented to that Institution."[120] Saul lists only four donations to the Society, and in his final extant report in the archives dated November 4th, 1863, he notes eight objects and the same brief statement on the state of the museum mentioned during prior meetings.

Regardless of its condition or donations, the East India Marine Society was referred to as a preeminent Salem attraction in these later years. In the final days of the

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[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid..
[120] Ibid. The Essex Institute was located in Plummer Hall, a short distance east on Essex Street from East India Marine Hall, from 1857 until it merged with the Peabody Museum of Salem in 1992. At the time, Plummer Hall was owned by the Salem Athenaeum, who sold it to the Essex Institute in 1905.

museum's tenure under the Society, an individual named "L.P.H" tells the *Sailors' Magazine & Seamen's Friend* in 1866:

> The Museum is a substantial granite building, very well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended, as a depository of rare curiosities, mainly from the East Indies, about six thousand of which it now contains, very conveniently arranged for exhibition. We spent an hour here very pleasantly, and shall long remember the kind attentions of Captain Paul, who has been connected with the institution more than forty years. We advise our friends who go to Salem not to fail to visit this interesting and instructive collection.[121]

L.H.P. did not need to advise others to visit, though. From 1799 to 1867, they came in droves.

[121] *Sailors' Magazine & Seamen's Friend*, December 1st, 1866: 111-112. In the February 1st, 1867 edition, a correction is printed for Thomas Saul, who is referred to as Paul in the prior issue.

CHAPTER SIX:

"A subject of wonder and pride to our citizens": Visitor Experiences at the East India Marine Society Museum

Eleven guestbooks in the Society' archives, like the original manuscript object catalogue in the Phillips Library, are equally valuable forms of material culture that reveal a wealth of information on antebellum American museology (fig. 104). Ranging in size and shape, but almost all similar to an old-fashioned hotel registry, these books contain the names and residences of over 75,000 museum patrons who visited from 1827 to 1867.[1] During this time period, covering approximately 2/3 of the Society's ownership of the museum, roughly 1,900 people visited the museum annually with the highest attendance coming in the 1830s and 1840s (Appendix C, Table 2 and Chart 3). The decline in visitors afterwards was not a sign of the museum's decreased stature, but rather of its finances as the Society chose to close its doors during the winter months. In addition, Salem residents were instructed not to sign the guestbooks in the 1840s.[2]

No scholar has previously examined these guest registers. My careful reading of these volumes has uncovered patrons previously unknown (see Appendix E), many of whom were prominent figures in American history such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., Commodore Matthew Perry, Horace Greely, and Samuel Johnson.[3] American painters,

[1] The last book covering the final months of the East India Marine Society museum was a blank Society journal.

[2] If Salemites accidentally signed the book, their names was crossed out and the words "your names are not wanted" written besides them.

[3] In his memoir on Samuel Johnson, Samuel Longfellow surmises "He must often have found his way to the old East Indian Museum, which the sea-captains had filled with curiosities from Calcutta or Bombay,—such wonders to a boy's eye. One is tempted to ask whether it is to that group of painted figures, presenting the various castes and trades of India, that we owe the first impulse of interest whose outcome was the

including Asher B. Durand and Rubens Peale (1784-1865), passed though the museum, as did sculptors John Frazee (1790-1852) and Horatio Greenough (1805-1852).[4] The visitor logs also contain a litany of names unfamiliar to most people, such as the Indian author Joguth Chunder Gangooly, and the presence of Chinese and Arabic characters among other languages contribute to the books' global character (fig. 104). The identity of many museum patrons are unknown until further research is done, but in our every expanding digital scholarly universe, some of them can now be reclaimed, and it is hoped that more will come to light with future inquiry.[5]

'Oriental Religions.' More certainly we might say that the collections in natural science there were the beginning of the interest in geology and mineralogy, which was strong through his later years. I will not venture to hint that his interest in science received any occult impulse from his having been born in the very house where the astronomer, Nathaniel Bowditch, first opened his eyes upon the sky. Samuel Longfellow, "Memoir," in Samuel Johnson, *Lectures, Essays, and Sermons* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883), 2.

[4] Frazee wrote "Sculptor" next to his name.

[5] The guestbooks also record American and East India Marine Society history. When Caroline King and her friend cut out the names of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren from the books, it caused a great stir. In regards to this episode, Whitehill recounts, "An anxious note appears in Captain William Story's resolution, offered at the 3 September 1834 meeting: 'That the members of this Society disavow all knowledge of the individual who erased the name of Andrew Jackson from the album of this Society, and that each of us will use all the means in our power to ascertain the person, or persons, who committed such a dishonourable act against this society,' which failed to pass by a vote of 13 to 11…The *Alexandria Gazette* of September 10, 1834 notes '*Petty Mailgnity.*—During President Jackson's visit to Salem, He accepted of an invitation to visit the East India Museum in that place, and while there, was requested to comply with the usual custom of visitors by placing his signature in a book kept for that purpose. Recently his name has been *erased from that book,* and the word *good* exultingly inserted at the end of the erasure.' The *Salem Gazette* published a letter from an individual named 'Lunar' on September 9, 1834 which states: 'The Tory papers during the last week have been emptying their vials of wrath upon the members of this Society in consequence of a stroke of the pen, not an erasure, being drawn across the President's name, and the word 'Good' inserted at the end, upon their album, in which thousands of visitors register their names and have access to the same. The Commercial Advertiser came out on Wednesday morning (the same evening the society were to hold their stated meeting) with an abusive and unwarrantable attack upon the members; altho' they say '*it may not* be attributable to a majority of the Society,' and then insult them by instructing them in their duty, which if they failed to perform, their names were to be published in 'glaring capitals, and they were to be hissed and booed at in the streets.' After viewing the motives of the writer the question may then naturally be asked, who, of the thousands that visit the MUSEUM, would be most likely to commit the act. *No* woman or child would dare do it. *No* member of the Society would wich [sic] to disgrace his own. *No* Whig would affix the title of 'GOOD' to Andrew Jackson. The natural conclusion is, then, that it was done by some one for political effect and to get up an excitement. If that is the case, there is no one more likely than the author of the abusive communication to commit the deed.' The *Gazette* also

Using these names and dates, I have amassed an abundance of personal accounts, newspaper columns, and works of fiction pertaining to the East India Marine Society museum. These documents, many of which have long been forgotten, provide a window into the minds of these early museumgoers and clearly illustrate that all segments of antebellum life—from the slave trader Isaac Franklin (1789-1846) of New Orleans to the abolitionist Rush R. Sloane (1828-1908) of Ohio—visited East India Marine Hall. Today, this type of visitor feedback is helpful to museum staff when designing and assessing exhibitions and programs. For this study, nineteenth century patron accounts are enormously valuable to balance our understanding of the Society against their internal mission. These examples and many others from all parts of the United States and across the globe clearly illustrate that the East India Marine Society museum was not simply a Salem institution. On the contrary, it was woven into the fabric of American life.

Finamore notes "as originally conceived, visiting the collection was intended as a personal experience, emphasizing the direct links from object to sailor to viewer. With the Colonial yoke recently shaken, they invited others to visit, observe and recognize the worldliness they had acquired with independence."[6] While East India Marine Society members often mediated visitor's experiences at the museum, patrons were able to walk around the Hall on their own. A copy of the museum catalogue was always available for

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published a short piece in the same edition that stated 'The gross, wanton, an unprovoked insults heaped by the Tory papers in this town upon the East India Marine Society, are really somewhat more than common human patience can be expected to endure. There is not a more respectable, liberal, enlightened body of men in New England, than those connected with that society, and yet they are treated like a gang of pickpockets, by public papers of their own town—a town which their munificent public spirit has adorned and benefitted as much as their calumniators have disgraced it.'" Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 137 footnote 8.

[6] Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 42.

consultation, crafted to impart object information viewed through the Society's lens (fig. 105).[7]

Many visitors, like Society members, gave an Orientalist depiction of their experiences at the museum. Several accounts are tinged with Anglo-Euro centric views of certain global cultures—particularly those from the Pacific Islands—as "savage" or "barbaric." Almost all visitors had no knowledge of the multiple meanings imbued within certain objects, nor were they conscious of the symbolism reflected by many. Still, they obtained a more in-depth study of the world, and America's place in it, through this object-based epistemology. Visitors entered the Hall with preconceived notions of other cultures based on published travel narratives and print images, but when confronted with material evidence, some changed their opinions of other people. Many nineteenth century museum patrons acted like their modern day counterparts, focusing on objects for which they had a personal connection or affinity.

One of the earliest depictions of the museum in its new home of East India Marine Hall comes from Anne Royall (1769-1854), considered one of the first American

[7] Ibid. In "Art. VI.—THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY" published in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* of September 1843, the author notes "The various objects arranged around the hall could scarcely be enumerated within the compass of a volume. Affording matter of study to the man of science, and amusement to the mere traveller [sic], they extend to every department of research, animal, mineral, and vegetable: as well as to works of art—civilised and barbarous—the large as well as minute." Ibid, 268. Abner Wilcox (1808-1869), a missionary teacher in Hawaii, writes in his journal during a visit to Salem on August 6th, 1851, "I went with the Misses Chamberlain & Jewett, first to the Common and then to the Museum. This latter is a splendid affair—far exceeding it is said the Boston Museum, and is not equaled it is said by any other in the U. States…It is open ever week day at certain hours for visitors from May to Oct., I think it was said; but is kept closed during winter. No fee is taken of visitors, and books are furnished gratuitously giving the name and if need be, the history of every article—they being numbered,—so that the visitor can turn to any thing he sees for information. One needs to spend a week there to do anything like justice to the vast and curious collection." Journal of Abner Wilcox, Vol.1 (IB-B) ~ November 2, 1850 - September 25, 1851, Wilcox, Abner-Bound Manuscript Material~1836-1864, Box 1, Abner and Lucy Wilcox Collection, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives.

female journalists. Growing up as a liberal-minded Southerner, she gave what Whitehill characterizes as a "sober" account of the museum in her *Sketches of History, Life and Manners, in the United States* published in 1826.[8] Royall provides her readers with the origins of Salem's wealth and the founding principles of the Society, which were likely extracted from the 1821 catalogue based on several direct notations.[9] She proclaims that "The collection is one of the richest in the United States, and worthy the attention of all lovers and friends of science...This museum is worth all the cabinets and museums put together in the United States, at least all that I have seen."[10]

Royall presents an overview of the collection before launching into those objects that caught her fancy. She notes the museum contains "67 Journals, that is, of voyages which contain sailing directions, the manner of transacting business at East India ports, with the weights, coins, imports, exports. &c. besides a vast fund of observations on the inhabitants of that country and the Islands in the Indian Ocean"; artificial curiosities primarily from the Southern Hemisphere that "mostly consist of the implements of war used by the rude Islanders of the Indian Ocean and the southern seas, with their domestic utensils, dresses, and ornaments"; and natural curiosities "scientifically arranged, and presents truly an intellectual feast to the naturalist."[11]

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[8] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 44. Whitehill does not provide any details of Royall's account, however.

[9] For example, Royall notes that the museum held 2,269 objects, the exact number from this publication. Most newspaper and visitor accounts of the museum during this period likely extracted material from the catalogue to use in their narratives.

[10] Anne Newport Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, in the United States*. *By a Traveller* (New Haven, CT: Printed for the Author, 1826), 360.

[11] Ibid, 360-361.

Royall was attracted to both common and unusual objects in the museum, denoting her eclectic tastes and the effect of a display that had little organization apart from rudimentary ethnological and scientific classification. She notes over thirty objects in succession—"a candle made of the tallow of the tallow-tree of Japan...An instrument to find the two chief corrections of a lunar observation...branches of cocoa and cinnamon trees...busts of Cicero and Shakespeare, sword of the sword-fish, which was about four (perhaps more) feet long...earthen pottery, found in Herculaneum...a beautiful shawl, made of red and yellow feathers from Owyhee"—before commenting that "a repetition of any one specimen in the museum is useless, the whole is equally interesting, particularly portraits of the principal Chinese merchants, and the most beautiful variety of coral and pearl."[12] Still, one object above all was worth describing in detail, one that appears in most visitor accounts—the carved rosary bead acquired by Salem's first millionaire, Elias Hasket Derby, and donated by his son:

> But the greatest curiosity is an ancient carved box…It was executed in the 14th century, and supposed to be the work of a monk. It is in the form of a globe 2 inches in diameter. The upper hemisphere, or celestial region, contains 58 whole length human figures! The other hemisphere is intended to represent the day of judgment, and hell and purgatory; in which may be seen various Roman Catholic figures. In this hemisphere there are 28 whole length figures, and 19 half length, and 5 heads, making in the whole 110! A most extraordinary piece of ingenuity indeed. The figures are complete, and so small that you have to look through a magnifying glass to see them; and there appears, in every face, a most surprising degree of expression. The globe is made of boxwood.[13]

[12] Ibid, 361-362.

[13] Ibid, 362-363. Royall goes on to describe other aspects of Salem. In "Appearance and Manners," she believes that, "The citizens of Salem are stout, able bodied men, more so than any I have seen this side the Blue ridge, and their ladies excel in beauty and personal charms. This was observed by our friend and national guest, Gen. La Fayette…Their manners are still more improved than the people of Boston…In short, the gentlemen of Salem may be said to have arrived to maturity in all those perfections, which are derived from education and a knowledge of the world. Most of them are largely engaged in commerce, and from their great wealth, have it in their power to gratify an inclination to improve by

Royall was not intrigued by an object from a distant land, but rather a relic from a country just across the English Channel and made for Roman Catholic prayer. Size did not matter to her, as the museum's smallest object and the artistic talent of a master carver piqued her interest more than any other artifact on display.

The East India Marine Society museum was greatly admired by foreign visitors early on. The Italian traveler Giacomo Constantino Beltrami (1779-1855), who claimed to find the source of the Mississippi River, heaped praise onto the Society's museum in verse.[14] The *Essex Register* of October 9th, 1826, published these words, and used them as proof of the museum's international standing:

> The Salem Museum—This admirable collection of curiosities, principally, but by no means exclusively, from the Asiatic continent and the islands of the Pacific, has long been a subject of wonder and pride to our citizens. We have believed it to be superior to any European collection with a like design, but we have now the satisfaction of recording the testimony upon this point, of a distinguished scientific traveler, Beltrami, recently on a visit to this place, and who had seen and studied the most celebrated collections in other countries. He pronounced that of Salem, to be without question, the first in the world. The following impromptu, written on his visit to the Museum, we copy from a manuscript placed in our hands by the author
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> Siste Viator! Siste, mirare! Est Orbis in Urbe,
> Et praebet pulchrum cunctata miranda Salem.
> Obstupui, hie Superum, hinc hominum prodigia vidi,
> Pontus, Magna Parens, Ignis et Ipse favent.
> Oh America! Oh, felix tellus, populusque beatus!
> Quam nobis tollunt dant tibi fata vicem.[15]

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travelling. You find few gentlemen in Salem, who have not visited almost every part of the world, and who do not possess more general, knowledge than those of any other town in the Union." Ibid, 363-364.

[14] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 140-141, footnote 13. Whitehill notes, "Beltrami, who was born at Bergamo in 1779, studied jurisprudence, and was a magistrate during the Napoleonic domination of Italy. He retired to private life in 1814, and in 1821 began travelling. He came to the United States and at St. Louis joined an American military group inspecting forts, continued up the Mississippi River to Minnesota and explored the Red River." Ibid.

[15] This article also ran in the *Salem Gazette* of October 3rd, 1826, and the *Massachusetts Journal* of the same month. Beltrami's verse also appeared in other publications referencing the East India Marine Society museum, such as *The Northern Traveller, and Northern Tour* of 1830, which notes "*The Marine Museum* is

Beltrami's text has never been translated before now. It reads:

> Stand still, Traveler! Stand still, to look! There is a World in the City,
> And beautiful Salem offers all wondrous things (joined together).
> I was astounded: here I saw prodigies of the Gods, from here (prodigies) of men,
> The Sea, (our) Great Parent, and Fire itself are well disposed!
> Oh America! Oh, happy land, and blessed people!
> What the fates have taken away from us they give to you in turn.[16]

A year later, Basil Hall (1788-1844), a British naval officer from Scotland, traveler, and fellow of the Royal Society, provides a different view of the East India Marine Society museum, one true to the maritime roots of the organization. He visited the museum on October 12th, 1827, and recalled:

> After dinner, we repaired to the Museum, the rich treasures of which have been collected exclusively by captains or supercargoes of vessels out of Salem, who had doubled one or other of the great southern promontories—the Cape, and the Horn, as they are technically called by seamen. As my eye fell on numberless carefully cherished objects, which I had often seen in familiar use on the other side of the globe, my imagination revelled [sic] far and wide into regions I may never live to see again!"[17]

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an institution highly creditable to the town, being an association of respectable nautical and commercial individuals, formed for the purpose of making useful observations, and collecting curiosities from all quarters of the world…The room is large, well lighted, and filled with curiosities from all quarters of the world, and many specimens belonging to all the branches of natural history. The arrangement is made with great taste, and several hours, or indeed days, will hardly be sufficient for an examination of all it contains." Theodore Dwight and Henry Dilworth Gilpin, *The Northern Traveller, and Northern Tour: With the Routes to the Springs, Niagra, and Quebec, and the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania; Also, the Tour of New-England: Embellished with Thirty-two Copperplate Engravings* (New York: J&J Harper, 1830), 364-365.

[16] Translation courtesy of Daniel Tober of Columbia University.

[17] Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S. *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828*, Volume II (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1830), 144. Hall notes that Salem was a town, "long well known to the commercial world as one of the most enterprising ports in America, and the first, I believe, to bring into notice the advantages of the trade to China, India, and the Eastern islands. So much, indeed, if I am rightly informed, had these spirited New Englanders of Salem taken the start of the rest of their countrymen, that for many years they were the great suppliers of tea, spices, and other India goods, even to New York, now the maritime mistress of the Western world. It is most interesting, however, to observe, that although that channel, and indeed every other, is choked up by competitors, still the ships of Salem contrive to maintain some portion of their ancient ascendency by dint of their unbroken energy and perseverance, qualities which as yet, it is said, are undazzled by the glitter of those new and less substantial promises of gain, by which so many of their countrymen elsewhere have been led astray." Hall's narrative should be read with a

For Hall, a stroll around the museum provided wistful memories of his past.

Not all visitors appreciated the encyclopedic arrangement of the Hall. Caroline Howard Gilman (1794-1888), who visited the museum in 1832, thought the arrangement detracted from her interests. Gilman, born in Boston, married the Unitarian Reverend Samuel Gilman from Gloucester, and they lived in Charleston, South Carolina when the Rev. Gilman was appointed pastor. Gilman penned several popular works, and in 1832 became the editor of the juvenile weekly newspaper *Rosebud*, which was renamed *Southern Rose*.[18] In her volume *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States*, she notes with praise that "Salem is justly proud of her Museum, and its peculiar value has arisen from the marine taste of the people," and it is "singular that the charge of penuriousness should belong to a town where there has always been a large complement of seamen, a race of men notorious for their warm hearts and open hands."[19]

Gilman perceives the museum as the benefactor of sailor's "generosity" that "is very perceptible in the elegant contributions" but jibes that their magnanimous donations have been "lavished on this pet of the community."[20] She professes that "the scientific eye ranges with delight over such vast collections" but does not consider herself such a person as she felt, "a weariness of head and feet in the well-filled galleries."[21] Instead, she longed for "One bird flying in solitary freedom over the green trees, one shell tinged with its rich natural painting, one flower throwing out its perfume, one insect humming in

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grain of salt, however, since some parts were embellished and somewhat novelized. Written communication with Dan Finamore, October 25th, 2013.

[18] Dorothy J. Rumenik, "Caroline Howard Gilman (1794-1888), in *Writers of the American Renaissance: An A-to-Z Guide*, Denise D. Knight, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 142-145.

[19] Caroline Gilman, *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States* (New York: S. Colman, 1832), 181

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

the sunshine, one painting hanging without competitors, where I can take in the whole expression, one relic of antiquity bringing up the strong associations of the past, give me more delight than the most crowded halls."[22] Gilman's tastes align more with contemporary museum installations than those from her own time.

In the 1830s, the English social theorist Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) discussed Salem and the museum in the second volume of her book, *Society in America*. She describes with praise Salem's ascendency as a global entrepôt, with connections and trading routes all over the world, as the product of mariners heading to "some semi-barbarous place, where he procures some odd kind of cargo, which he exchanges with advantage for another, somewhere else; and so goes trafficking round the world, bringing home a freight of the highest value."[23] For Martineau:

> the commerce of Salem...may be seen in the famous Salem Museum. In regard to this institution, a very harmless kind of monopoly exists. No one is admitted of the museum proprietary body who has not doubled the Capes Horn and Good Hope. Everybody is freely admitted to visit the institution; and any one may contribute, either curiosities or the means of procuring them; but the doubling of the Capes is an unalterable condition of the honour of being a member."[24]

Martineau believes that the Society's collecting interests, more than the "handsome hall" built "for the reception of their curiosities," created an atmosphere where it became "discreditable to return from a long voyage without some novel contribution to the

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[22] Ibid, 181-182. Gilman also visited the museum on August 15th, 1836, as her name appears in the museum's guestbook. In contrast to most of the objects in the museum, Gilman was drawn to the entomology collection, noting that, "It may be that the smallness of the number attracted my admiration, but I have rarely seen a collection so brilliant…Were it not for the savage spears that impaled them, these insects would have seemed ready to fly." Ibid, 182.

[23] Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, Volume II. 2nd edition. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 260. Martineau notes that, "The enterprising merchants of Salem are hoping to appropriate a large share of the whale fishery," a reflection of Salem's short-lived whaling ventures at this time. Ibid.

[24] Ibid, 263.

Museum."[25] Contemporary statistics do not bear out Martineau's assumption, however, as many members did not contribute any objects to the collection. It may be the case that these objects were kept within the home, as Martineau notes "The young ladies of America have rare shells from Ceylon in their cabinets; and their drawing-rooms are decked with Chinese copies of English prints."[26]

Among the objects that Martineau was drawn to were "some Oriental curiosities, which might never otherwise have blessed my sight," particularly "some wonderful figures, made of an unknown mixed metal, dug up in Java, being caricatures of the old Dutch soldiers sent to guard the first colonies. A reasonably grave person might stand laughing before these for half a day. I had no idea there had been so much humour in the Java people."[27] For Martineau, these Eastern depictions of Europeans donated by George W. Abbott in 1827, were more intriguing than any other object she assumed reflected an "Oriental" character.[28] (fig. 106)

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[25] Ibid,

[26] Ibid, 261-262.

[27] Ibid, 263-264. This set, numbers 3072 to 3205, have received little scholarly attention to date. They are recorded as "A collection of Copper and Bronze figures found concealed in an old Temple at Jochtacartha, the ancient Capital in the interior of Java. Some of them are fabulous characters but for the most part they represent people engaged in various domestic employments and religious ceremonies. They appear to have been cast at very different epochs-the most ancient such as the winged figure No. 3201 and the animals No. 3142, 3197 &c. being far better executed than the more modern ones such as the Dutch soldiers-No. 3186, 3194 &c. The art of founding such articles is said to be now entirely lost." East India Marine Society, *The East-India Marine Society of Salem* (1831), 141.

[28] Three decades later, Martineau reflected on the East India Marine Society museum in an article entitled "Representative Men. Merchants," which focused on famous merchants such as Marco Polo, Sir Dudley North, and John Jacob Astor. Martineau notes that "Salem, in Massachusetts, for instance, known in Europe chiefly for the hanging of witches, seems like a European port of three or four centuries ago… The celebrated Salem Museum carries one back to old times…and it used to be the aspiration of every master of a ship to become a member...That feat is now so common that some other qualification is probably added by this time." Harriet Martineau, "Representative Men. Merchants," in *Once a Week: An Illustrated Miscellany of Literature, Art, Science, and Popular Information,* Volume 5 (Aug 17, 1861): 203-209.

Another British traveler to visit the museum around the same time as Martineau was James Boardman (1801-1855). In his *America, and the Americans*, he describes a trip up to Salem and notes the city's decline "by the successful rivalry of New York, and the other great commercial marts of America" which resulted in Salem losing "much of its mercantile importance; and, after having numbered its sixty ships, which almost annually sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, it now only reckons a tenth part of that number."[29] Still, Boardman notes that the port, "has an air of neatness, and contains a handsome square, and many good buildings, but its chief attraction is its Museum, which had recently been arranged in a capacious hall, erected expressly for its reception."[30] Like other visitors, he links "[t]his extensive depository of the wonders of nature and art" to mercantilism, and admires Salem mariners' ability to create "a valuable Museum" through donors that "are neither professed naturalists, artists, antiquarians, or lettered 'travelling fellows,' but plain nautical 'business men.'"[31] This unique characteristic was emblematic of a professed American quality, and thus Boardman's

[29] James Boardman, *America, and the Americans, by a Citizen of the World* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1833), 297-298. Boardman notes he came to Salem shortly after the murder of Joseph White, which was a highly publicized event, placing his visit after April 6th, 1830, but his name does not appear in the guest registers. Boardman also describes other museums he went to. When in New York City, he notes "The principal Museum of New York is private property; but open to the public by payment at the doors. In one of our visits to this interesting display of the wonders of nature, we were accompanied in the survey by those wonders themselves, the Siamese twins." Ibid, 72. While in Philadelphia, Boardman visits Peale's museum and the natural history museum. "The Philadelphia Museum, which is kept in a commodious and ornamental edifice called the Arcade, is particularly rich in Indian costumes and implements ; but it also contains many fine specimens in the department of natural history…On the walls of a gallery were displayed a great variety of portraits of celebrated characters, painted by the ingenious individual who founded the Museum, and whose talented family are indefatigable in their exertions in the cause of science and the fine arts…The Philadelphia Museum of Natural History, which is, however, in no way connected with the Museum to which I have alluded, contains a very extensive collection of minerals, fossils, shells, and also some fine specimens in the department of ornithology." Ibid, 192-196.

[30] Ibid, 298.

[31] Ibid.

comment that "the choice and selection of the specimens and different articles do infinite credit to their discrimination and judgment" could equally be applied to the country as well.[32]

While Boardman mentions the extensive objects from the East Indies and the Pacific, unlike other visitors, he describes the Society's collections from the Ancient world.[33] He notes that visitors to the Society's museum can travel to "the classic shores of the 'blue Mediterranean,' those inexhaustible mines of ancient art," and "the connoisseur may pore over the half-obliterated hieroglyphic, study the bold features of the Caesars in the corroded medal, or dwell upon the sublime contortions of the Laocoon."[34] Boardman also notices an object "Among the heterogeneous trifles which chance has thrown in the way of the contributors" which most visitors would pass by—"a note in the hand-writing of the immortal Byron...which was written during the bard's residence in Genoa...addressed to a friend."[35] For Boardman, the contents of the letter are not important; its material connection to Byron is what gives it value. "Every relic of the lamented author of 'Childe Harold,' even the most trifling, is so precious, that we could not peruse this half-angry, half-humorous, and hastily-scribbled note, without painful emotions, accompanied by regret at his untimely, although glorious end."[36]

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, 298-299.
[34] Ibid, 299.
[35] Ibid. In the letter, number 3821 donated by businessman Augustine Heard (1785-1868) in 1827, Boardman states that Byron has requested his friend "recommend an advocate to him, to defend a paltry suit brought against him by a tailor, who, as he says, in allusion to extravagant charges, 'has cut his coat according to his cloth, as his brethren do in every country.'" Boardman also notes, "In a postscript, the noble writer adds, that he expects some packages to arrive soon; and begs that all may be properly specified at the custom-house, for he will not allow any smuggling." Ibid.
[36] Ibid, 299-300.

James Silk Buckingham (1786-1855), a British journalist who published several narratives of his travels around the world, also points to the full global nature of the East India Marine Society museum. Buckingham, who visited the United States in the 1830s, felt most American museums were:

> almost always the property of some private individual, who gets together a mass of everything that is likely to be thought curious—good, bad, and indifferent—the worthless generally prevailing over the valuable. The collections are then huddled together, without order or arrangement...and there is generally a noisy band of musicians, and a juggler...to attract visitors... and mere amusement, and that of the lightest and most uninstructive kind, is the only object sought in visiting them.[37]

Buckingham, however, did not lump the East India Marine Society into this larger negative category of American institutions. He believed that along with Nathan Dunn's museum, an institution where "one could learn more about China…than by a month's hard reading on the subject," the Society's museum could "furnish abundant information and amusement to visitors of all classes, from the venerable navigator and hydrographer to the holiday pupil, as there is as much to entertain as to inform."[38]

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[37] James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, [1842]), Vol. I, 539. As the lead-in to his discussion on the East India Marine Society museum, John Haddad gives the reader the wrong impression that Buckingham considered the Society's museum as an example of this category of American institutions. Haddad, "The Romantic Collector in China," 18.

[38] Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America*, Vol. II, 55; Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America*, Vol. I, 275. Dunn quote in Haddad, "The Romantic Collector in China," 17. Haddad considers the East India Marine Society museum's Chinese installations, in comparison to Dunn's museum, displays that "for the most part failed to convey useful information" about China, characterizing it as "a mass of exotic objects, all huddled together, without order or arrangement." Ibid. He also believes that visitors to the Society's museum did not learn anything about Chinese culture, as the superintendents did not erect partitions between cultures and, instead, "indiscriminately tossed together artifacts from different nations, creating an Asian salad that could only reinforce prevalent stereotypes and perpetuate a mindset that lumps all Eastern cultures under the catch-all term 'Oriental.'" Ibid, 17-18. Buckingham's accounts of both institutions, though, counter Haddad's hypothesis.

Buckingham first appears in the Society's guestbooks on October 17th, 1838, with Elizabeth and Leicester Buckingham, prior to the opening of Dunn's institution. In the narrative of his travels published in 1842, he notes:

> I made several visits to the Museum and was, on each occasion, abundantly gratified. The articles are well arranged, and kept in excellent order, and there is never so great a crowd of visitors as to prevent the careful and uninterrupted examination of any article at leisure…Such is the singular mixture and variety of curiosities in the Salem Museum, and not a tithe of even the singular things are here mentioned. But in addition to these, it contains stuffed specimens of many of the birds and fishes from the eastern seas, with minerals and fossils from all parts of the world…[39]

Buckingham also describes East India Marine Hall, with its "large size, and numerous and spacious windows" as making "an imposing appearance."[40]

As Buckingham visited the museum several times during his stay, he provides a lengthy list of objects on display."[41] He lists "War-clubs, sceptres, battle-axes, paddles, spears…from almost all the tribes of the Pacific and Indian oceans, in every conceivable variety" and a "Helmet, coat of armour, sabre, and cannon-ball from the plain of Waterloo, with the skulls and bones of some of the warriors."[42] He also notes a "Box made from the keel of the ship Endeavour, in which Captain Cook circumnavigated the globe; and a part of the rock on which he was killed at Owhyhee" and "The Chinese Art of curing diseases, by assuming and maintaining, for a length of time, certain attitudes of the body and limbs, illustrated by 24 figures and descriptions, by a Chinese author, with a Latin translation by a Jesuit priest."[43] Of course, Buckingham notes the carved rosary

[39] Buckingham, The Eastern and Western States of America, Volume I, 271-272.
[40] Ibid, 270-271.
[41] Ibid, 275.
[42] Ibid, 271-272.
[43] Ibid, 272-273.

bead. Unlike the multitude of objects listed, which appear to be extracted directly from the museum's catalogue, he goes into much greater detail for this artistic miniature "curiosity" of Catholic scripture. "It is undoubtedly one of the most curious specimens of skill and patience united, that I have ever seen."[44]

Other Europeans made mention of the museum during their time in the United States. Adolphe Fourier de Bacourt (1801-1865), the French Ambassador to the United States from 1840-1842, visited in 1840. In 1882, his nephew published a book on Bacourt's time in the States based on letters, which according to *The American* "takes a very gloomy view of American society and manners. He finds the men vulgar, the women grotesque, and American society ridiculous."[45] Bacourt did not extend this opinion to the East India Marine Society museum, however. While staying in Boston, whose "inhabitants…hate the French," he went up to Salem. He describes it as:

> a pretty little seaport town near which the first Pilgrims landed in the time of Charles I. The whole coast is rocky. There is a maritime museum here, founded forty years ago, by a club whose members must prove that they have doubled Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope; consequently they are almost all captains of vessels. They are bound to bring some object of antiquity on their return from every voyage, and deposit it in the museum, which has been filled in this way.[46]

Dr. Francis Pulzsky (1815-1897), a Hungarian archaeologist and curator, came to the United States as one of several attendants to Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894), Regent-President of the Kingdom of Hungary during the revolution of 1848 to 1849.[47] The *Salem*

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[44] Ibid, 273.
[45] "Parisian Literary News," *The American*, September 30th, 1882: 397.
[46] Adolphe Fourier de Bacourt, Souvenirs of a Diplomat: Private Letters from America During the Administrations of Presidents Van Buren, Harrison, and Tyler, Translated from the French (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1885), 133.
[47] Kossuth was only the second foreigner to address the joint meeting of the United States Congress in 1852.

Register of May 10th, 1852 describes their visit to Lynn, Salem, and Boston, and notes, "[r]eturning to the city, the guests proceeded to the Essex House, where opportunity was allowed for rest and refreshment. After dinner, Count Pulzsky and several of the strangers were conducted to the East India Museum, which they examined with great interest."[48] In 1853, Francis Pulzsky and his wife Theresa wrote in the narrative of their travels:

> Salem, the only settlement in America, in the colonial time, which grew rich by the East India trade, has remained the city of seafarers. The Captains of the vessels have formed here an association for promoting geographical knowledge; they submit their diaries to a Committee, which extracts from them any valuable information for the archives of the society. A museum of natural history, and of Eastern and South Sea curiosities, has been formed by the contributions of the members, showing how the New England spirit of gathering information pervades every class.[49]

Individuals of several religious faiths visited the museum.[50] In 1836, Joseph Smith (1805-1844) and other members of the Mormon Church came to Salem on a tip concerning a house full of gold in Salem. While no reminiscences of their time at the museum have come to light, and no riches materialized in the city, their names appear in the guest registers.[51] This group was the first of many Mormon prophets and church officials who came to the museum, culminating with Brigham Young (1801-1877) in

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[48] *Salem Register*, May 10th, 1852. Pulszky gave a lecture in 1852 entitled, "On the Progress and Decay of Art and on the Arrangement of a National Museum."

[49] Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United State*s, Vol. II (New York: Redfield, 1853), 189-190. The Pulszkys also discuss their visit to the Patent Office Museum in Washington, D.C.

[50] For an example of using a museum for religious purposes, see Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's novel *The Museum* (1835). While the museum depicted by the author bears some resemblance to the East India Marine Society museum, with ethnographic and natural history collections, it is most likely modeled on a British equivalent given the mention of multiple rooms and no extant evidence that Tonna visited Salem.

[51] See Alexander L. Baugh, "A Historical Note on Joseph Smith's 1836 Visit to the East India Marine Society Museum in Salem, Massachusetts," *Mormon Historical Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2010): 143-150. Baugh notes "Mormon leaders in Kirtland were made aware of the treasure-cache by a Church member named Burgess whose report obviously convinced Joseph Smith to investigate personally the possibility of obtaining it…while in Salem, Joseph Smith received a revelation (D&C 111) that provided important instructions concerning a number of questions he had concerning what course of action he and his companions should take during their stay in the city." Ibid, 143.

August of 1866. Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), a Sephardic Jewish playwright, political figure, and proto-Zionist living in New York City, came with his family in 1832. Around the same time, Andrew Reed and James Matheson of the Congregational Union of England and Wales visited the museum as part of their travels in the United States to visit American churches. Along with a brief description of the Society and the origins of the museum, Reed and Matheson believed it was "the lion of this place."[52] Even though they "made a hasty survey of it" they believed "it is unusually good and extensive, considering where it is found."[53]

Some visitors reflected on their experiences at the museum through scripture and verse. Rolfe Ricker, in an essay on his travels for the *Juvenile Reformer, and Sabbath School Instructor*, saw the East India Marine Society museum as "The chief object of attraction to most strangers in Salem," on par with the Bible itself.[54] He believes that "No one, whatever may be his taste or pursuit, can enter the magnificent hall in which it is arranged, without experiencing the highest pleasure, and deriving an amount of instruction which he could gain otherwise only by years of travel and toil."[55] Ricker

[52] Andrew Reed, D.D. and James Matheson D.D, A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Volume 1 (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836. 2nd Edition), 323.
[53] Ibid, 324. Reed and Matheson also note: "We ascended to the top of our hotel, to take a bird's eye view of the town, and to observe in the distance the spot where the persons were burnt, who were condemned for the sin of witchcraft. What lamentation, that even here the fires of persecution should have been enkindled! The towns along this sea-board were mostly of early settlement. Salem was amongst the earliest, and is more than two centuries old. It is, after Boston, one of the most populous towns in New England; and, allowing for that nakedness which is so common on the sea-shore, is very pleasant. It has a fine harbour; but its trade has fallen away greatly. There are, however, upon it no marks of dilapidation or decay." Ibid.
[54] Rolfe Ricker, "My Journey. No. 5," in *Juvenile Reformer, and Sabbath School Instructor*, Volume 5, No. 15 (September 2, 1835): 57.
[55] Ibid.

states that "No where can Christians go, except to the Bible, to get richer and more useful instruction."[56]

Ricker, like many other museum patrons, provides an overview of the collection. He notes:

> There is hardly one of the natural sciences which is not here illustrated, by specimens from all parts of the world…statues, busts and pictures for the Artist, old coins, remains of unknown animals, pillars, urns, sculptures, the wrecks of former ages, for the Antiquarian; figures as large as life from heathen lands, in their real costume and about their usual employments, specimens of their manufactures, instruments of war, of agriculture and of art; the idols which they worship and models of their pagodas and temples, for those who are curious about the appearance, habits, customs, of other nations; and a thousand other wonders, all opening to the moralist and the Christian, an exhaustless field for contemplation.[57]

Still, Ricker suggests visitors "must bring the Bible here, just as they would take a candle with them into a dark room, or they will lose one half the beauties of the objects which they see."[58] Overall, Ricker believes that the museum "is full of instruction" and any visitor "might spend a summer there quite profitably. If any of my young readers ever go to Salem they must certainly visit it."[59]

Similarly, a letter to the editor of the *Juvenille Rambler* two years earlier alludes to the heavenly aspects of the museum's collection. The author notes that it is an, "interesting place, worthy of a more minute description than would fill your whole paper.

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[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid. Ricker continues: "It is wonderful and very interesting to observe what a brilliant light the Bible can throw upon the things around us if we are only willing to have it so…"
[59] Ibid. Ricker provides an example for this practice, noting "Look at this fragment from ancient Greece, it was the capitol to a pillar of one of her most magnificent temples, now in common with all the grandeur of that Empire, in ruins. It seems to say to us, as the light of God's word falls upon it. The most solid work of man's hands is doomed to decay, but there is a Temple into heaven, not made with hands which is eternal." He continues his religious analysis of the Society's collection for the remainder of his essay.

A week might be well spent in viewing, minutely, the number and variety of articles, selected with so much good taste and judgment."[60] The author describes the East India Marine Hall as a building, "of taste, expense and elegance," and comments on the sense of wonder instilled upon entering the Hall:

> The entrance into such an apartment has a fine effect upon the mind. High walls, completely covered with the curiosities of the far distant Indies, fill the eye, roving with wonder over every part. The arrangement also appears peculiarly fine. As the spectator *ascends* the stair-case, rising, say 12 or 15 steps, the farther side of the apartment 100 feet in length, and 30 in height—meets the admiring eye.[61]

Like other visitors, the author's eye was caught by the figures of Asian merchants, "a row of statues, large as life, in their native color and national costume."[62] Looking right, he notes:

> The Chinese Mandarin…in his official dress, which it is high treason for any private man to assume" and directly in front of him "are arranged natives of India, in their usual dress and attitude of employment…Some stand from month to month and year to year, like statues, upon a post. This is their superstitious worship, and paid to their unknown gods. These, and penances like these, are their offerings to their imaginary deities.[63]

For the author the effect of these figures is "an instructive lesson to those who know God, the Supreme Creator of the world, and worship him not!," supporting his Judeo-Christian bias in viewing other religions. "Revelation shines, not with the glimmering beams of star-light, but those of a meridian sun. Wisdom's ways, to us, are paths of pleasantness

[60] "Museum at Salem," *Juvenille Rambler, or, Family and School Journal*, November 13th, 1833: 182. This was not the first piece on the East India Marine Society museum printed by the journal, as the author notes "You once gave us an account of the Museum at Salem."
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

and peace. Such, and many such reflections, arise in the mind of a moral and attentive spectator, on such a view of heathen worship."[64]

Periodicals and newspapers with a mercantile bent also published descriptions of the museum. A writer for Freeman Hunt's *Merchant Magazine* saw the East India Marine Society museum as a model for similar design. "The various objects arranged around the hall could scarcely be enumerated within the compass of a volume…Numerous opportunities are presented to the mariners of our country, in their successive voyages, to collect materials for similar cabinets, and, by the diffusion of a right spirit among their members, they may be made to subserve important objects, tending to increase the means of intelligence and to improve the condition of those who navigate the ocean."[65] Similarly, the *New York Journal of Commerce* of August 1841 questions:

> Why may not this example be imitated in all our commercial cities? Is the liberality of the arrangement greater than can reasonably be desired and encouraged? It is very true that the public has no claim on gentlemen to spend their time and money in collecting and preserving the means of entertainment and instruction, for others to use gratis. Still, have not the members of this Society done well? Should they not be honored for it? And would not others deserve honor for following their example?[66]

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[64] Ibid. Similarly, J. Lewis Shack, in a letter to G.G. Newhall in 1850, referred to the museum as one of the "many links in the golden chain of our common Christianity which is erelong to unite the nations of the earth in one great and glorious Brotherhood." Papers Relating to Objects, 1841-1883. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 13, Folder 6.

[65] "Art. VI.—THE SALEM EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY," in *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, Conducted by Freeman Hunt*, Volume IX (September 1843): 268. At the beginning of this piece, the author notes "The place of its organization in the city of Salem seems peculiarly appropriate…Although the eastern commerce from this port has been somewhat diminished of late years…By consequence, the institution is constituted of some of the most experienced and respectable individuals of the place; men of science, as well as merely practical knowledge. The opportunity which they must enjoy for the observation of different people and institutions, and the collection of curious articles in the various countries which they visit during their voyages is manifest, and there is probably no depository where such articles can be more safely lodged than in the East India Marine Hall." Ibid, 266.

[66] Published in "East India Museum," *Salem Gazette*, August 3rd, 1841.

Also, in an open recommendation "*From the National Gazette To the Masters of vessels in the Port of Philadelphia*," the author claims "the '*East India Marine Hall*' of Salem is now unequalled by any institution of a similar kind in this country," and a model worth emulating.[67]

Closer to home, Salem residents recorded their experiences at the East India Marine Society museum. Joseph Hodges Choate (1832-1917), a lawyer who succeeded John Hay (1838-1905) as ambassador to the United Kingdom during the McKinley administration, wrote about the museum's influence on him as a boy. Choate makes particular mention of the lack of great Western art in Salem, stating that there were "some pictures and statuary that, I believe, were of no great account." Thus, he notes "there was no opportunity for the study of art except at the famous East India Marine Museum," which held, "two wonderful casts that made a great impression on my mind, one of the Laocoon, and the other of the boy seated and picking a thorn out of his foot, which are still very famous among the artistic treasures of Europe."[68] Both were well-known

[67] *Salem Gazette*, September 12th, 1828. The author also points out the breadth of the collection, stating that "The captains have procured whatever struck them as new in design or use, whether a razor, a porter's pad or palanquin; and there is many an article of this kind in the Salem collection which has cost but a few cents, and is worth in its present use as many dollars." Ibid.

[68] Edward Sandford Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate as Gathered Chiefly from His Letters*, Volume 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 43-44. Choate elaborates at length about growing up in Salem, noting that, "Salem, which continued to be my home for the first twenty-three years of my life, was a most unique and delightful place. It was so old, so queer, so different from all other places upon which the sun in his western journey looked down, so full of grand historical reminiscences, so typical of everything that has ever occurred in the annals of American life, that it was a great piece of good fortune to be born there…All these historical reminiscences and traditions hung over the place and made a deep impression upon the minds of sensitive and impressionable children who were brought up there even down to my time, and these impressions were greatly confirmed by the wonderful writings of Hawthorne in all his books relating to colonial history." Ibid, 41.

sculptures of the Ancient world that were copied frequently, but, unbeknownst to Choate, this version of *Boy With Thorn* was crafted by "a distinguished artist of Calcutta."[69]

Choate wasn't the only one to take notice of *Boy With Thorn*. The American poet Hannah Flagg Gould (1788-1865) wrote about this sculpture in "The Greek Antique," an article that encapsulates the mysteries and wonders of the East India Marine Society museum. Gould opens up by asking the reader, "Have you been in Salem, Massachusetts? Did you visit its rich treasury of beautifully-arranged foreign curiosities, 'The East India Marine Society's Hall?' Were you a stranger there, and with only a short half-hour to pass in that comprehensive repository of wonderful works of nature and of art—some of them relics of remote antiquity, brought together in so close a compass from so widely distant parts of the world?"[70] She then points to the magic held within the Hall, stating:

> have you felt that in that early New England Endor there remained, indeed, still witchery enough to bind your feet to the floor of that charm-working cabinet by an irresistible spell, while you felt that you ought to be off, since time and the steam-cars wait for no man, and to send your thoughts radiating at once into every direction where the sun darts its beams. They were even inspired with a power which the sun-rays never possessed, of shooting from the present moment into past ages—into the caverns of the earth and the bosom of the ocean.[71]

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[69] The quotation is from James Buffington Briggs when he donated the set of figures to the Society. John Robinson echoes Choate's sentiments about the Laocoön in "A Pilgrimage to Salem in 1838, By a Southern Admirer of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Reprinted from *The Southern Rose* (Charleston, S. C.) of March 2 and 16, 1839, with a Foreword by Victor Hugo Paltsits (Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss, 1916). In "Another View," a critical response to Palsits' attribution of this story to the southern author William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), Robinson notes, "It is a curious coincidence that the cast of the Laocoon group referred to in the article as seen in the Boston Athenaeum, was also to be seen in the museum in Salem, about the only cast of a piece of classical sculpture in the town." Ibid, 24.

[70] Hannah Flagg Gould, "The Greek Antique," *Godey's Lady's Book* (January 1, 1847), 28. The majority of this article recounts the story of the Greek boy, "which is gathered from among the long-buried Telies of an early period in the Christian era." Gould also concludes her piece by commenting that, "it is not strange that one of them should have ultimately found its way to our western world, and planted itself down in the City of the Witches." Ibid, 85.

[71] Ibid, 28.

Like other visitors, Gould marvels at the museum's ability to transport patrons to distant lands "[a]s you surmounted the flight of steps that ushered you abruptly into the hall."[72] She comments that almost immediately "you felt as if touched by an enchanter's wand, and in the twinkling of an eye transported to the eastern hemisphere!"[73] Gould describes the "group of oriental statuary" that "first met your eye…so exactly to the life were the figures represented in their various castes and conditions, from the proud, erect Hindostanee, with his rich Cashmere shawl and turban, to the half-naked, dusky Bengalese fakir, in his squalid, beggarly appearance and squat position."[74] The same artist who crafted *Boy With Thorn*, in fact, made this later sculpture. Gould acknowledges that "you did not find the sacred river flowing through that hall," but "you beheld and touched the strong old tortuous root of the venerable banyantree that had grown upon its bank."[75]

"As you turned to the left and commenced your tour of the hall, feeling that your time was far too short for so great and curious a study, unable to pause at any single object half long enough to contemplate it as you would," Gould tells the reader, you "felt a pang in your heart and a pain in your foot, as if each were suddenly pierced by a thorn."[76] This "isolated and absorbing object over which you hung your sorrowful eye in mute sympathy" depicted a child "seated on a block—his head bowed in close attention to his work—his right foot resting on the left knee, with its bottom turned out to the light,

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

and his fingers busily engaged in picking at a puncture in the sole."[77] Gould transfers this pain to the reader—"You felt as if the thorn in his foot had riveted yours to the floor beside him"—and this synesthetic association transfixed her to such an extent that "you could hardly have the heart to leave him till you saw the cruel thing extracted, and the face of the little sufferer turned up towards yours with the glad expression of relieved childhood."[78] Gould's experience at East India Marine Hall, unlike most, was enraptured by one of the few objects where the East interprets the West.

The most extensive accounts by a Salemite come from Caroline Howard King. Her reminiscences and reflections of her multiple visits to the East India Marine Society museum as a young girl in the 1830s also provide some of the best insights on children's experiences at the museum. She notes the sense of Orientalist wonderment evident in the city, a period when "there was an Eastern flavor" and "the Spice Islands seemed to lie very near our coast."[79] King recalls how during each visit the museum held "a mysterious attraction...an experience for an imaginative child, to step from the prosaic streets of a New England town into that atmosphere redolent with the perfumes from the east, warm and fragrant and silent, with a touch of the dear old Arabian Nights about it."[80] Unlike

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] King, *When I Lived in Salem*, 29-30. King also notes, "in almost every house were quaint tokens of the East. On the mantel piece of my nursery were two sitting figures under glass, brought from India by the husband of my nurse, representing a Turkish man and woman, in gorgeous red and blue spangled robes, the costumes perfect to the life, even to their little red pointed slippers. He with turban and pipe, and she with a spangled veil of real gauze over her pretty dress. And many were the childish dreams and stories of which those gay figures were hero and heroine. Indeed I sometimes see them in dreams now. So you see that with the wonders of India so near our front doors, when my mother wanted a new set of china or a fresh camel's hair shawl or scarf, it was as easy a thing for her to speak to the Captain of the next ship starting to India, as it would be now for us to order them at Briggs' or Hovey's." Ibid, 30-31.
[80] John R. Haddad states that the *Arabian Nights* were "a fixture on most American bookshelves" in the antebellum period. "For any literate child, the book was almost standard reading. According to the preface

some visitors who only had a short period of time to tour the museum, perhaps on their only trip to Salem, King spent entire days perusing the collection, and notes being at the museum "until the hour of closing came."[81]

Upon entering the "beautiful old hall," King was greeted not by a fellow townsman, a Society member, or another visitor, but by "the solemn group of Orientals who, draped in eastern stuffs and camel's hair shawls, stood opposite the entrance."[82] They were supplemented by the "circle of sitting and standing figures, who were placed in the centre of the hall in those days," all of whom "became real friends of mine."[83] King recalls:

> Three of them were life-sized likenesses of East Indian merchants, in their own dresses, presented to different sea captains by the originals, or perhaps sent to the Museum as gifts. I never heard their exact history, but I came to know their dark faces well, and Mr. Blue Gown, and Mr. Camel's Hair Scarf and Mr. Queer Cap, each had his own pleasant individuality and must be greeted whenever I went to the Museum.[84]

For King, it was not important whether Eastern or Western hands crafted these figures, and who they represented. Instead, they became the childhood acquaintances of an imaginative girl and, along with the Hall and all its trappings, helped her to create a place that she believed was "full of enchantment...as near fairy-land as one ever can [experience] in this workaday world," away from the realities of mercantilism, the

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to an 1848 children's edition, 'the Arabian Nights are to our childhood what . . . the writings of Shakespeare are in after life.'…Though we in the present tend to think of the stories as being set in the Middle East, some of the tales are actually set in China, a fact not overlooked by nineteenth-century readers…Many also appeared to believe that the book, far from being pure fancy, imparted legitimate ethnographic information with regard to Eastern cultures. That China and the Arabian Nights were melded together in the American imagination is supported by numerous references connecting the two." Haddad, "Imagined Journeys to Distant Cathay," 70.

[81] King, When I Lived in Salem, 29.

[82] Ibid

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

prosaic details surrounding the acquisition of objects, and the sphere of international commerce and exploration.[85]

Martha Nichols, the granddaughter of one of the Society's earliest members, George Nichols—who "cherished a love for the institution throughout his life"—also recounts her time at the Hall as a young girl in a manner similar to King.[86] She recalls that "there was an especial artistic charm about the place when I was a child," and when her grandfather asked Martha and her oldest sister "Little girls, do you want to go to the Museum?", they "always wanted to go" and "started off gaily, each one holding a hand, until we reached the magic door which opened onto so many wonders."[87] Once inside, "while our grandfather joined a group of sea captains (for there always seemed to be a group there)," she and her sister "wandered almost breathlessly around the hall, glad to stay there for hours if we were permitted."[88]

Marianne Silsbee expressed a similar viewpoint in her reminiscences, *A Half Century in Salem*. While the museum was now the Peabody Academy of Science, she points out that the East India Society Museum was once "irreverently spoken of by non-residents as the 'Salem Museum,' with the least possible sneer, as though Salem boasted a little too much of her chief treasures."[89] Though the new caretakers had changed the

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[85] Ibid, 29-30.
[86] Martha Nichols, "Chapter VII. With the Children," in *A Salem Shipmaster and Merchant: The Autobiography of George Nichols*, Edited with Introduction and Notes and Concluding Chapters by His Granddaughter Martha Nichols (Boston: The Four Seas Company, 1921), 111.
[87] Ibid, 112.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Marianne Cabot Devereaux Silsbee, *A Half Century in Salem* (Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1887), 112. Silsbee also references the Society's parades earlier in her work. "'The day after tomorrow will be the anniversary of the East India Marine Society, and you must certainly come over in the morning and go with us to see the procession; it is better worth attention than a dozen trainings. There will

layout of the Hall, Silsbee still recalled that her "young eyes gazed with delight and wonder" on the "group of Orientals, life size, with rigidly correct toilettes, but the polite janitor, who rose from his accustomed seat to point out what it was most proper to look at, always urged an examination of the carved-ivory celestial and infernal regions."[90] Silsbee, though, "preferred the pagans, the shells, and butterflies."[91] She acknowledges that "The Peabody Academy of Science is a grand institution; but I am glad that on the granite front of the building we can forever read the honored name of the East India Marine Hall."[92]

A former Salem resident identified as E.H.F. recounts his experiences as a young boy when returning to his native home after many years away from the city. Unlike other observers who bemoaned the former glory of the city as compared to its more dilapidated state at the end of the antebellum period, E.H.F. notes that, "It is rare, and as pleasant as rare, to come back after a long absence and find a city looking as 'natural' as Salem

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be a complete Mandarin figure on exhibition, the Palanquin, and all the officers dressed in Chinese gowns, fine music, and everything that can add to the interest.'" Ibid, 11.

[90] Ibid, 113. The "carved ivory celestial" is likely number 3682, an "Ivory Globe, containing 12 concentric spheres all carved from a single ball of Ivory from Canton," donated by Society member Francis Willoughby Pickman (1804-1886) in 1826. The Society owned another example, number 4306, donated by John Perkins Cushing (1787-1862) in 1832. Cushing, a cousin of John Murray Forbes (1813-1898), worked in Canton for a quarter of a century, overseeing the Turkish opium trade for Boston trading firms. Jim Nugent, "John Murray Forbes," *Dictionary of Unitarian and Universalist Biography*, http://uudb.org/articles/johnforbes.html. Both are still in the PEM collection.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid. Lindgren points to Silsbee's musings on being told by the Society's custodian to look at specific objects, and those reminiscences of other women like Caroline King, as evidence of a Society bias towards the farer sex. He notes, "Female visitors generally had to be watched. By the late 1830s, Henry Wheatland, who served as museum superintendent from 1837 to 1848, had to encase a mannequin of a fully dressed mandarin behind glass since it had suffered from 'excessive handleing by visitors.' That act was, Wheatland claimed, 'a habit to which the females are very much addicted, and one, which is said by some peculiar to their genius.'" Lindgren's hypothesis is weakened, however, by his misreading of the word "Yankies" [sic] as "females" in Wheatland's 1838 superintendents report. Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 199.

does."[93] He believes, as perhaps a preservationist would today, that the lack of "Commercial prosperity" is a positive thing, as it allowed older portions of the city to remain intact and not be torn down for newer structures.

> You take a farewell look of a noble old house, embosomed in trees and shrubbery, and return to find the house torn away, the trees cut down, and a horrible stone nightmare in the shape of a 'first-class hotel,' on the spot, bristling with thin-whiskered boys, lighted cigars, and white aproned waiters—but it is a nightmare which no morning light can dispel. Not so Salem. Free from the vulgar fever of unrrest, from the vulgar dream of ambition, from the vulgar thirst for gold, she reposes with dignified ease, glorying in her past, content with her present, and serenely trustful of her future.[94]

Still, E.H.F. characterizes this attitude of looking to the past as "the slow, silent process of fossilization. Particle by particle, she is turning to stone, and in the meantime her citizens can eat, drink, and be merry, without boring their visitors with material prosperity and the census returns. Rich, quiet, stately, self-respectful, polite old Salem! May she live ten thousand years, and her shadow never be less,—nor greater."[95]

The epitome of E.H.F's vision of Salem is the East India Marine Society museum, "her favorite child and its management is an admirable illustration of her character."[96] He praises the museum for adhering to its founding principles during hard times, specifically that it does not charge admission.

> Ever since I can remember, and for aught I know, ever since it has an existence, it has been generously thrown open to the public without fee or favor. And now that, from some temporary collapse in the funds, it is unable to pay a salary to a keeper, it utterly refuses, I am told, to accept any entrance money, refuses even to allow a keeper to take voluntary perquisites from visitors, choosing rather to be itself a door-keeper, than to do for hire what its father did for love.[97]

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[93] E.H.F., "FOR THE OBSERVER. A VISIT TO SALEM," *Salem Observer,* August 4th, 1860.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

On a personal level, though, it is the objects in the museum that connect to the author's past. "But I wanted very much to see the wonders of my childhood—the sick woman in bed, with her friends all around her—the Indiamen sitting and standing in sedate perpetuity—the throng of wooden people crowded into a sixpenny globe—the awful whale's jar, and the bugs, and the beetles, and the lizards."[98] In order to do so, E.H.F. describes that he "hunted up a director, who showed us the riches of his house, with as much suavity and patience, and detail, as a professional showman, but with the modesty, the quietness and the *knowledge* which belong only to a gentleman."[99]

George L. Chaney offers another boy's recollections of East India Marine Hall in an article on the Christian influenced theistic reform movement within Hinduism, the Brahmo Samaj.[100] He notes that "Strangers from afar have felt repaid for visiting it by the variety and suggestiveness of its collection."[101] For Chaney, "To walk around this room was to circumnavigate the globe," and "only the retrospect of maturer years can estimate the influence of such a hall of wonders upon a growing youth."[102] A ticket to the Hall allowed him to, "enter the chamber of all nations, travel around both capes, and come

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid. E.H.F. notes the troubles, though, in getting to the museum. "*At* the Museum was a peculiarity of Salem, but *to* the Museum showed her liable to the same frailties as other cities. Our party did not know exactly where the Museum was and inquired of two little boys. One of them answered very properly that it was a 'large, white building,' &c., but the other one began, ''taint blue, nor yellow, but white—may be the houses side of it are pink, but *its* white; the' aint no green nore indigo,' and so on. Now it wasn't so very terrible a thing for a boy to do, because boys are naturally exuberant, but a woman, whom he called 'mother,' was directly behind him and did not check him; and what was pardonable in pertigence [sic] in a boy is—*not*, in his mother. I think she could not have been a Salem woman...E.H.F." Ibid.
[100] Chaney's story focuses on Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), the Bengalese reformer known as the "Father of Modern India," and Chunder Sen (1838-1884), who attempted to incorporate Christianity into Hindu teaching.
[101] George L. Chaney, "The Brahmo Somaj," in *Old and New*, Volume 5, No. 6 (June 1872): 679.
[102] Ibid.

safely home again in one afternoon."[103] His, "voyage began and ended with a group of figures, which, once seen, could never be forgotten. In immense glass cases, dressed in the cool linen and silk of the tropics, with bronzed cheeks and shining black hair, and small, piercing black eyes, images of Calcutta merchants, of life size, and their attendants, met the boyish visitor's wondering gaze."[104]

Salem's native son Nathaniel Hawthorne had his own unique relationship with the museum that contrasts to the euphoric musings of King, Silsbee, and others. The East India Marine Society played a central role in forming Hawthorne's understanding of the world, particularly the East Indies. Salem's trade and the movement of ideas and material objects brought in from this region, along with Hawthorne's readings about the Orient, helped shape his conception of this far away land. In addition, the experiences of his father, Captain Nathaniel Hathorne—a Society member who died in Surinam in 1808—must have had an impact as he left behind souvenirs, curios, and logbooks from his travels.[105] Literary historian Luther Luedtke states that Hawthorne "turned to the Orient…not for spiritual unification, in the fashion of Emerson and Thoreau, but for cultural differentiation, and for a drama that carried forward from his life into his art."[106] Historian Jee Yon Lee builds off of Luedtke's analysis to incorporate the impact of the museum on Hawthorne's vision of the Orient in relation to *The Scarlet Letter*. Lee

[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid. Chaney uses the museum's Indian figures as a segway to his discussion on Roy and Sen. "Twenty years have gone by since these placid figures traded with his young imagination, and gave him visions of the far East in return for child-like curiosity. And today, as he attempts to picture Rammohun Roy and Chunder Sen, the founder and the restorer of the Brahmo faith in India, his mind goes back to the old Salem museum, and renews its commerce with the life-like images clad in silk and linen." Ibid.
[105] Luther Luedtke, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Romance of the Orient* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), cited in Jee Yoon Lee, "'The Rude Contact of Some Actual Circumstance': Hawthorne and Salem's East India Marine Museum," *ELH*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (Winter, 2006): 950.
[106] Ibid.

believes that "Hawthorne's contact with materials from the Orient, specifically those objects housed in the East India Marine Museum…helped him to imagine Salem and Hester as nineteenth-century representations of the Orient."[107]

Out of Hawthorne's many works, the short story "A Virtuoso's Collection," originally published in *The Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* of May 1842, is directly related to his experiences visiting the East India Marine Society museum. There are a few interpretations of this story, mostly the work of literary critics.[108] Hawthorne scholars, though, have largely ignored or dismissed it.[109] Only two articles have been written connecting this story to the museum, with the most in-depth discussion coming from the antiquarian book dealer Charles Elliot Goodspeed (1867-1950). Goodspeed

[107] Lee, "'The Rude Contact of Some Actual Circumstance'," 950, 958. Lee's material culture analysis of the museum's collection utilizes Charles Sanders Peirce's schema, "that conceives of signs as a triadic process, categorized as icon, index, and symbol…While not explicitly following Peirce in my discussion of Hawthorne's use of objects, I borrow from his semiotic analysis of signs insofar as my interpretations of the symbolism of objects include not only a quality of the object and its relationship to similar objects but also its indexical relation to a historical community." Ibid, 950-951. Lee, though, fails to directly connect East India Marine Society objects to Hawthorne's writing.

[108] Brenda Wineapple interprets this story as a reflection of Hawthorne's marital anxieties in *Hawthorne: A Life* (New York: Random House, 2013), 159, since it is the only story he wrote before his wedding. Roy Male believes "The sketch is primarily just a game, and one that Hawthorne shared with his friends for years before publishing the piece. But it has its serious side too, for the virtuoso is a particular kind of literalist, a man who has cut through the mysteries of language by reifying fictive discourse, solidifying imaginative writing into the crudest kind of realism" in "Hawthorne's Literal Figures," in *Ruined Eden of the Present: Hawthorne, Melville, and Poe: Critical Essays in Honor of Darrel Abel* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1981), 86. Irina Rabinovich sees the story as a Christian stereotype of the Wandering Jew in *Re-Dressing Miriam: 19th Century Artistic Jewish Women* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2012).

[109] Goodspeed notes, "Professor George Woodberry wrote: ''A Virtuoso's Collection' was of a peculiar character, being no more than a play of fancy, a curiosity of literary invention.' Another writer has pronounced the Virtuoso's Collection not only a 'feat of enumeration' but one of the 'emptiest' of the short stories by Hawthorne that this critic associates with the Virtuoso, stories that are, he says, 'gewgaws,' 'bagatelles'; 'tame and trashy' in their concepts, 'weakly symbolic' in execution. Still another competent analyst declares that 'the principle of the sketch is that of simple enumeration.' And a fourth commentator describes the Virtuoso as 'one of Hawthorne's most curious tales, being little more than a catalogue of a great number of rarities, possible and impossible, in a museum.'" Charles E. Goodspeed, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society, or The Gathering of a Virtuoso's Collection*, [With a reprint of *A Virtuoso's Collection* as first published in the *Boston Miscellany*. With plates, including a portrait] (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1946). Goodspeed's piece was first published in the PMS publication *The American Neptune* Volume 5, No.4 (Oct. 1945), 15-16.

notes, "What the commentators have overlooked is the connection of Hawthorne's essay to the Marine Museum and the extraordinary manner in which Museum objects were made to serve the Virtuoso's Collection by suggesting things that had elsewhere attracted the author's attention."[110]

Nathaniel Hawthorne retreated from Salem society for seven years after the underwhelming reception to his first published work, *Fanshawe*, in 1828.[111] In 1832, Hawthorne visited the museum probably for the first time, even though his late father was a member and he knew the former superintendent, Malthus A. Ward, from his days at Bowdoin College.[112] Hawthorne brought with him Samuel Dinsmore Jr. (1799-1869), clerk of the New Hampshire State Senate and later governor, and future President of the United States Franklin Pierce (1804-1869), a close friend from Hawthorne's college days. All three men are listed in the visitor guestbook.[113]

At the time of Hawthorne's visit, the museum was in its most prosperous phase even though Salem's mercantile trade was declining. Goodspeed believes this environment offered a new fertile ground for Hawthorne's creativity.

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[110] Ibid, 16. Goodspeed is forthright with his ignorance of the Society and its collection until a short time before writing the article, which actually makes his case more convincing. "In beginning I ought to say that not having seen the Society's building my acquaintance with its history and its treasures is secondhand. With the *Virtuoso's Collection*, however, I have been on terms of casual reading for many years. Yet that sketch, tale, essay, or what you will, appears to be as little known to most persons as the East India Marine Society was to me a few months ago. Biographers have looked on Hawthorne's paper as of no importance in the sum of his work. The novelist's commentators are numbered by the dozens but I do not find that any of them have used the *Virtuoso* as a subject." Ibid, 3.

[111] Godspeed recounts, "Disheartened by failure, his sensitive nature shrank from social contacts and, as youth faded, the family inclination towards retirement prevailed. We should not be quite accurate if we said (as did Hawthorne himself) that he was a recluse, for there are accounts of his rambles in the region adjacent to Salem." Ibid, 6.

[112] Goodspeed notes, "Hawthorne was an undergraduate, and Ward a student at the Medical College. A letter from Hawthorne to his sister Louisa in 1823 where he bespeaks her influence in favor of Dr. Ward on the latter's impending settlement in Salem shows that there was a degree of intimacy between the two men." Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

> in Salem there were "odd corners and shadowy households where symbols and realities seemed much the same." In this receptive environment seeds of Swedenborg's mystical doctrines (doctrines that in part seem to have been accepted by Hawthorne) were quietly dropped while as yet the rising cult of the realists in Salem was not a major force. The soil was fertile for the development of Hawthorne's peculiar genius, as his work at this period shows.[114]

Still, ten years would go by before *Virtuoso* was published.[115]

The connections between Hawthorne's *Virtuoso* and the East India Marine Society museum are evident from the outset. He begins in a manner akin to other visitor's recollections, telling the reader:

> The other day, having a leisure hour at my disposal, I stept [sic] into a new museum, to which my notice was casually drawn by a small and unobtrusive sign: "To be seen here, a Virtuoso's Collection." Such was the simple, yet not altogether unpromising announcement, that turned my steps aside, for a little while, from the sunny sidewalk of our principal thoroughfare. Mounting a sombre stair-case, I pushed open a door at its summit…[116]

While the doorkeeper charges the narrator admission, his description of this attendant denotes a prior life at sea. "He wore an old-fashioned greatcoat, much faded, within which his meagre person was so completely enveloped that the rest of his attire was undistinguishable. But his visage was remarkably wind-flushed, sunburnt, and weather-

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[114] Ibid, 11.

[115] Ibid, 11. Goodspeed's dating of the creation of the *Virtuoso* is based on the inclusion of the raven from *Barnaby Rudge* in the story, thus it was not crafted "earlier than the latter part of the year 1841." Ibid, footnote 10. He also notes that "There is evidence that as early as 1836 Hawthorne was toying with the thought of writing *A Virtuoso's Collection* and also that he was associating the idea with the Marine Museum," but does not offer a concrete citation for this claim. Ibid, 13. Goodspeed also states that Hawthorne's "conception of a narrative to which the objects designed for his projected museum would be related is seen in Hawthorne's note-book for 1840, where this memorandum appears: 'To make a story of all strange and impossible things…in the Virtuoso's Collection. Previously (in his note-book for 1836) Hawthorne wrote: 'A satirical article might be made out of the idea of an imaginary museum, containing such articles as Aaron's rod; the petticoat of General Hawion…The idea to be wrought out and extended. Perhaps it might be the museum of a deceased old man…Nevertheless, in this memorandum we have the framework of Hawthorne's plan." Ibid.

[116] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *A Virtuoso's Collection, and Other Tales* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1877), 8.

worn…"[117] Unlike the East India Marine Society museum, one individual amassed this collection. The narrator described this man, who tours him around the museum, as:

> a middle-aged person, of whom it was not easy to determine whether he had spent his life as a scholar or as a man of action; in truth, all outward and obvious peculiarities had been worn away by an extensive and promiscuous intercourse with the world. There was no mark about him of profession, individual habits, or scarcely of country; although his dark complexion and high features made me conjecture that he was a native of some southern clime of Europe. At all events, he was evidently the virtuoso in person.[118]

From this point on, numerous examples abound between Hawthorne's narrative and the physical layout of the Society's museum. Like East India Marine Hall, Hawthorne describes the interior of the virtuoso's museum as "extensive" and "spacious" at different points in the story.[119] Hawthorne's narrator remarks on an incongruous display of objects in the Virtuoso's museum, "the tendency to whimsical combinations and ludicrous analogies, which seemed to influence many of the arrangements of the Museum."[120] These installations include "the golden thigh of Pythagoras...on the same shelf with Peter Stuyvesant's wooden leg" and "close opposition of...the wooden statue,

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[117] Ibid, 9.

[118] Hawthorne, *A Virtuoso's Collection*, 9. Goodspeed notes that the term "virtuoso" in Hawthorne's time was "applied to learned or skilled persons, to members of scientific bodies; experimental philosophers. It is now most frequently used to describe one notably proficient in musical performance though occasionally as in the past it is applied to the collector of natural objects and curiosities or to the connoisseur in choicely fabricated articles." Goodspeed, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society*, 11.

[119] Goodspeed, Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society, 13.

[120] Hawthorne, *A Virtuoso's Collection*, 37. In a similar manner, the *Commercial Advertiser* of November 10, 1846, listed objects that were the physical manifestations of play-on-words or of mythical origin. Entitled "The National Museum," this piece centered on the formation of the institution today known as the Smithsonian. "This newly devised establishment seems likely to be furnished with a rare assortment of curiosities, and to redound as much to the honor of the editorial profession, as the Salem Museum has done to that of commercial men and those employed in the merchant service." The author then proceeds to note objects such as "the skeleton of the dragon slain by St. George," "the title deeds and keys of a castle in the air," and "The wings of the goose that laid the golden egg," which are among the editorial "cabinet of rare and unique collections of ancient time as well as of modern date…having some association either with past or present history" that they offer to the new museum.

so well known as the Palladium of Troy ... with the wooden head of General Jackson, which was stolen, a few years since, from the bows of the Constitution."[121] Some objects seem directly connected to East India Marine Society objects, such as "the shell of the egg which Columbus set upon its end," which relates directly to Cornè's painting of the same subject.[122]

As Goodspeed notes, this "comparison between the odd associations disclosed by the museum catalogue and similar arrangements in the *Virtuoso* shows a kinship between the two museums."[123] In addition, Hawthorne's story also uses language that is based on the Society's by-laws published in the 1821 catalogue to "form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities." When describing Don Quixote's "Rosinante", Hawthorne's narrator comments "...if my heart had not warmed towards that pitiful anatomy, I might as well have quitted the Museum at once. Its rarities had not been collected with pain and toil from the four quarters of the earth, and from the depths of the sea, and from the palaces and sepulchres of ages, for those who could mistake this illustrious steed."[124] Perhaps this inspired Jones Very to write in verse that the Society's collections had been "gathered, with cost and pains, from every clime."[125] Regardless, the connections between Hawthorne's story and the East India Marine Society museum are numerous.

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[121] Ibid, 22, 37-38. For more on the unusual history of the USS *Constitution*'s Andrew Jackson figurehead, see Valentijn Byvanck, "The Jackson Figurehead," *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 35, No. 4 (Winter 2000): 253-267, and Sam Roberts, "President's Features Reunited After 176 Years," *The New York Times*, April 4th, 2010.
[122] Ibid, 34.
[123] Goodspeed, Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society, 13.
[124] Hawthorne, A Virtuoso's Collection, 11.
[125] Hawthorne even mentions Very in the story. "From Jones Very, a poet whose voice is scarcely heard among us by reason of its depth, there was a Wind Flower and a Columbine." Ibid, 33. Other Transcendentalist writers appear in the text as well.

Hawthorne's overall impression of the virtuoso's collection, and by extension the Society's museum, is not flattering. He proclaims at one point that he has "little interest in the science," and when he is shown numerous magical objects such as "Cornelius Agrippa's magic glass," he tells the virtuoso "these works of magic have grown wearisome to me. There are so many greater wonders in the world, to those who keep their eyes open and their sight undimmed by custom, that all the delusions of the old sorcerers seem flat and stale. Unless you can show me something really curious, I care not to look further into your museum."[126] This dismissive attitude continues throughout the story, regardless of whether the virtuoso shows the narrator a finger from the Colossus of Rhodes or the skull of King Phillip. After seeing countless objects, and having "completed the circuit of the spacious hall," the narrator was "Feeling somewhat wearied with the survey of so many novelties and antiquities."[127] Finally, when the narrator takes his leave of the museum, the virtuoso points out that "the inner door of the hall was constructed with the ivory leaves of the gateway through which Æneas and the Sibyl had been dismissed from Hades," denoting the demonic and unnatural character of the virtuoso's, and perhaps the Society's, museum.[128]

Another important aspect of Hawthorne's connection to the East India Marine Society museum was his varied connections to the Transcendentalists.[129] As Alfred Rosa

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[126] Ibid, 18.
[127] Ibid, 38.
[128] Ibid, 43.
[129] Rosa notes, "Hawthorne was encouraged very early in his career by his wife's sister, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, a member of the Transcendental group, and his wife Sophia was sympathetic to the Newness and was a close friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson's. Hawthorne himself was a friend of Jones Very, a minor Salem Transcendentalist, a mystic, and a sonneteer of considerable skill. After Hawthorne's stay at Brook Farm, the much publicized Transcendental Utopian community, he and his wife moved to Concord, the

notes, "Whether or not Hawthorne was a Transcendentalist or to what degree he accepted or rejected that philosophy has long been an area of controversy. Hawthorne made few public comments about Transcendentalism; it is chiefly in his fiction that one can determine his attitudes toward the movement."[130] Hawthorne did have a direct connection to the movement, though, serving as corresponding secretary for the Salem Lyceum and attracting Transcendentalists to speak in the city. In November 1848, he wrote to Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) to arrange a lecture and likely did the same for Emerson who gave over fifty lectures at the Salem Lyceum from 1836 to 1871.[131]

Through this channel, there was an influx of Transcendentalist speakers in Salem, which inspired the city's own contributions to the movement in the form of Elizabeth Peabody, Jones Very, William Silsbee, Octavius B. Frothingham, Samuel Johnson Jr., and Hawthorne.[132] Naturally, they found their way to the East India Marine Society Museum, and the visitor guestbooks record the names of Emerson and others. Thoreau, who visited on September 24th, 1858, notes in his journal, "Saw at the East India Marine Hall a bay lynx killed in Danvers July 21st (I think in 1827); another killed in Lynnfield in March 1832…The animal is much larger than I expected…also a sword in its

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center of New England Transcendentalism. In Concord, Hawthorne came to know Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, the younger Channing, and Margaret Fuller, leading Transcendentalists who lived there." Rosa, *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne*, 12-13.

[130] Ibid, 16-17, 15.

[131] Ibid, 44. Hawthorne notes in this letter to Thoreau of his distaste for the position: "This Secretaryship is an intollerable bore. I have traveled thirty miles, this wet day for no other business." Ibid.

[132] Ibid, 84. Still, Rosa characterizes Salem's reaction to Transcendentalism as, "neither overtly hostile nor very enthusiastic for the commercially oriented Salem… Salem's reaction to Transcendentalism is evidenced in the short, barbed criticisms that found their way into the Salem newspapers, the reviews of Emerson's lectures also found there, the later assessment of Emerson by Henry K. Oliver, those immediate responses by Upham and Brazer to Very's announcement of the second coming, the sympathies of Elizabeth and Sophia Peabody, and the relationship between literary figures inside as Well as outside Salem-Hawthorne's relationship with the Peabodys and Very and Emerson and Thoreau chiefly. Ibid, 113, 85.

scabbard, found in the road near Concord April 19, 1775, and supposed to have belonged to a British officer."[133] He also notes:

> On the 24th, at the East India Marine Hall, saw a circular stone mortar about six inches in diameter, and a stone exactly like the above in it, described as pestle and mortar found in making Salem Turnpike. Were they together? Also, at the last place, what was called the blade of an Indian knife found on Governor Endicott's farm, broken, three or four inches long, of a lightcolored kind of slate, quite thin, with a back. It might have been for skinning.[134]

Hawthorne and the Transcendentalists were not the only literary figures to visit and write about their experiences at the East India Marine Society Museum.[135] Eliza Leslie (1787-1858), a well-known domestic theorist in her day according to literary historian Etsuko Taketani, and editor of *Miss Leslie's Magazine* and the annual *The Gift*,

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[133] Bradford Torrey and Francis Henry Allen, eds. *The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau*, Volume 2 (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1962), 178. The first Bay Lynx, number 1629, was purchased by several Society members in 1821 for the collection. It was killed in Danvers, MA on January 2nd, 1821. According to the *Salem Register* of March 1848, Charles Curtis shot it and David N. Harwood clubbed it to death. The other Lynx, number 4318, was donated by Ebenezer Aborn, Francis Spinny and David A. Swasy of Lynnfield, MA in 1832. It was killed by Aborn in Lynnfield in March of 1832, and is also mentioned in the *Salem Register* of March 1848. The sword, number 3499, was donated by Pickering Dodge in 1826.

[134] Henry David Thoreau, *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, July 2, 1858-February 28,* 1859, Volume 11, Bradford Torrey, ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906), 170. The mortar and pestle, number 677 in the 1821 catalogue and numbers 251 and 252 in the original manuscript catalogue, were donated by Benjamin Carpenter and Benjamin Blanchard, respectively, in 1802. The stone knife blade, number 679 in the 1821 catalogue and number 493a in the original manuscript catalogue, was donated by the Honorable Nathan Reed circa 1804 to 1806. According to the nineteenth-century archaeologist Charles Conrad Abbott, "This specimen consists of about one-half of the knife, and was evidently, when perfect, about six inches long and two and a quarter deep. It was made of a slate very much like the Salem specimen, but without the dark and red veins and mottlings." Charles Conrad Abbott, *Primitive industry: or, Illustrations of the handiwork in Stone, Bone and Clay of the Native Races of the Northern Atlantic Seaboard of America* (Salem, MA: George A. Bates, 1881), 68.

[135] The American author Sarah Jane Clarke, also known as Grace Greenwood, notes in regards to the museum when convalescing in 1848, "Salem is superbly situated and a finely built city, having about it an ancient and most aristocratic air. When I visited here some two years since, I was shown such agreeable curiosities and entertaining lions as the East India Museum, the house where the White murder was committed—the hall wherein they tried the witches, and the hill on which they hung them." "From the Philad. Saturday Evening Post. LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD. Lynn, June 20th, 1848," *Salem Register*, July 3rd, 1848.

wrote extensively about the museum in an 1844 essay, "Pencillings of Boston."[136] She considers it as the main attraction for tourists, noting "Many strangers go to Salem for the purpose of visiting its celebrated museum, which contains a fine collection of curiosities from all parts of the world…A veteran captain is always in attendance to give whatever explanation may be desired concerning the curiosities, all of which are numbered—and catalogues are kept in the room for the convenience of visitors while there."[137] Leslie believes that "The contents of this liberal and public-spirited museum are admirably classed and arranged, and in excellent preservation," and when briefly describing the natural history collection in East India Marine Hall, she is attracted to the use of natural resources for the creation of art. "We saw part of the gigantic root of a bannian fig-tree. Its huge fibres branch and interlace in the most complex and intricate manner, forming a sort of natural network; and the knots at the crossing-places are carved into effigies of the frightful idols of the Hindoo mythology…It had been an object of adoration in an Asiatic temple."[138]

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[136] Etsuko Taketani, *U.S. Women Writers and the Discourses of Colonialism, 1825-1861* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 66-67. Taketani notes this essay, published in *The Gift*, "includes a fascinating account of Major Thomas Melvill, Herman Melville's grandfather, and his 'tea relic'." Ibid, 67.
[137] Eliza Leslie ("Miss Leslie"), "Pencillings of Boston," in *The Gift: A Christmas and New Year's Present* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1844), 213.
[138] Leslie, "Pencillings of Boston," 213. This is number 4400, "The root of the Banian tree (Ficus religiosa) fantastically wrought and used as an object of idolatry by the Chinese," donated by John Perkins Cushing in 1832. It is also mentioned in *Art and Man: Comparative Art Studies*. "The beauty in a work of art is of course a permanent quality and reveals the feeling and taste of the maker. But that very beauty is certainly an intangible something, for it is apprehended differently by different onlookers, according to their feelings and taste. Some examples of how various people see the same thing will perhaps illustrate how difficult it is to speak of the absolute beauty of a work of art…In the Salem Peabody Museum is the root of a banyan tree, carved into a number of semi-tangible forms by some clever Chinese artist. I consider it a great work of art. But whoever wrote the label for it evidently did not think so, for the label reads 'Banyan tree root, grotesquely carved by the Chinese.' Perhaps the labeler assumed that some coolies carved this root when not, occupied in other manual labor. One can only say that the standpoints of art students are many and various." Edwin Swift Balch and Eugenia Hargous Macfarlane Balch, *Art and Man: Comparative Art Studies* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1918),112-113.

Still, Leslie is most intrigued by the mainstays of the collection, the Indian palanquin and the figures of Eastern merchants. She offers a window into her preconceptions of palanquins, most likely formed by turn-of-the-century travel narratives and Anglo-European prints, noting that she expected them to be light and "rather elegant vehicles."[139] Instead, when confronted with a physical example, she exclaims that it is, "surpassingly clumsy, and indeed ugly. It seemed the most cumbrous, awkward, and tiresome mode of conveyance imaginable; and it must be almost equally fatiguing to the carriers and the carried…I have long been sceptical [sic] as to the boasted luxuries of India."[140] The Society's palanquin, therefore, reorients Leslie's opinions, regardless of their accuracy.

In regards to the figures of Chinese and Indian merchants, Leslie believes they are the products of Eastern artists. "Like the Chinese, the people of India are surprisingly skilful in making these effigies. From the variety of feature and expression, the faces must undoubtedly have been modelled [sic] from life—the only way to obtain a variety, for there is usually a most monotonous similarity in faces created according to

[139] Leslie, "Pencillings of Boston," 213. Historian Rosmarie Zagarri notes, "In the United States, an explosion in print media brought British India and the United States into closer contact during the decades after the American Revolution. Newspapers and periodicals were filled with information about India. American men and women could routinely read accounts of the latest famines to strike the region, missionaries' observations on the spread of Christianity, reports about the East India Company's wars against native rulers, and travelers' remarks on exotic Indian manners and customs. American newspapers also paid close attention to." Zagarri, "The Significance of the 'Global Turn' for the Early American Republic Globalization in the Age of Nation-Building," 11.

[140] Leslie, "Pencillings of Boston," 213-214. Leslie also eludes to the use of this palanquin, noting "I did not wonder that the bearers who have to trot with these things under the burning sun of India, should, as is said, regale the occupant all the while with perpetual groans. Instead of the usual complement of eight bearers (four at a time), this palanquin looked as if it would require twelve to relieve each other, so as to make the business endurable." Ibid, 214

the imagination of a human artist."[141] Here, the grouping of figures together hides the fact that some, like the figures of Yamqua and Nusserwanjee, were made by local artists. Leslie holds these figures of merchants made for a Western gaze in higher esteem than the other "idols" in the Hall that were used by Eastern and North American cultures, "brought from different parts of the yet-uncivilized world," and is amazed that "such ugly and uncouth objects could, even by savages, be regarded as emblematic of the deities whom they believed it their duty to worship. Does the North American Indian adore any but the One Being, to whom he gives the true and sublime titles of the Great Spirit and the Master of Life?—and of him he presumes to carve no image."[142] In this instance, Leslie is not able to part with her preconceived notions of foreign cultures.

Leslie holds her highest admiration for Western figures not associated with the sea or mercantilism. She is particularly smitten with "a little work of ingenuity which must have been very gladly admitted into the collection, though not furnished by any of the hardy brotherhood that 'go down to the sea in ships, and behold the wonders of the deep.'"[143] This is Lucy Hiller Cleveland's (1780-1866) *The Sick Chamber*, number 4305, made for a charitable fair in 1831 and donated soon after it was purchased from this exhibition (fig. 107).[144] It was displayed on top of a low case on the eastern wall of the

[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid, 215-216.
[143] Ibid, 214.
[144] Cleveland made many figural pieces for similar charitable fairs in the antebellum period and also anonymously wrote children's books published in Boston between 1827 and 1842. Through both media, she focuses on abolition, temperance, and social benevolence. Cleveland's second marriage was to Society member and second cousin William Cleveland, and she accompanied him on voyages to the East in 1828 and 1829. Paula Bradstreet Richter, "Lucy Cleveland, Folk Artist," *The Magazine Antiques* Vol. 158 (August 2000): 206-207. Also see Paula Bradstreet Richter, "Lucy Cleveland's 'Figures of Rags': Textile Arts and Social Commentary in Early-Nineteenth-Century New England," in *Textiles in Early New England: Design, Production, and Consumption, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual*

Hall, just below Benjamin Tanner's prints (fig. 100). Leslie comments that this object, also mentioned by E.H.F., is the work of women, "a curious and astonishing testimony of the skill and patience of a lady of unrivalled genius in that branch of the art of dollmaking whose productions are shamefully slandered by the degrading and unjust title of rag-babies."[145]

For Leslie, this object holds a personal connection, as she "can positively declare (having often made them myself,) that the genteel sort have no rags in their composition."[146] She gives a detailed description of the object, longer than her other musings from the museum, and notes that "the Lady of Salem" crafted figures "none of which are more than a foot high…into the most admirable resemblance of the human form and face, and with such consummate skill and exquisite neatness, that it is difficult to comprehend how so nice a process could be accomplished with such perfect success."[147] She concludes, "The lady that made these miniature effigies must have been well versed in the art of drawing: the art that assists all arts, and should be taught in every school, along with reading and writing, and considered as an indispensable part of even a common education."[148]

Leslie's final assessment of the museum is full of praise.

Proceedings 1997. Boston, MA: Boston University, 1999: 48-63. PEM curator Paula Richter notes that *The Sick Chamber* was Cleveland's most complex ensemble probably based on life experience and possibly a lithograph of George Washington on his deathbed, but she may have worked from an English engraving entitled *The Sick Chamber*, after the French painter Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), which was sold at auction in Salem on September 9th, 1831, by T. Deland & Co.

[145] Leslie, "Pencillings of Boston," 214.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid, 215.

[148] Ibid.

> In conclusion—I recommend to all my readers who have not yet seen it, a visit to the Salem Museum; and those who have been there already, will find much pleasure in going again. This institution derives an unusual interest from the circumstances connected with its origin and maintenance. It is justly the pride of the generous ship-masters whose fathers were among its founders, and who are ever mindful to bring home from their long and perilous voyages, something that may be added to this their cherished collection.[149]

She also notes with surprise, like many visitors, that this museum is open to all free of charge. "When I was last there, a gentleman who accompanied my niece and myself, said to the venerable curator—'As so many strangers come to Salem for the purpose of seeing your museum, I think you would find it very profitable to make a charge for admission.' 'I'd rather dig clams!'—was the old captain's indignant answer."[150]

Beyond Hawthorne's *A Virtuoso Collection*, the East India Marine Society museum made its way into other literary works. In Day Kellogg Lee's (1816-1869) 1854 novel *Merrimack: Or, Life at the Loom*, a fictional first-person narrative of an orphaned thirteen-year-old girl who goes to work in the mills, we learn that, "Mr. Keezle was one of your jolly-faced worldlings, and at first he made me think of Santa Claus, as Clement Moore describes him, and afterwards he reminded me still more of a little alabaster image with a squatted lump of a body, a flattened head, and shining face, which the sea captains brought from India and set up in the Salem museum."[151] Lee was obviously taken by the nephrite Chinese Jos donated by William Ward in 1800, and returns to it later in the book

[149] Ibid, 216.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Day Kellogg Lee, *Merrimack: Or, Life at the Loom* (New York: Redfield, 1854), 196. Lee, born in Sempronius, NY, was a Universalist pastor in many towns, including Salem, when he likely visited the museum. He settled in New York City in 1865. According to his obituary in the *New York Tribune*, "He received the honorary degree of M.A. from Tufts College, Mass., in 1864, and that of D.D. from the Theological School of St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y. in 1868…He was also an extensive writer, contributing frequently to the Universalist denominational newspapers and other periodicals, and also preparing for publication a series of books under the general title of 'Tales of Labor,' comprising four volumes." This book was part of the series. *New York Tribune*, June 4th, 1869.

when a character notes, "Our hosts were in their happiest mood. As I looked up on the proud Sheriff, although he was dressed superbly, I at first thought of the alabaster image in Salem Museum, with its bald, flattened head, and its great shiny lump of a face."[152]

On a larger scale, *Lottie Wilde's Picnic*, published in 1867 by "Grandmother Hope" (possibly Henry Galley Knight), contains a lengthy scene of the protagonist Lottie and her school class visiting the museum.[153] In Chapter VI, entitled "Monday at the Academy", the class' teacher Mr. Homer announces, "'The summer term of the academy is of four weeks' longer duration; and I am empowered to say, that if, during the remainder of the term, you appear as well in your deportment and school exercises as you have to-day, on the first Wednesday of your vacation you are invited to visit the East-India Marine Museum in Salem.' A suppressed murmur of applause was heard through the school."[154] The next, and last, chapter entitled "Visit to the Museum" is devoted entirely to the class's excursion, and reads as a narrative version of the museum catalogue.

After a brief description of the museum's origins for the reader, the usual boilerplate material taken from prior museum or newspaper publications, we are told that as the class entered the hall "they were startled at the sight of a number of images, large

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[152] Ibid, 252.

[153] School groups often visited the East India Marine Society museum. The *Salem Gazette* of September 2nd, 1834 notes a "bevy of fair young ladies, between forty and fifty in number, all in their gala dresses…the pupils of a flourishing Female Academy in Andover, under the care of Mr. Samuel Lamson…visited…the East India Museum." The *Salem Register* of July 12th, 1847 describes a visit of the Chelsea Congregational Sabbath School to Salem on July 5th, where they "marched to the East India Marine Hall, where a half hour was spent in examining the fine collection of curiosities there." In addition, the Harvard Street Baptist School of Boston visited in 1844, per a short article in the *Daily Atlas* of August 5th, 1844.

[154] Henry Gally Knight, *Lottie Wilde's Picnic by Grandmother Hope. Founded on Facts* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1867), 136.

as life, sitting round in a semicircle before them."[155] Like King and other children who visited the museum, these boys and girls were captivated by what they saw. The reader is given a long description of objects encountered from the Pacific Islands, Near East, and other portions of the world, such as, "a wooden instrument, curiously carved, and edged with the teeth of a shark, used by the natives of New Zealand, and formerly by the Sandwich-Islanders, to cut up human bodies, both those taken prisoners and those slain in battle. It was presented by William Richardson, Esq."[156] Next, a character named Will Freeman exclaims, "Look here, Harry…here is an instrument made of the bone of a whale, used by the natives of New Zealand as a war-weapon, and a paddle called patoo-patoo."[157] As in texts by Ann Royall and others, all objects are given brief acknowledgement apart from one—the carved rosary bead donated by Elias Hasket Derby Jr., "the greatest curiosity of all."[158]

Unlike most real and fictional accounts of the museum, this book challenges gender stereotypes. The tour guide, Mr. Preston, attempts to steer the boys to look at objects deemed appropriate for males, and vice versa. The children, however, have other ideas.

> "Alice, see this frock, made of the intestines of the sea-lion!" said Lillie Rutter.
> "Yes, Lillie; and you come and look at this one, made out of the intestines of the whale," replied Alice.
> "Young ladies," said Mr. Preston, "you will like to examine this elegant shawl: it is made of red and yellow feathers, and worn by the ladies in Owhyhee. The boys, I suppose, will prefer to look at the specimens of marble from Herculaneum and Pompeii."

[155] Ibid, 165.
[156] Ibid, 166.
[157] Ibid, 166-167.
[158] Ibid, 171.

> "I had rather look at those than the handsomest shawl that ever was made," said Eva Ingersoll. "So had I," said many voices.[159]

Rather than force the children to look at objects, Mr. Preston admits his fault. "'Ah, then I was mistaken!' said Mr. Preston. 'I thought the young ladies were more fond of dress than any thing else.' But the young ladies were so intent upon the curiosities, that they had no time to resent such an unwarrantable assertion."[160] In the nineteenth century, as in today's world, children held a unique ability to challenge established norms and change adult attitudes and opinions.

At the end of their visit, four hours in all, "Several gentlemen, members of the society, were present, and pronounced themselves so highly gratified with the exemplary conduct of the young ladies and gentlemen, that they extended them a cordial invitation to visit the Museum on their next vacation."[161] When Lottie arrives home, she gives her parents an account of her visit. Again, the rosary bead takes center stage as the only object she describes. "One thing I shall never forget: it is the view of the upper and lower world. How any one can take the glass, and study those countenances for any length of time, without resolving to give themselves to Christ as their Saviour, is more than I can tell. As I stood gazing at the wondrous work, I felt more resolved than ever to take Jesus as my portion and friend forever."[162] Rather than extolling the wonders of the non-Western world, Lottie professes her devotion to Christian religious doctrine.

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[159] Ibid, 169-170.
[160] Ibid, 170.
[161] Ibid, 173.
[162] Knight, Lottie Wilde's Picnic by Grandmother Hope, 164-176.

In all of these accounts, it is clear that visitors' experiences at East India Marine Hall were integral to the museum's notoriety beyond the North Shore of Massachusetts. Some gained an appreciation for other cultures or obtained new perspectives on the world outside of their city, state, or country, while others reconfirmed preconceived notions of far-away lands and people. In the end, though, almost all acknowledged the work of East India Marine Society members to build a uniquely American museum. This is encapsulated by E.D. Eliot's short story "The Lost Deed: A Legend of Old Salem," a tale that touches upon Salem's Golden Age of maritime trade and the foundation of the museum. At one point in the story, the character Dick Seaward takes his friend George to meet his father, a ship's captain, and, "eat cocoa-nuts, and see the curiosities which the captain had brought home."[163] This mariner took a liking to George, and, like Society members in the Hall, "spared no pains to entertain him."[164] This old salt "appeared like some hero of romance to his wondering guest" and "ransacked his memory, stored by voyages of five-and-twenty years, for marvelous adventures, unheard of perils by shipwreck, pirates, etc. His narrative…produced much such an effect on his hearer's excited imagination, as Don Quixote might have experienced at hearing the adventures of Amadis de Gaul from his own mouth."[165]

Material culture augmented the mariner's stories. "The captain then displayed his curiosities; these were numerous and strange, and served in some sort as illustrations of his discourse. There were elephant's tusks and ostrich's eggs, the sword of the sword-

[163] E.D. Eliot, "The Lost Deed: A Legend of Old Salem," *Graham's Magazine*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Philadelphia, January, 1852): 20.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid, 20-21.

fish, and the saw of the saw-fish; there was a nautilus' shell, which might have carried a boat's crew; and there was the entire skin of an enormous snake, which the captain intended to have stuffed and hung as a capital ornament round the best room."[166] To George, they were wonders of the unknown world and physical proof of the tales he had just heard, and "he looked upon the possessor of them with a feeling almost amounting to awe."[167] These were not merely sailor's heirlooms, though, but rather, "after being handed down through several generations, they were among the first deposited in the Salem Museum upon its being founded; and they there formed a nucleus, around which has been gathered, from time to time the present noble collection."[168]

At the time the Society sold East India Marine Hall and had deposited its collection in the newly formed Peabody Academy of Science, the museum's global importance was cemented in the minds of both Americans and foreigners. A writer for the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1868 states "The name of the village of Salem is as familiar to Americans as that of any provincial town in England or France is to Englishmen and Frenchmen" due to the witchcraft trials of 1692 and the East India Marine Society's museum.[169] He notes that in the antebellum era "The houses were hung with odd Chinese copies of English engravings, and furnished with a variety of pretty and useful articles from China, never seen elsewhere, because none but American traders had then achieved any commerce with that country but in tea, nankeen, and silk."[170] The

[166] Ibid, 21.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] "ART. I.—Salem Witchcraft; with An Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects," *The Edinburgh Review* Vol. 128, No. 261 (July 1868): 3.
[170] Ibid.

author also accurately concludes that the Society's spreading of its global awareness was done through the collection and display of objects, stating that "[e]ach speculative merchant who went forth…was determined to bring home some offering to the Museum...and, whether the adventurer came home rich or poor, he was sure to have gained much knowledge, and to have become very entertaining in discourse."[171]

For these reasons and more, the author declares that "[t]he Salem Museum was the glory of the town, and even of the State."[172] Thirty-five years earlier, the *New-York Journal of Commerce* similarly proclaimed "[h]as the reader ever visited the Salem East India Museum?—We have many a time: and we do not hesitate to say that to *us* it is the most interesting Museum which we ever entered."[173] These words still ring true, and the institution started by a group of worldly mariners continues to thrive and inspire visitors.

[171] Ibid. The focus of this article is a review of Charles W. Upham's book on Salem's witchcraft era. The author also notes: "If we were on the spot today, we should see a modern American seaport, with an interest of its own, but by no means a romantic one. At present Salem is suffering its share of the adversity which has fallen upon the shipping trade, while it is still mourning the loss of some of its noblest citizens in the late civil war…but there is the same vigorous pursuit of intellectual interests and pleasures, throughout the society of the place, that there always is wherever any number of New Englanders have made their homes beside the church, the library, and the school…In Salem society there was a singular combination of the precision and scrupulousness of Puritan manners and habits of thought with the pride of a cultivated and travelled community, boasting acquaintance with people of all known faiths, and familiarity with all known ways of living and thinking, while adhering to the customs, and even the prejudices, of their fathers…" Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] From an excerpt from the *New-York Journal of Commerce* that ran in the *Salem Gazette* of May 21st, 1833.

CONCLUSION:

"That thus their exploits, on the ocean wave, from age to age might still be handed down": A Continuing Legacy of Inspiration

> I am glad to know that the old East India Marine Hall has been restored by the Peabody Museum so that its usefulness will be continued through the years. All who cherish the sagas of the old Salem sea captains and merchants will be thankful that this glorious memorial to the Golden Age of New England shipping is to be perpetuated.

Letter from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Augustus P. Loring Jr., President of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of Salem, read at the rededication of the restored East India Marine Hall on November 4th, 1943.[1]

The agreement between George Peabody, the Essex Institute, and the East India Marine Society to create the Peabody Academy of Science was read at a trustees meeting for the newly formed institution on Saturday, April 13th, 1867.[2] In addition, the plans for renovating and reinstalling East India Marine Hall were discussed. Both documents recognized the East India Marine Society's importance to Salem and American history

[1] Transcribed in Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 3.

[2] The formation of the Academy was a more complicated endeavor than most historical accounts on the museum have implied. After Essex Institute President Colonel Francis Peabody (1801-1868) obtained a promise of funding from George Peabody, the later Peabody stressed the need for a permanent building as the Institute had been renting Plummer Hall from the Salem Athenaeum. Essex Institute officers and trustees eyed East India Marine Hall, as they knew the Society was under great financial stress. John Robinson notes: "This attempt had been frustrated by the more patriotic members of the Society, who rallied at a meeting and voted down the proposition to sell the museum, which some less devoted members actually favored…Mr. Ingersol Bowditch, Mr. John Bertram and Mr. Richard S. Rogers were interviewed on the subject and, being influential members of the East India Marine Society, it was felt sure that their Advocacy would carry the vote of the society in favor of the plan. They all favored it and after due consideration by the society, and the circumlocution with the peculiar situation signed, the purchase was effected." John Robinson, "The Peabody Academy of Science: Its Inception. A Bit of Private History. From Data Obtained from Dr. Wheatland, etc.," 3-4. Typescript Paper in the Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. Some Essex Institute officers and trustees, too, had problems with this proposal. While both Peabodys wanted to rename the Institute, several individuals were against it. The dissenters won out, but instead of removing the Essex Institute to East India Marine Hall, a new organization was formed with a new board of trustees.

and ensured that the Society's collections and legacy would be maintained for future generations. The Society had agreed to "deposit said collections and museum" with the Trustees of the Academy who planned "to alter said Hall, erect other buildings, add to said collections, and rearrange and combine the whole together."[3] The Academy further assured the East India Marine Society that their collection, "upon the trust and confidence" of the Academy, "shall be kept in said Hall by the said Trustees, or in a building equally as good, and properly cared for and arranged, as the deposit of said Society, giving to the same equal care and protection bestowed upon other collections …to be kept by them and their successors."[4]

The proposed redesign for East India Marine Hall called for all East India Marine Society archaeological or ethnological objects and "such articles as have reference to the history of said Society" to be installed in cases on the east wall with "if practicable," with similar objects from the Essex Institute "or other collections."[5] Natural history objects from both organizations would be arranged with "the general collections in said Hall" and "labelled and catalogued as the deposit of said Society."[6] Finally, the Academy

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[3] "Agreement with the East India Marine Society," in *First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science* (January 1869): 8-9.

[4] Ibid, 9. John Robinson notes that at this time "the Essex Institute had accumulated a large and valuable collection of specimens of natural history, which required much care and a large expenditure of money for their preservation and exhibition." Robinson, *Visitor's Guide to Salem*, 89.

[5] "Agreement with the East India Marine Society," 9. The *Cape Ann Light and Gloucester Telegraph* of May 18th, 1867, whose subtitle notes it is "Devoted to Patriotism, Sound Morals, Temperance, Literature and News," reports that the Trustees of the Peabody Academy invited the public to see the Hall one last time before renovations were made. At the end of this short piece, the author states that the East India Marine Society "became reduced by the vicissitudes of trade, to less than seventy-five members. And just at this point, when it must either disappear as a body corporate or change its nature, that Providence which would seem to have tenderly regarded its decline, put it into the heart of one of the most favored of our contemporaries to rescue from both time and Barnum all that was not perishable of this ancient and honored society."

[6] "Agreement with the East India Marine Society," 9. The agreement also stipulated that if any natural history objects "in said deposit shall become duplicates by the union of said collections with other

ensured that Society members would continue to have free access to the Hall once it reopened "to visit, and to introduce their friends to visit the same, which they now have to their own museum…And it is further agreed, that the said Trustees shall furnish suitable rooms and accommodations, free of charge, for all business meetings of the officers and members of said Society, during the existence of said Society."[7]

The renovation and reconfiguration of East India Marine Hall from 1867 to 1869, under the direction of new superintendent Frederick Ward Putnam (1839-1914), an important figure in American anthropology, culminated in the opening of the Peabody Academy of Science in August of 1869.[8] Like the East India Marine Society Museum, this new institution was free to the public, and without the need to seek out a member for free tickets, there was a major increase in visitation.[9] At the dedication ceremonies, Jones Very presented a hymn reflecting on the old and the new museum:

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collections, then the same may be exchanged, and all specimens received in exchange therefore shall be labelled and catalogued as aforesaid; and any articles which cannot be arranged under the departments heretofore named, or are unsuitable, or cannot be retained in the present Hall for want of room, or without injury to the arrangement, may be deposited in a lecture room which the Trustees propose to build, or in Plummer Hall, or be held at the disposal of the Society." Ibid.

[7] Ibid, 9.

[8] Putnam was serving as superintendent of the Essex Institute museum at the time. Henry Wheatland remarks how the Society's collection was stored during the renovation of the Hall in his address during the dedication ceremony for the new museum. "The principal part of the collection of the East India Marine Society was packed away in boxes and stored in a temporary structure in the centre of the hall, some of the most valuable specimens were deposited in the vaults of the Naumkeag National and the Salem National Banks, and in other safe places." "Dedication of the Museum," in *Second and Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science, For the Years 1869 and 1870* (Salem: Salem Press, 1871): 3.

[9] The concept of a free museum still amazed the public as it did during the Society days running the museum. In an article in the *Salem Gazette* of Tuesday, May 27th, 1890 entitled "An Example Worth Following ["Life," New York.]," the author notes: "It may send a thrill of horror down the spine of the Metropolitan Museum to learn that the Museum of the Peabody Academy of Science, at Salem, Massachusetts, is now open to the public on Sunday afternoons. As Salem is the original home of the Puritans, this news will be a cruel blow to the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. That the Salem trustees are moved to this step by a desire to debauch the public is a theory that will not be universally accepted. The obvious difference between these two institutions is that one is controlled by a body of benevolent and liberal-minded men in honest sympathy with the working public, while the other is under the unfortunate management of a handful of individuals whose admiration for their own piety is out of all proportion to

The noble hall our fathers planned,
Where gathered were the rich and rare
From every clime and every land,
And long preserved with faithful care;

To Science now we dedicate,
That doth all Nature's realms explore;
New ways through continents create.
And cables stretch from shore to shore.[10]

Afterwards, Academy President William Crowninshield Endicott (1826-1900) and Society President Benjamin Hodges Silsbee (1811-1880) offered remarks also reflecting on the past and looking forward to the future.[11]

William Endicott notes in his dedication address, "while as the Museum of the Peabody Academy, its career now commences, and its work has just begun, we cannot fail to remember that this Museum has a history of its own already…we are indebted to the past, and to the wise and thoughtful labor, through many years, of other workers in the cause of science."[12] Endicott gave a brief overview of the Society's founding and history, and notes:

> I know of no other instance of a society thus organized, entering so zealously and successfully upon the formation of a free museum for public instruction and improvement; filling it with objects of interest in nature, science and art; exhibiting a refined and sensitive taste, a large and various knowledge, a wise forethought and a public spirit which does it infinite honor. They were a remarkable body of men, educated not in the schools and universities, but by the rough experiences of the ocean, by foreign intercourse, by large adventures and

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their usefulness." Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 3, 1882-1890, Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. The museum remained open free of charge until the mid-twentieth century.

[10] "Dedication of the Museum," 6. The hymn was sung by a select choir of the Salem Oratorio Society at the Tabernacle Church on Washington Street in Salem, MA.

[11] Silsbee sailed for Stone, Silsbee & Pickman, and served as supercargo aboard the *Borneo* in the late 1830s. He entered the firm in 1839, and was later President of the Merchants National Bank and Salem Savings Bank.

[12] "Dedication of the Museum—Address by William C. Endicott Esq.," in Second and Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science, For the Years 1869 and 1870 (Salem: Salem Press, 1871): 7.

> weighty responsibilities. Commerce being the chief pursuit of the place it enlisted at an early age the most energetic and vigorous youth, and the best brains of this community commanded on the quarter-decks of its Indiamen. Nor were they distinguished in their calling and their business alone: one of their number became famous in science; many found their way into public office in the State and nation; and the names of members of Congress, secretaries of the navy, and a senator of the United States are borne upon their rolls.[13]

Finally, Endicott believes that "[t]he society might have prolonged its life by changing its rule of membership, but true to the spirit of their fathers,…they preferred to go down with the flag nailed to the mast, if they could but find a good ship, trusty and true, to take their cargo on board. Such a good ship was at hand, and the Peabody Academy of Science will keep forever, with tender care, the collections of the East India Marine Society."[14] Rather than view Society members as quintessential conservative Yankees, Endicott portrayed their unwavering adherence to tradition as stoic.

Benjamin Silsbee, too, recognized the past glory of the East India Marine Society and the promise of a new age:

> Old ideas, with the rust of age on them, must give way to new ones, fresh with the vigor of youth. Old associations, which have done their work, and accomplished the purpose for which they were organized, must be superseded by others more in accordance with the spirit of the age. That spirit is progress; and we see its influence in religion and philosophy, in art and science, in trade, and in the common pursuits of life. More liberal views in religion and philosophy, wonderful improvements and vast discoveries in art and science, great changes in trade, and rapid advances in civilization and refinement, mark the steps of this progress, and lead us to the highest anticipations for the future.[15]

Silsbee, too, breaks from the stereotypical view of New England mariners, recognizing that the Society was not adequately designed to steward a museum in postbellum

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[13] Ibid, 9-10.
[14] Ibid, 9.
[15] "Dedication of the Museum—Remarks of B.H. Silsbee Esq.," in Second and Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science, For the Years 1869 and 1870 (Salem: Salem Press, 1871): 31.

America. Following these remarks, Silsbee gave "a hasty sketch of the origin and history of the 'East India Marine Society'," concluding that the Society's museum and collections were the key to cementing their legacy. "The time may come when it shall be extinct; but it cannot soon be forgotten among the descendants of its founders. And its museum, watched over and taken care of, as it will be by your Academy, will help to keep fresh the memory of those active and enterprising and able ship-masters, whose canvas was spread to the breeze on almost every sea, and of whom we, their children, may justly feel proud."[16]

By 1869, Salem and the world had changed. As Silsbee notes in his speech, "the commerce of Salem has departed. Other avenues to success in life have been opened, and most of our young men seek other professions than that of the sea."[17] The Society continued to hold regular meetings, distribute funds to beneficiaries, and occasionally they were given objects related to its collecting past, but their glory days were long gone.[18] Other Society members recognized this new era, such as Nathaniel Brown (1827-1879), who was on the dissenting opinion of a committee formed to investigate whether the stipulations of membership should be altered from navigating "near" the Capes to "up to or beyond."[19] At the annual meeting of November 3rd, 1869, Brown states:

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[16] Ibid, 32, 37.
[17] Ibid, 37.
[18] The Society continued to receive donations, such as portraits of members, which were passed on to the collection in the care of the Peabody Academy of Science, and other objects like a shingle from the Unitarian Church in Brookline, CT given by John L. Robinson of Lynn in 1877 and a silk handkerchief donated by Nancy F. Felt in September of 1882 and sent over to the "Cabinet of the E.I.M. Hall." Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.
[19] Brown was a Salem Marine Society member and its master from 1870-1879. According to his obituary in the *Salem Register*, he commanded the ships *Rome*, *White Swallow*, and *Shirley*, which was his last in

> Salem is becoming every year, less of a commercial place, and fewer of her citizens, navigate distant seas than in years gone by: the days too for Supercargoes (one of our limber head of membership) has gone by: the merchant now sends his ship & cargo consigned abroad to his American friends, who were never within many thousand miles of the great capes, but who have reached their foreign abode by a quiet and easy overland journey, and how soon, the whole current of trade, in these days of Pacific Rail Roads & cutting of Isthmuses, may be changed, none can tell: consequently there is becoming each year less material of which to keep up the Society: these facts alone, would seem to be a sufficient warning to us, if we desire to hand down our prestige, and our benefactions.[20]

The Peabody Academy of Science, too, moved forward with a natural history focus for the museum in a new Darwinian world, and the display of specimens was still considered to be instrumental to cutting edge scientific discoveries.[21] Many of the Academy's officers and staff were former students of Louis Agassiz—such as Putnam, Edward Sylvester Morse, Alpheus Hyatt, Alpheus S. Packard and Caleb Cooke—and were likely influenced by Agassiz's work at the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology.[22] While those outside the institution envisioned the new Hall as emblematic of Victorian society, the Academy's staff completely altered East India Marine Hall (figs. 108 and 109). The Society's architecturally spacious gallery with eclectic objects was

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1863. He was an alderman from 1866 to 1868, Salem mayor from 1870 to 1871, and city treasurer in 1879 before resigning.

[20] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1. Brown then put forth a resolution "That the Society, understand and construe, the meaning of the words 'near the Cape of Good Hope etc.' in the 5th Sec. of the Act. Of Incorporation: also in the 1st Article of the Bye-Laws, and the Preamble to the same, to be, any ports south of the Equator in the Atlantic Ocean, and that such shall be the sense of the Society until otherwise ordered at an Annual Meeting of the Society." This motion was not carried out, but at the next meeting, a committee was formed to look at revising the by-laws and, "exchanging those articles that have become obsolete." This led to the passing and printing of new bye-laws in 1870. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[21] Steven Conn, however, demonstrates that the relationship between scientific discovery and museums waned shortly after this time in *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 32-74.

[22] Jenkins and Whitehill, The Restoration of East India Marine Hall, 12. For more on this period of the museum, see Whitehill, The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 54-82.

turned into an encyclopedic evolutionary zoological installation with floor to ceiling cases and a second floor balcony circumnavigating the room.[23] While appreciating the roots of the organization and the Society's important ethnological collections, those objects that were not ethnographic or natural history, or were not connected to the early days of the Society, were deemed "historical specimens."[24] They included the plaster casts, relics, and other Western art and artifacts. While they remained in the Hall for a few years (fig. 110), by 1875 this material was deposited in the Essex Institute at Plummer Hall along with the Society's library.[25]

In spite of the Peabody Academy of Science's intentions, the public still viewed this institution as the East India Marine Society Museum. Alice M. Guernsey (1850-1924), a writer and editor for children's and family publications, gave a very intricate description of the museum to the "DEAR *Children of The Household*" in the *Household* of October 1871.[26] Her piece reads like those from the antebellum period, acknowledging the watery world before her, describing only the Society's collections of natural and

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[23] Finamore states "The new synoptic presentation of flora, fauna and geological specimens was carefully organized by object type and geographic region, and the hall ceased to appear 'as if each sea-captain had lounged in and hustled down his contributions in any convenient vacant space.'" Finamore, "Displaying the Sea and Defining America," 49. Quote from Eleanor Putnam, *Old Salem* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1886), 8.

[24] Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 12. Former Peabody Museum of Salem director Lawrence Jenkins believes "they had no interest in its shipping and commercial aspects, and had no enthusiasm for East India Marine Hall save as a building in which they could carry out their own ideas of museum installation." Ibid.

[25] "Historical Specimens," in *First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science* (January 1869), 49. John Robinson notes that at the time of the establishment of the Academy, "The East India Marine Society had but few objects of natural history and these were mostly past their condition for museum purposes." East India Marine Society, *History of the Salem East India Marine Society*, 36. Internal director's reports note that space for collections was a constant problem for the Academy. In 1875, the Laocoön cast and other sculptures were moved to Plummer Hall per an arrangement with the Salem Athenaeum that owned this space. Peabody Museum of Salem Archives. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library.

[26] Alice M. Guernsey, "Sights in Salem," *Household* (October 1871). Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 1, 1875-79. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

artificial curiosities such as "the famous statue of the Laocoon" and the "Neptune's cup sponges, fit, indeed, for the revels of the mighty monarch of the sea."[27] Rather than continue on her and the reader's tour, and see the Academy's zoological installations, she simply brushes them off. "But you are tired of sight seeing now, and we have seen but a small part of the specimens on the lower floor. Never mind, we will leave the rest for another."[28]

By 1880, the Peabody Academy of Science officers, too, realized that their institutional mission was not in line with the strengths of its collection and reversed course to their organizational roots—the East India Marine Society Museum.[29] Academy Director Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925), known for his work in zoology and later his research on Japanese prehistory, noticed the futility and incongruity of the museum's natural science focus.[30] Morse commented in his 1880 Director's Report that the museum "should relinquish all effort towards building up a large general collection, as it could not

[27] Ibid. Guernsey asks the reader: "Do you remember the story? how the gods were angry with the priest Laocoon, and sent huge serpents to destroy him and his sons? You can almost read it in the intense agony on the faces of the father and two sons, while they strive in vain to free themselves from the coils of the cruel monsters who are slowly, but none the less surely, crushing them to death." Ibid.

[28] Ibid. The museum is also referred to as the East India Marine Society Museum in a short article published in the *Cape Ann Advertiser* of June 19th, 1874 entitled "THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY."

[29] The seeds for this change, in fact, had been planted from day one. During the first meeting of the Academy in 1867, Henry Wheatland voiced a keen interest in ensuring the legacy of the Society would not be forgotten—even though his tenure as superintendent was strained at times. It was reported that "From the first days of the existence of the Museum, Dr. Wheatland expressed a desire to secure the portraits of the prominent merchants of Salem engaged in the East India trade, and also of those persons who have been intimately connected with the East India Marine Society, as a fitting accompaniment to our hall. His efforts have been thus far successful…Many other portraits, several having already been promised, will undoubtedly be contributed when the desire of the Trustees to form such a gallery is generally known." "Additions to the Museum," in *First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science* (January 1869), 48-49.

[30] For more on Morse, see L.O. Howard, "Edward Sylvester Morse 1838-1925: A Biographical Sketch," *National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoirs* Vol. XVII (1935): 4-28, and Dorothy Godfrey Wayman, *Edward Sylvester Morse: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942).

hope to compete with the great museums of the Boston Society of Natural History, and the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge," and instead should "endeavor to perfect those departments which already give it pre-eminence above all other museum in the country…[t]he widely known…unrivalled Ethnological collections, the result of the intelligent interest of Salem Sea Captains, who during the height of Salem Commerce, founded the East India Marine Society."[31] Morse could have been swept up in the wave of natural history museums established in many American urban centers and pushed forward with this paradigm. Instead, at a time when the country had progressed in establishing temples to fine art on par with European institutions and a governmentally supported Smithsonian Institution, he and the Academy's officers and trustees promoted the institutions unique characteristics established in 1799.

As Morse travelled to Japan subsequently, John Robinson became acting director of the museum. In the mid-1880s, he made efforts to preserve and record the memories of the East India Marine Society with the help of the Society and Henry Wheatland, who had been compiling his own genealogical record of members in a scrapbook. In 1884, John Robinson sent out printed sheets to all descendants of Society members entitled "With The Approval of the East India Marine Society." They stated:

> It is earnestly desired to obtain correct data in relation to the lives of the members of the East India Society. This unique institution is now passing into history and it is hoped, before it is too late, to obtain the materials for a sketch of its work and those who conducted it. The accompanying schedule is forwarded with the request that you will kindly fill out the blanks as indicated and add such

[31] Peabody Academy of Science Director's Report, 1880. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. Box 1A, Folder 7.

> information of interest under the head of "Remarks" as may suggest itself to you.[32]

In addition, these sheets reassured the Society and its members of the promises made in 1867, that "[t]he Peabody Academy of Science now owns East India Marine Hall and the trustees of that institution are endeavouring to preserve with care all the memorials of the East India Marine Society."[33] In order to do so, Robinson asked the families of Society members to donate portraits of these mariners to augment the growing collection "already in possession of the trustees."[34]

At the same time, Robinson oversaw the reorganization of the museum's ethnological objects, classifying them now by culture rather than function. He realized the museum needed additional space to adequately display this growing collection that included the Society's objects and many new donations to the museum. With approval of the Academy's trustees in 1885, a new gallery was constructed off the southeast corner of the Hall, which opened in 1889 as "East Hall."[35] While this gallery contained global art and artifacts, it became a satellite version of the older installation of East India Marine Hall. Portraits of shipmasters were hung on the north and south walls of the gallery above a case containing the "Relics of the East India Marine Society." In the middle of the room

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[32] Internal Maritime Art and History Department files, Peabody Essex Museum. These were dated "East India Marine Hall, December 1st, 1884."

[33] Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

[34] Ibid.

[35] This space housed many of the ethnological collections until the 1980s. Jenkins and Whitehill note, "In the eighties a substantial three-story addition was built to the south east of East India Marine Hall, which contained on the ground floor a well-appointed lecture hall, seating three hundred, known as Academy Hall, and above this East Hall, a large exhibition room with galleries, which was used for the display of ethnological material. Weld Hall, added in 1906 by Dr. Charles G. Weld, provided further exhibition space for the Japanese ethnological collection that had grown to vast proportions under the enthusiastic guidance of Professor Edward S. Morse." Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 12-13.

stood a most unusual "sculpture," "The Ship Trophy," a stacking of East India Marine Society and other ship models above the Society's palanquin (fig. 111). This votive homage to Salem's maritime past also signaled a new direction for the Peabody Academy of Science, which helped maintain their founding body not only in the minds of Salemites, but for all museum visitors.

Several newspapers in 1885 and beyond, such as the *Boston Advertiser*, reported that the Academy wanted to build a new wing to hold the "mythological collection" or "mythological department" of the museum (fig. 112).[36] The Boston *Evening Transcript* of July 2nd, 1887, refers to a glass case in the museum where the Society's relics are preserved:

> the mighty china punch-bowls, richly decorated in gilt and colored figures, and the huge goose-shaped soup-tureens which once decked the curved table set out for the annual banquets of the jolly salts. What strong New Amsterdamian heads, what potent stomachs, what nerves, those fellows must have had! Punch bowls large enough to be used as bath-tubs for two-year-old babies![37]

The same year, *The Times of London* published a series of pieces by a traveling correspondent entitled "A Visit to the States."[38] This reporter provides an account of a visit to Salem, and when he describes the "most noted present institution of Salem," he does not call it the Peabody Academy of Science that had been in its formal home almost twenty years at that point, but rather "the East India Marine-Hall…the great lion of the

[36] Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 3, 1882-1890. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.
[37] "Fresh Life in Old Salem," *Evening Transcript*, Saturday July 2nd, 1887. Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 3, 1882-1890. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. The author also notes with a touch of Boston bias, "It is furthermore understood that the town is pervaded by an air of grass-grown gentility and antique aristocracy, and it is believed that the wharves are dropping to pieces and curtained with sea-weeds fatter than those of fabled Lethe." Ibid.
[38] These were reprinted and published as a two-volume set by George Edward Wright of the *Times*.

place."[39] For the reporter, the wonders of the natural world were trifling in comparison to the maritime origins of the museum and the last remnants of the city's intrepid mariners such as Joseph Hammond. He believed that Hammond, "the venerable sea captain who has charge of it," was "perhaps the greatest curiosity of all…a hearty old sea dog of 81 summers, who told me he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope on 41 voyages, and had been so many times to London that he believed he knew more about the great city than most of the people who lived there."[40]

Salem and the museum's new mystical association with the past were also felt by those outside of New England. A correspondent to the *Kansas City Times* under the pseudonym of Miss Ouri notes that Salem's "sails whitened every sea. Her vessels were first in the East India and China trade, and monopolized it for years…To a person raised in the west, where everything is new and fresh, this old town, with the mould [sic] of the centuries upon it, is absorbingly interesting…This is my Europe. Just think of houses over 200 years old!"[41] While touring the sites of the city, she enters the Peabody Academy of Science, "an extensive museum…with curiosities that would make

[39] "A Visit to the States. Part LIII. THE NORTH SHORE OF MASSACHUSETTS," *The Times of London*, Thursday, January 12th, 1888: 8. The *Times* correspondent notes that the once princely captains, "Its venerable East India and China merchants and sea captains," are now, "passing their green old age in restful quiet in the stately mansions that surround its attractive common, enclosed by rows of bordering elms, and that also line the chief streets of the town. These are the aristocracy of Salem, who have lost their occupations, while the younger and more active generation, like so many of their neighbours along these coasts, have gone into shoemaking and some other industries." Ibid.

[40] Ibid, 8.

[41] Miss Ouri, "A Stroll Through Salem. Some of the Curious Things to be Seen in a Quaint New England City—A Missouri Girl's Impressions." Undated and unattributed newspaper column, Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 1, 1875-1879. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

Barnum's cheek turn green with envy, if anything could make an impression on Barnum's cheek."[42]

Just before the turn-of-the-century, John Robinson expanded his work on preserving the East India Marine Society's history to include Salem's maritime past. During the height of the port's overseas trade, navigational instruments, builder's half-hull models, and ship portraits were seen as either tools of the industry or mementos for display in merchant offices. By the end of the century, this had changed, and the museum started to collect these objects and others connected to American and global maritime history. When East Hall was opened, Robinson devoted a space underneath the gallery at the north end of the room to exhibit some of these objects, many of which were stored in the attic of East India Marine Hall—the first maritime exhibition in an America museum.[43] As objects continued to pour into the museum from the Pacific Islands and Japan, the latter through the work of Morse and philanthropist Charles Goddard Weld (1857-1911), a new space was sought for the growing maritime collection.[44]

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Jenkins and Whitehill note that "in 1889 John Robinson began an attempt to bring together the marine objects—most of which had been relegated to the attic—as a special collection, and to solicit additions with the idea of forming a memorial of the commercial marine period of Salem's life." Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 13. While it is unknown when the attic was first used to store collections, Thomas Saul signed his name on one of the cross beams in 1842 and started a tradition still in place. This "historical graffiti" in the East India Marine Hall attic includes museum staff and others who worked on installations in the gallery.

[44] Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem*, 104-105. From director's reports, it appears that President of the Board of Trustees George Augustus Peabody suggested a new gallery for the maritime collections in the early 1890s, but John Robinson spearheaded this effort. In Morse's 1893 Report, he notes the proposed plan to convert "the lower floor now occupied by the gas office and the printing office into one hall 40 ft deep, with the floor dropped to the level of the sidewalk, the main entrance to be on the north side of the building. In this hall could be displayed all the material which is immediately associated with the East India Marine Soc. exhibiting at the same time the material connected with the past history of Salem's commerce with the East. Here then could be brought together the models of ships, portraits, and social relics of the East India Marine Soc. It would seem fitting that such a collection should be sheltered under the roof of the building originally built and owned by the

The rooms on the ground floor of East India Marine Hall, once used for businesses such as the Asiatic Bank, were converted into a new gallery. Dedicated to the ingenuity of Robinson, and supported by Weld and others, the "Marine Room" opened in 1905 (fig. 113).[45] In 1920, an extensive catalogue was published to accompany this new room, which reflected the museum's stature as holding the premier maritime art and history collections in the nation.[46] Among the many objects were the "Relics of the Society" and many other objects once displayed or used in East India Marine Hall, such as Waterford crystal chandeliers donated by Benjamin Carpenter in 1804.

The opening of the Marine Room signaled a continued shift in the museum's mission. In 1915, it was renamed the Peabody Museum of Salem, an institution refocused on its maritime roots and the voyages that were the conduit for collecting objects from across the globe. In an address marking the opening of the Marine Room, Robinson, officially known as the "keeper of the E.I.M.S. relics" states, "The exhibit in the Marine Room is intended to illustrate the history of the East India Marine Society, the development of its Museum and, in a broader sense, to be a memorial of the foreign

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Society…With the wooden signs on the front of the building removed the old signs cut in stone of the Asiatic Bank and Oriental Insurance Co. would enforce the engraved lettering above of the East I. M. Soc. And forcible empress the supremacy of Salem's commerce in the past in the Orient." Edward Sylvester Morse, "Director's Report 1893" unpublished draft. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

[45] Ibid. Jenkins and Whitehill note, "In 1930 the corresponding area on the ground floor in the rear was similarly remodeled as a memorial to John Robinson, and has since been used for the exhibition of ship-models and portraits of Salem merchants and shipmasters." Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 13.

[46] See John Robinson, *The Marine Room of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1921).

commerce of Salem. Practically the three objects cover the same period and the Museum alone continues to perpetuate the story of the others."[47]

The still extant East India Marine Society felt the changes at the museum.[48] When East India Marine Hall was sold and the Society divested itself of operating a museum, members were no longer required to pay assessments and fines and forty-five new members were admitted to the organization.[49] The Society's funds rose to over $23,000.00, and between 1873 and 1883 approximately $1,400.00 was distributed annually to beneficiaries.[50] Further funds came in from bequests. In 1883, the Society received $5,000.00 from the will of member John Bertram (1796-1882) and a $200.00 bequest three years later from the member Charles Roundy (1794-1886).[51] Still, membership declined as the century came to a close. In 1866, the Society had 114 living members, but by 1897, there were only twenty-seven men remaining.[52]

Recognizing the end of the East India Marine Society was unavoidable, on January 1st, 1908, a committee was formed to insure that any remaining beneficiaries

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[47] John Robinson, "Marine Room Opening," unpublished typescript ca. 1905. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library. In his Report of the Marine Room for 1905, Robinson notes that the Essex Institute returned some Society objects deposited there in 1868 so they could be exhibited in the new gallery, and that Charles Goddard Weld donated the cases containing the "relics" of the Society that were "better and more expensive than we should have been justified in purchasing."

[48] Robinson notes the positive effect the Marine Room had on the Society in an internal report. "The ship masters of the East India Marine Society have shown much interest in the new room and several of them have made valuable contributions to the collections, among the number are Captains Beadle, Lord, Entwhistle, Ropes, and others." John Robinson, "Report on the Marine Room for 1905," unpublished typescript. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

[49] Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society," 195. Stephen Wheatland believes that the influx of new members, "was encouraged by the discontinuance of the collection of assessments and fines, and probably, too, by the assurance that since the cost of operating the Museum was no longer a burden of the Society, larger amounts would be available for distribution to beneficiaries." Ibid.

[50] Ibid. Stephen Wheatland bases this figure on the $11,029.67 cost of assets combined with the Robinson Trust, which was $10,792.00. Ibid. He also notes, "Beginning in 1877 meetings were held in the Lecture Room of East India Marine Hall, and the meetings were usually 'dissolved.'" Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid, 195-196.

would be paid when the final members passed away.[53] The Society was thus reformed in 1910 as the Trustees of the Salem East India Marine Society.[54] By this time, the Society officially recognized that the Peabody Academy of Sciences would continue to keep their memory alive as promised in 1867. "No trifling amount of money has been expended for benevolent purposes, and the world-renowned East India Museum, now in the care of the Peabody Academy of Science, will long testify to the patience and fidelity of the members of the Society, who, with laudable pride, have personally made most of the contributions."[55]

As part of the new by-laws, once the Society membership dwindled to seven, Peabody Academy of Science trustees were eligible for membership in this corporation.[56] By 1944 all of the original members of the Society had died, and in 1959, the East India Marine Society merged into the fabric of the Peabody Museum of Salem as the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of Salem. The Society's memory was kept alive in a level of

[53] Ibid, 196. Two years before, the demise of the Society was the subject of a ¾ length spread in the *Boston Daily Globe* of January 14th, 1906 entitled "EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY'S NECK-AND-NECK RACE WITH DEATH." In this article, it is noted that "[o]f the many monuments and landmarks erected and preserved by the people of Salem to commemorate her participation in the events that have contributed to the history of the commonwealth and of the nation; of the many societies which have been the outgrowth of her share in commerce and in wars, there is none quite so unique as this, which was founded in 1799 by a handful of sturdy navigators and which they incorporated two years later. Little could they have dreamed that the craft thus launched would within one century face the possibility of extinction by reason of the eligibility clause engrafted into their bylaws." A year earlier, *The Boston Sunday Globe* of February 5th, 1905 ran a piece entitled "Influence of the East India Marine Society," which notes that at the opening of the Marine Room, "The members of the East India marine society were invited to be present at the dedication exercises, but the members say that although no slight was intended, at least one of their number should have been assigned a place on the platform, as was the case of representatives of the Essex institute. The members also say that in the addresses made, no intimation was given that the East India marine society is in existence."

[54] Ibid. Wheatland notes, "At this last meeting the Robinson Trust Fund of $10,000.00 was handed back to the heir-at-law, John Robinson, who had been an honorary member of the Society since 1869. He thereupon presented it free and clear of all conditions to the Trustees of the Society. Thus all the funds of the original Society became the property of the Trustees." Ibid.

[55] East India Marine Society, *History of the Salem East India Marine Society*, 4.

[56] Ibid. In addition, starting in 1925, a provision in by-laws distributed $400.00 to the Peabody Museum of Salem. Wheatland, "The Salem East India Marine Society, 197.

charitable giving to the museum established in 1981, the East India Marine Associates, which still exists at the PEM.[57]

By the early twentieth century, novels and short stories memorialized the glory days of the East India Marine Society but in a new way—using it as a literary device to denote an America that was disappearing. Katharine Holland Brown (d. 1931) uses Salem's past and the Society as the backdrop of family strife in the 1830s in "Brewster Blood," published in *Scribner's Magazine*. The stories of the city's past maritime glory and the collection of objects and books accumulated by mariners are the inspiration of the opening scene of the story, and Brown uses the character Grandsair Brewster as the link to Salem's past and the Society, and paints him as a relic that cannot move forward and embrace his grandson Henry who is terrified by the sea.[58] Nineteenth century Salem is the backdrop for Joseph Hergesheimer's (1880-1954) 1919 novel *Java Head*, a story that revolves around a Salem captain who brings back a Cantonese woman as his wife, and the multiple perspectives around this miscegenation story.[59] The East India Marine

[57] According to a May 18th, 1972 memorandum of Stephen Wheatland, "A change in the By-Laws was suggested dated 11/22/57 to assure that when there are no persons living who might qualify for to ask for assistance, all the assets of the corporation shall be distributed and paid over to the Peabody Museum of Salem and known as the Salem East India Marine Society Fund, and the income only to be used for care of the SEIM Society collections and for the general purposes of the Museum. In 1959, the Museum Trustees accepted a carefully drawn proposal for taking over the affairs of the Society. Thereafter, the Society as such ceased to function, leaving the officers then in office continuing, but keeping its funds and income completely separate from Museum Funds, and so treated in the Annual Treasurer's Reports of the Museum. The income from the fund was used for payment to Beneficiaries until 1968, when the last beneficiary who had been assisted, Mr. Keith Batchelder, died. Records/Minutes 1897-1972. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 2.

[58] Katharine Holland Brown, "Brewster Blood," in *Scribners Magazine* Volume 57, No. 1 (January 1915): 77

[59] Only four years later, the novel was turned into a silent film of the same title. Directed by George Medford (1877-1961) and distributed by Paramount Pictures then on Long Island, NY, the film stared Leatrice Joy (1895-1985) as Princess Taou Yuen. Many scenes were filmed in Salem, including the then dilapidated Derby Wharf, and the American whaler *Charles W. Morgan*, the only extant nineteenth-century wooden whaleship, was incorporated into the production and made to look like a square-rigged East India

Society also makes an appearance in Rudyard Kipling's (1865-1936) 1897 novel *Captains Courageous*. When some old salts are conversing about ship models, one of them, Long Jack, describes a model he made of a vessel that saved him from a storm, which he gave to a priest as a votive offering. Jack notes, "There's more sense in givin' a model that's by way o' bein' a work av [sic] art than any candle. Ye can buy candles at store, but a model shows the good saints ye've [sic] tuk [sic] trouble an' are grateful." Another sailor replies, "Wa-al, Enoch Fuller he made a model o' the old *Ohio*, and she's to Salem museum now. Mighty pretty model, too, but I guess Enoch he never done it fer [sic] no sacrifice; an' the way I tak [sic] it is."[60] This model of the USS *Ohio*, made by Fuller (1804-1886) during a voyage from 1849 to 1850, was donated to the East India Marine Society in 1850.

Early twentieth century travel writers, historians, and journalists also wrote about the East India Marine Society and Salem's Golden Age of maritime trade. In Agnes Edwards Rothery's (1888-1954) *The Romantic Shore*, a book focusing on the North Shore of Massachusetts published in 1915, Chapter V entitled "In Salem's Treasure House" begins with an account of the origins of the present museum rooted in the East India Marine Society:

> It was in 1799 that some old sea captains were swapping yarns, and were earnestly substantiating their recitals by proof positive in the form of curios. Determined to convince, one produced a rhinoceros horn, another an elephants tooth, another a two-stemmed pipe from Sumatra—and lo! the Peabody Academy was created!...But the rhinosceros [sic] horn and the elephants tooth and the two

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ship. Another movie version was made in 1934, but as it was a British film, the setting was changed to Bristol, England. John Frayler, "Java Head is Missing." *Pickled Fish and Salted Provisions: Historical Musings from Salem Maritime NHS*, Volume VIII, Number 1 (October 2006).

[60] Rudyard Kipling, *"Captains Courageous": A Story of the Grand Banks* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1897), 89.

> stemmed pipe were undoubtedly responsible for the present institution, and in glancing back to them we cleave a swift path through one of the most varied and glowing bits of history in America.[61]

Ralph Delahaye Paine's (1871-1925) article "Old Salem Ships and Sailors" in *The Outing Magazine* of January 1908 has larger goals beyond Rothery's provincial study. He notes that "the story of the struggles and heroisms of the Western pioneers has been told over and over again," but "the work of the seafaring breed of Americans toward the building of a great nation has been somewhat suffered to remain in the background."[62] Paine believes that the Society's collection of logbooks and ethnological objects are the key to recovering this past:

> For those heroic seafarers not only made history but they wrote it while they lived it…There is no other collection of Americana which can so vividly recall a vanished era and make it live again as these hundreds upon hundreds of ancient log-books… In other spacious halls of this museum are unique displays of the tools, weapons, garments and adornments of primitive races, gathered generations before their countries and islands were ransacked by the tourist and the ethnologist. They portray the native arts and habits of life before they were corrupted by European influences. Some of the tribes which fashioned these things have become extinct, but their vanished handiwork is preserved in these collections made with devoted loyalty by the old shipmasters who were proud of their home town and of their Marine Society.[63]

Like some nineteenth-century mariners abroad, Paine uses European colonialism to mask similar American hegemonic endeavors at the time.

Twentieth century artists also gained inspiration and reflected upon the East India Marine Society's collection. Like their nineteenth century counterparts, they came as

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[61] Agnes Edwards Rothery, *The Romantic Shore* (Salem, MA: The Salem Press, 1915), 32-46.
[62] Ralph D. Paine, "Old Salem Ships and Sailors," in *The Outing Magazine*, Volume LI, Number 4 (January 1908): 389.
[63] Ibid, 390-391. Paine also notes the collection of objects, "From the Fiji and Gilbert and Hawaiian Islands, from Samoa, Arabia, India, China, Africa and Japan, and every other foreign shore where ships could go, these trophies were brought home to lay the foundation of a collection which to-day is visited by scientists from abroad in order to study many rare objects which can be no longer obtained." Ibid, 392.

visitors first and foremost. New England native Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), who painted seascapes as part of his modernist portfolio, frequently visited the museum that he considered his, "second most beloved museum in our country."[64] Hartley notes, "I think I know every ship model—every painting of ships—every coil of rope— every [illegible] box in that invaluable display."[65] He considered it a, "sense of personal ownership," to show others, "all the fine displays there especially the paintings of ships of which there are countless all done with that touching sense of truth and fidelity to fact that gives them the right to be called good art—done by seamen who have come up from the sea seldom or never to return."[66] Art historian Donna Cassidy believes Hartley's visits to the museum inspired several of his works, including *Birds of the Bagaduce* painted in 1939.

In the summers of 1943 and 1944, abstract expressionist painter Barnett Newman (1905-1970) and his wife Annalee, vacationed in East Gloucester, Massachusetts. They visited the Peabody Museum of Salem, and recommended that their friends Adolph and Esther Gottlieb do the same.[67] The Society's collection was one that particularly struck Newman. In a letter to the Gottliebs, Newman notes, "We…spent several delightful hours at the Peabody Museum...I want to urge you, when you make your trip to Marblehead

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[64] Quoted in Donna Cassidy, *Marsden Hartley: Race, Region, and Nation* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005), 156. Quote from Hartley, "New England Notations," 5, YCAL (reel 1370, frame 2734, AAA).

[65] Hartley, "New England Notations," 6, quoted in Cassidy, *Marsden Hartley*, 157.

[66] Ibid. As East India Marine Hall was still filled to the brim with zoological objects when Hartley visited, he gravitated to the Marine Room, noting, "anyone who wants a sense of the great period of shipping must not fail to immerse himself in the treasures of those first two rooms alone. I showed them a beautiful painting of a group of sea signals—only a group of multi-coloured flags flying in the breeze— and never was a painting more beautifully or lovingly painted." Ibid.

[67] John P. O'Neill, ed., *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 58. Newman and Adolph Gottlieb were close friends since 1922, after meeting at the Art Students League, and shared an interest Native American art. Ibid.

with the Avery's, to stop off there. The ethnological collection may not be the best in the world, but there are many interesting things definitely worth seeing. The NW Coast case has some fine slate pipes and a good Chilkat blanket..."[68] Newman also notes, " [The Peabody]…is such a nice 'homey' museum, so unlike the modern. If art isn't enough of an appeal, how can you resist the marine sections? It is one of the best marine museums in the world…You both won't be able to resist if I tell you that the Salem Museum may not have as extensive a collection as the Smithsonian but is considered to have choicer things."[69]

In the 1940s, after expanding and restoring other portions of the museum, the Peabody Museum of Salem turned its attention again to East India Marine Hall. Recognizing that the East India Marine Society was the distinguishing characteristic of the museum, the 1867 zoological themed organization of the Hall was incongruous to the museum's mission now devoted to maritime history.[70] Augustus Peabody Loring Jr., elected President of the Museum's Trustees in June 1942, led the charge to remake the Hall to reflect its original design. The cases and galleries constructed in 1867 were demolished; the ceiling cove, which had been destroyed when the gallery was refitted by the Peabody Academy of Science, was remolded; and the stairway was reconstructed.[71] Benjamin Carpenter's chandeliers were rehung, some original cases were reinstalled, as were the figures of East Indian merchants, and new objects such as ships' figureheads

[68] The Chilkat blanket, number 4389, was donated by Robert Bennett Forbes in 1832 and is earliest known example of its kind.
[69] O'Neill, *Barnett Newman*, 59.
[70] Jenkins and Whitehill, The Restoration of East India Marine Hall, 15.
[71] Ibid.

were added to this maritime ensemble.[72] The Hall was rededicated on November 4th, 1943, and since that time, this space is used in a manner akin to its roots—as a museum gallery, a venue for public programs, and a function hall.[73]

At the same time, though the East India Marine Society's impact on the field of museology went unnoticed, or was misconstrued. In a 1943 address marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Field Museum in Chicago and the state of museums as educational institutions, Robert Maynard Hutchins, then President of the University of Chicago, notes:

> But the purpose of the second museum established in this country, that of the East India Marine Society at Salem, illustrates the problem that all museums are still trying to solve. The Salem museum was organized in 1799 to be a repository for the curious objects gathered by the ship captains of the town in the lands of the South Pacific, Indian and South Atlantic oceans. Such a museum, which was simply a co-operative curio cabinet, has the same relation to education as the stories of sea captains or the tales with which Othello, who was himself a sea captain, engaged the attention of Desdemona. They are interesting and amusing, and sometimes produce, as in Desdemona's case, sensational results. But they are usually ephemeral and often false—my sea-captain grandfather told me most atrocious lies—and such material, whether it is words or objects, should hardly be central in education. Whatever educational value it once had has now almost wholly disappeared, and its presentation is no longer the special function of a museum. The newspapers, the movies, the magazines and the department stores have long since taken over the job of gratifying the public appetite for the odd, the quaint and the amazing; and they have succeeded to such an extent that the public is largely indifferent to objects recommended to them because of their odd, quaint and amazing characteristics.[74]

Contrary to Hutchins' claims that the East India Marine Society's museum was simply a collection of oddities to entertain the masses, devoid of educational value, the Peabody

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[72] Ibid.
[73] East India Marine Hall has even had its brush with Hollywood as the location of the opening scene to the easily forgettable 2009 movie *Bride Wars*.
[74] Robert Maynard Hutchins, "The Value of the Museum," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 98, No. 2546 (Oct. 15, 1943): 332.

Museum of Salem continued to build upon the work of Robinson, Morse, and others throughout the twentieth century, expanding the collections amassed by the Society. Curatorial departments were formed around the strengths of the collection in addition to Robinson's maritime post, including Oceanic Art, Chinese Art, Japanese Art, Native American Art, and South Asian and Indian Art. The merger of the Peabody Museum of Salem and the China Trade Museum in Milton, MA in 1984, and the merger of the Peabody Museum and Essex Institute in 1992, brought additional departments and collections of Asian Export Art and American Art that resonated with Salem and America's mercantile past. Today, the museum interprets the transnational collection started by the East India Marine Society in new and interesting ways under an art and culture paradigm.

In the twenty-first century, the PEM's holdings of the East India Marine Society, and East India Marne Hall itself, inspire a new generation of museumgoers and artists. In 2010, the museum initiated a contemporary art initiative entitled *Free Port*, the creation of recently hired contemporary art curator Trevor Smith. As Smith writes, *Free Port* was intended to build upon and consolidate the museum's history of collecting global objects, "many of which were contemporary at the time of their acquisition," by exploring, "artists' extraordinary capacity to re-imagine historical legacies in light of contemporary experience."[75] As *The Magazine Antiques* writers Elizabeth Pochoda and Eleanor H. Gustafson note, "Most museums are eager to increase attendance and visibility by

[75] Trevor Smith, "*FreePort* Concept Paper," unpublished internal document. Peabody Essex Museum. Smith points out that, "most museums present contemporary art in project spaces, isolated from historical works, PEM's *FreePort*."

tapping into the energies of the contemporary art market. They want the allure of the new, but they tend to isolate it as if containing a contagion-whether it is from the contagion of the new or the disease of the old one can't always be sure. PEM by contrast exudes confidence about the conjunctions of old and new; its curators seem comfortable in both worlds, at ease with one another and with the innovations of PEM's *FreePort* project, making it more open and immersive than most museum forays into contemporary art."[76]

When two of the first three artists chosen to collaborate in the *FreePort* project visited the museum for the first time, they immediately gravitated to East India Marine Hall. In 2010, Charles Sandison, a Scottish artist residing in Finland known for his animated digital projections in and on dramatic architectural settings, created an immersive experience in the Hall. Entitled *Figurehead*, Sandison animated handwritten words extracted directly from Society members' and other mariners' journals and logbooks in the museum's collection (fig. 114).[77] This display was intended to, "make visible the trade routes, the politics, the competition, the emotions that led to the founding of the museum and the origins of PEM's remarkable collection."[78] Sandison notes in relation to his vision of the installation, "Instead of sea water, the words from the captains log books will represent liquid. Thus the words of the mariners themselves become the

[76] Elizabeth Pochoda and Eleanor H. Gustafson, "Talking Past and Present at the Peabody Essex Museum," *The Magazine Antiques* (January 2014). http://www.themagazineantiques.com/articles/talking-past-and-present-at-the-peabody-essex-museum.
[77] Among Sandison's many public installations were projections on the Grand Palais in Paris, and in the Palace of Communications in Madrid and the Musée Quai Branly in Paris.
[78] "Freeport [No. 001]: Charles Sandison," http://pem.org/exhibitions/122-freeport_no_001_charles_sandison.

ocean of light in which the viewer swims."[79] In a manner akin to this dissertation project, to reclaim a sense of the Society's vision of their museum, Sandison reflects, "When I stood for hours in that hall I saw all of this. We all see this. It is always there. My aim is not to add something to the hall but to reveal what is already there."[80]

A year later, Turner Prize winning artist Susan Philipsz, created *If I With You Would Go* in East India Marine Hall. Philipsz, also a Scottish born artist who resides in Berlin, creates sound installations of, "her disembodied voice—in settings where you least expect to have such an intimate experience—…that explore ways in which the emotive and psychological properties of song alter a listener's perception of place and time."[81] Eight speakers placed around the Hall played Philipsz singing the Scottish ballad "The Daemon Lover." Like the conscious and silent narratives created by the Society, Philpsz notes that her piece, "responds to both the tangible maritime history, as well as what is not displayed—the stories of longing and loss, the paradox of the sea as provider of opportunity and taker of life."[82]For both of these transnational artists, the origins of the museum resonated with their creative milieu. Other contemporary artists who have worked with PEM curators, too, recognize the roots of the museum. Kent Monkman, a Canadian artist of Cree descent who makes films, installations, performances, and paintings that "invite interpretation as satirical reimaginings of North American art history," understands the maritime origins of the museum. "Everything in the collection

[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] "Freeport [No. 003]: Susan Philipsz," http://pem.org/exhibitions/131-freeport_no_003_susan_philipsz.
[82] Ibid.

came off of these ships,…the people, the goods, all of it. And I like the symbolism of the sea, the mystery of what is on the other side of the ocean."[83]

On January 4th, 1899, the East India Marine Society discussed celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the Society with the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science. Like days of old, a committee was formed to investigate the matter, and, true to form, they found that most members were not in favor of celebrating. Edward Sylvester Morse, though, urged the Trustees of the Academy, "to formulate some plan by which the event may be publicly recognized."[84] Morse believed, "It is rare in this country that an opportunity presents itself to commemorate the centennial of an organization of this nature. Towns and colleges have celebrated their hundreth [sic] anniversaries but I know of no society in this country which superseded to its benificent [sic] purposes the formation of a museum which can show a more honorable record or can antedate the one of which you are the inheritors."[85]

Instead of a dinner, a luncheon was held at the Peabody Academy of Science to celebrate the centennial of the East India Marine Society with the "mythological relics" displayed (fig. 110).[86] Organized by Academy Trustee General Francis H. Appleton, a

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[83] Pochoda and Gustafson, "Talking Past and Present at the Peabody Essex Museum."
[84] "Report of the Director of the Peabody Academy of Science for 1898, delivered in 1899." Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.
[85] Ibid. Morse continues, "Unlike early American museums like Peale's, "filled with the most miscellaneous collection of objects of which few if any are now in existence…the objects forming our museum at its outset are still preserved with their dates of 1799, 1800, 1802, etc. In view of these facts and the further fact that few museums in the world antedate ours it seems fitting and proper that in some public way its hundredth anniversary should be observed." Ibid.
[86] Morse envisioned holding a dinner, "to which the surviving members of the East India Marine Society should be invited and at which time the relics of the society should be used and exhibited. A public reception or an address might be given or the occasion could be observed in some other way which may commend or suggest itself to the Trustees. Such a recognition should be used as an incentive to secure needed financial aid." Ibid.

grandson of Society member Nathaniel Appleton (1778-1818), this event was also viewed as a fundraiser for a new gallery.[87] The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of December 16th, 1899, recounts, "The trustees and their guests met in the class room of the Peabody Academy building and after partaking of a luncheon, listened to informal addresses, the directors of the museum, Prof. E.S. Morse, leading with a concise statement of the history and present state of the institution. The inception of the museum was recounted and the virtues of the old Salem merchants and shipmasters who formed the organization known as the East India Marine Society were extolled."[88]

As part of the afternoons "lunching, chatting and spinning yarns of the ancient mariners who started the museum" was a viewing of the first objects donated to the Society that "were given a place of honor before the company."[89] John Robinson gave a short talk on this collection, particularly noting the Sumatran double-ended pipe donated by Jonathan Carnes. The *Salem News* of December 16th, 1899, notes that it "had not been smoked for a century," and "Prof. Morse filled it with tobacco and each of the smokers present took a whiff at it."[90] Another of Carnes' donations, the cup made out of rhinoceros horn, "which had not been used for an equal time was filled with 'West

[87] The gallery was Weld Hall, opened in 1906. The Directors Report for 1903 notes that one of the intentions of this luncheon was to raise money for a new wing. "A friend of the Institution pledged $10,000 if the sum of $30,000 was raised. Despite this generous promise the effort was a failure though more than half the amount was pledged." Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. The funds were met through an appeal to the residents and businessmen of Salem. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* also notes that Appleton told the members assembled at the luncheon, "That the museum should be perpetuated…that a quarter of the amount necessary for the permanent continuance, $50,000, already had been donated," which was, "greeted with loud applause. The sum mentioned, Gen. Appleton said, had been pledged upon the condition that the balance should be raised." "MUSEUM CENTENNIAL," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 16th, 1899.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] "$10,000 Gift For East India Marine Society," *Salem News*, December 16th, 1899. Peabody Academy of Science Scrapbook 4, 1890-1903. Peabody Essex Museum General Archives, Phillips Library.

Peabody Cider' and the president of the trustees, G.A. Peabody, drank to the health of the institution in a veritable drinking horn."[91] Though the use of collections in such a manner would horrify contemporary museum staff, on this occasion it was a fitting means to celebrate an important moment in the museums history, adding to the lore and symbolism of these founding objects.[92] With the Society nearing its end, and Salem's overseas trade all but defunct, the pipe and cup bound the guests to the past. They recognized that these artifacts were the physical representation of the lasting legacy of America's premier museum in the antebellum period that continued to thrive.

Now, with a host of contextual scholarship in tow to highlight the East India Marine Societies global impact, it is time to insert this museum into the pantheon of preeminent nineteenth-century American and world institutions. For sixty-eight years, the East India Marine Society displayed a unique collection of objects collected from six continents in an attempt to highlight Salem and America's ascendency in the world. Visitors from all states in the Union and abroad obtained global knowledge from this collection while also refining their conceptions of Yankee identity. Today, East India Marine Hall and the material culture within allow twenty-first century visitors from all walks of life to do the same and also explore United States history and the lines of exchange that helped nineteenth-century Americans understand who they were.

[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

FIGURES

Fig. 1. Two-Stem Smoking Pipe. Metal and wood. About 1790. Sumatra. Gift of Captain Jonathan Carnes. 1799. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M18.

Fig. 2. *Plan of the town of Salem in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, from actual surveys, made in the years 1796 & 1804; with the improvements and alterations since that period as surveyed*. Printed paper. 1820. Jonathan Peele Saunders (1785-1844). Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Salem, MA. Saunders was an East India Marine Society member since 1811, and donated thirty-six objects to the collection. The museum (whose locations is encircled in red) is one of thirteen buildings plotted on the map and noted in the key as "E.I.M. Museum."

Fig. 3. City Seal of Salem. In 1654, Elihu Yale sent two of his employees to Atjeh, the greatest independent kingdom on Sumatra, to establish the pepper trade. The seal of Salem, bears the picture of an Atjehnese wearing a flat red turban, red trousers and belt, a yellow knee length robe and blue jacket, and a ship under full sail approaching a coast, in the East Indies. The Latin motto *Divitis Indiae usque ad ultimum sinum* translates as "To the farthest port of the rich east." (http://www.salemweb.com/community/cityseal.shtml)

Fig. 4. Advertisements in Salem Newspapers, 1767-1835. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Salem, MA.

Fig. 5. Mask. Kaigani Haida artist. Wood, pigment. c. 1825. 10 ¼ x 7 ½ x 4 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3483. This mask likely represents Djilakons, mythical ancestress of the Haida Eagle clan.

Fig. 6. Palanquin. Indian maker. Wood, lacquer, metal, textile. c. 1803. 10 ¼ x 7 ½ x 4 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E14329. This mask likely represents Djilakons, mythical ancestress of the Haida Eagle clan.

Fig. 7. East India Marine Society Sign. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on canvas. 1803. 20 ¼ x 46 ¼ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M235.

Fig. 8. *The Artist in his Museum*. Charles Willson Peale. Oil on canvas. 1822. 103 ½ x 80 in. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Collection.

Fig. 9. East India Marine Hall as it Stands Today. Photograph by the Author.

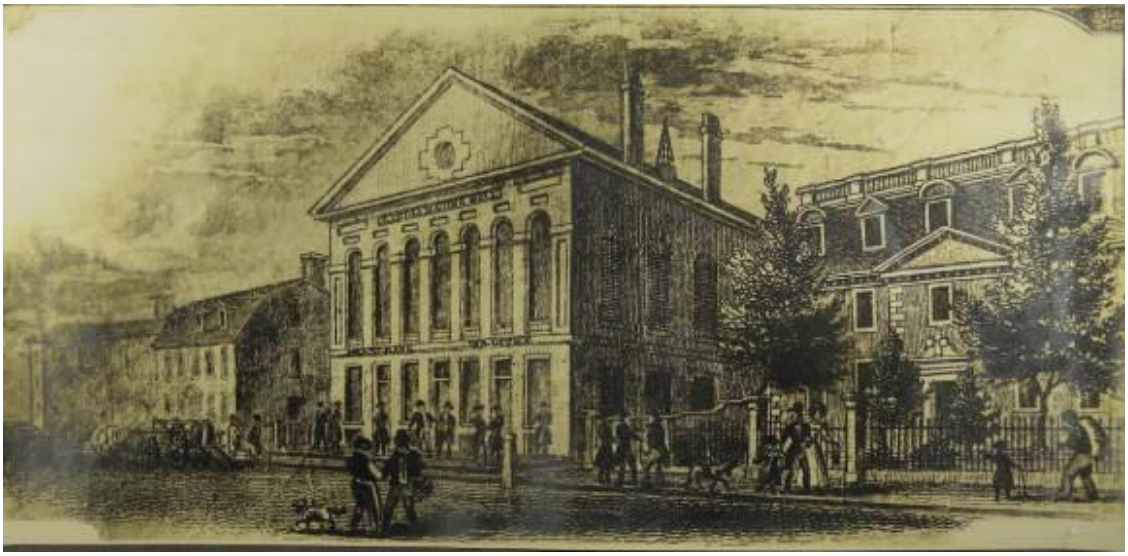


Fig. 10. East India Marine Hall, Enlarged From a Bill of the Asiatic Bank. c. 1840. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

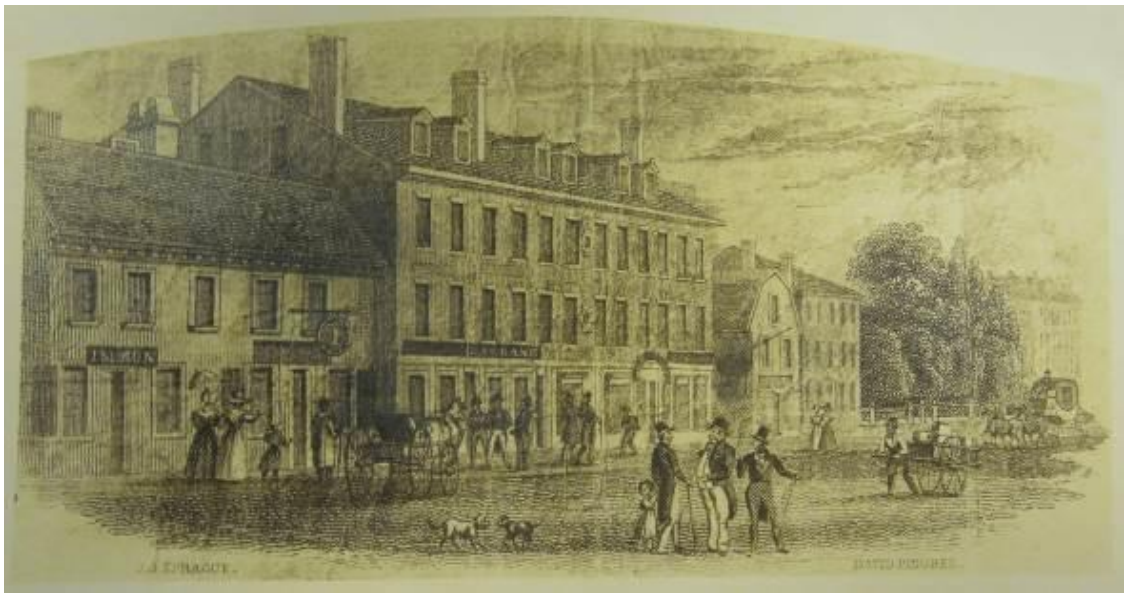


Fig. 11. Bowker Place, Nearly Opposite East India Marine Hall, Enlarged From a Bill of the Naumkeag Bank, c. 1840. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 12. Pair of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

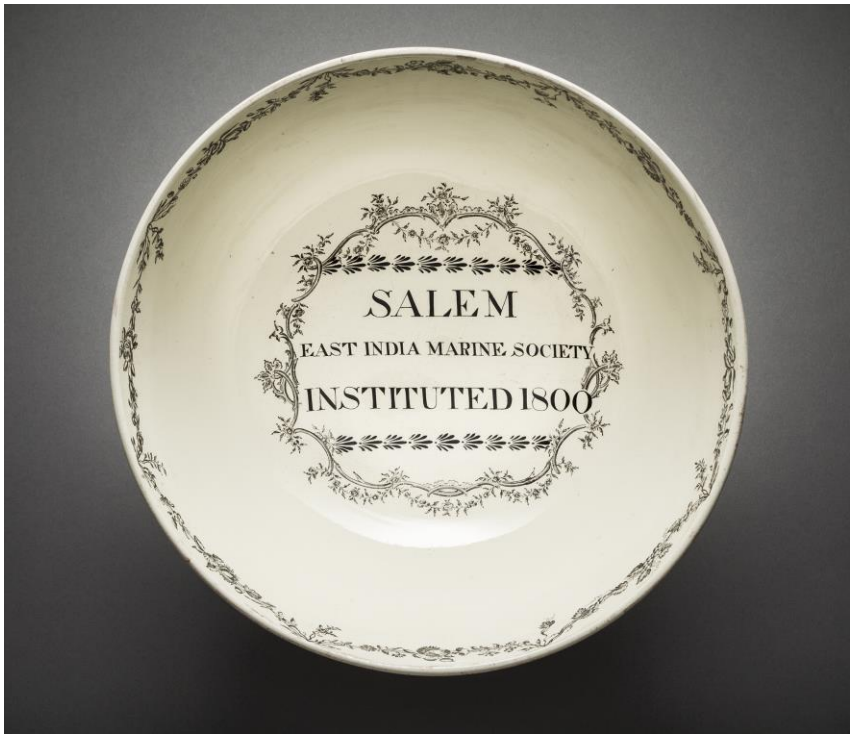


Fig. 13. Inside of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

Fig. 14. Detail on Side of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

Fig. 15. Detail on Side of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

Fig. 16. Detail on Side of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

Fig. 17. Detail on Side of Punch Bowls. English artist. Glazed creamware. 1800-1801 5 ¾ x 12 5/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2.AB.

Fig. 18. Voting Box. Wood. c. 1802. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M4405. Members of the East India Marine Society used either a white ball (for) or a black square (against) to vote on issues brought before the Society.

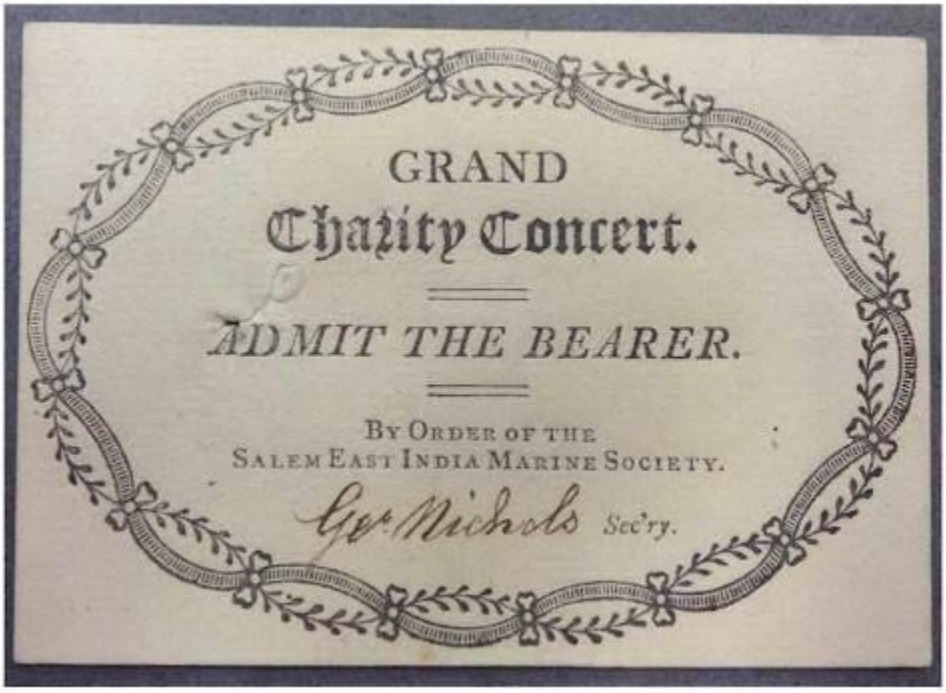
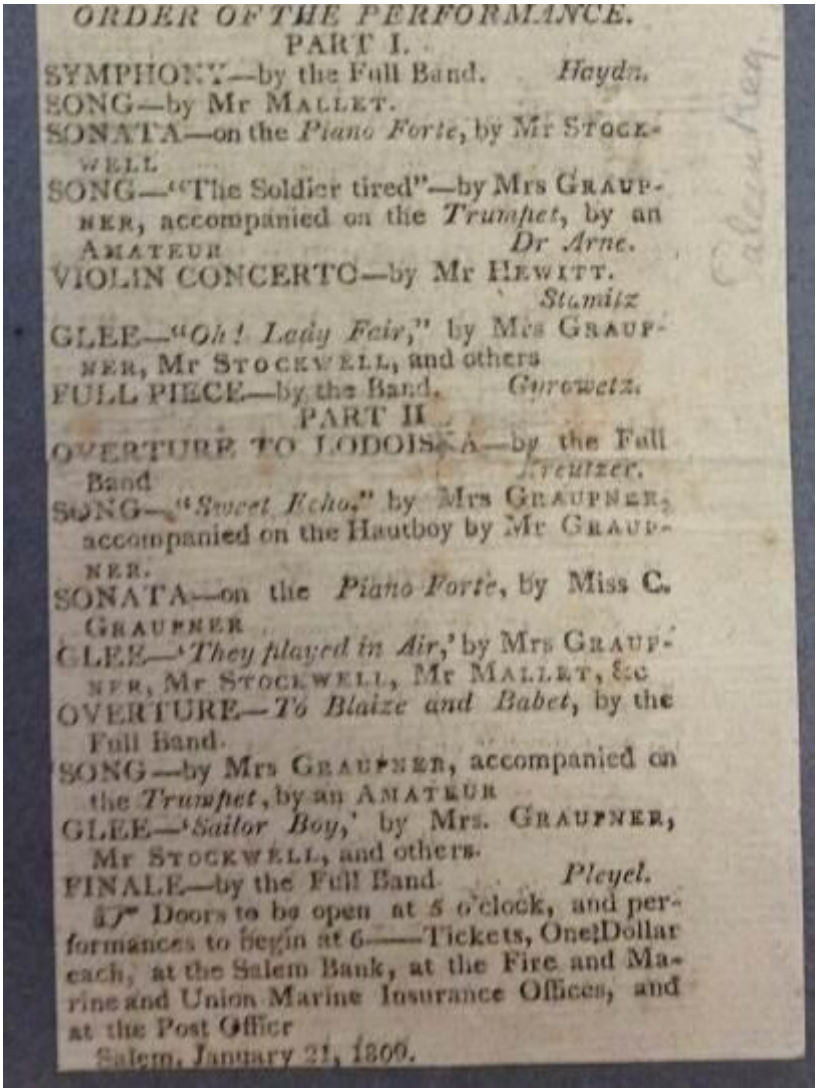


Fig. 19. Ticket for the "Grand Charity Concert." Thomas C. Cushing. Printed paper. 1809. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.



ORDER OF THE PERFORMANCE.

PART I.

SYMPHONY—by the Full Band. *Haydn.*

SONG—by Mr MALLET.

SONATA—on the *Piano Forte*, by Mr STOCKWELL

SONG—"The Soldier tired"—by Mrs GRAUPNER, accompanied on the *Trumpet*, by an AMATEUR *Dr Arne.*

VIOLIN CONCERTO—by Mr HEWITT. *Stamitz*

GLEE—"*Oh! Lady Fair*," by Mrs GRAUPNER, Mr STOCKWELL, and others

FULL PIECE—by the Band. *Gurowetz.*

PART II

OVERTURE TO LODOISKA—by the Full Band *Kreutzer.*

SONG—"*Sweet Echo*," by Mrs GRAUPNER, accompanied on the Hautboy by Mr GRAUPNER.

SONATA—on the *Piano Forte*, by Miss C. GRAUPNER

GLEE—'*They played in Air*,' by Mrs GRAUPNER, Mr STOCKWELL, Mr MALLET, &c

OVERTURE—*To Blaize and Babet*, by the Full Band.

SONG—by Mrs GRAUPNER, accompanied on the *Trumpet*, by an AMATEUR

GLEE—'*Sailor Boy*,' by Mrs. GRAUPNER, Mr STOCKWELL, and others.

FINALE—by the Full Band *Pleyel.*

☞ Doors to be open at 5 o'clock, and performances to begin at 6——Tickets, One Dollar each, at the Salem Bank, at the Fire and Marine and Union Marine Insurance Offices, and at the Post Office

Salem, January 21, 1809.

Fig. 20. Program for the "Grand Charity Concert," *Salem Register*. Printed paper. 1809. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 21. East India Marine Society Banner. Wood, silk, paint, textile. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M2091.

Fig. 22. Sketch of a Man in Eastern Dress. Attributed to Jonathan Carnes. Pencil on paper. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88. This drawing is on the inside cover of the East India Marine Society owned by Jonathan Carnes, whose signature appears on the adjacent page. Perhaps Carnes was sketching a fellow Society member dressed for one of the anniversary parades, or maybe he was thinking about one of the merchants he had met in the East Indies?

Fig. 23. Portrait of Captain James Cook. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on canvas. 1803. 27 ¾ x 20 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M3385.

Fig. 24. Frontispiece to William Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*. London. 1781. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, G420 .C62 A5 1781.

Fig. 25. Columbus and the Egg. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on canvas. 1805. 35 ½ x 41 1/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 108370.

Fig. 26. East India Marine Society Member Badges. Silvered copper. c. 1825. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M3852.AB & M8887.

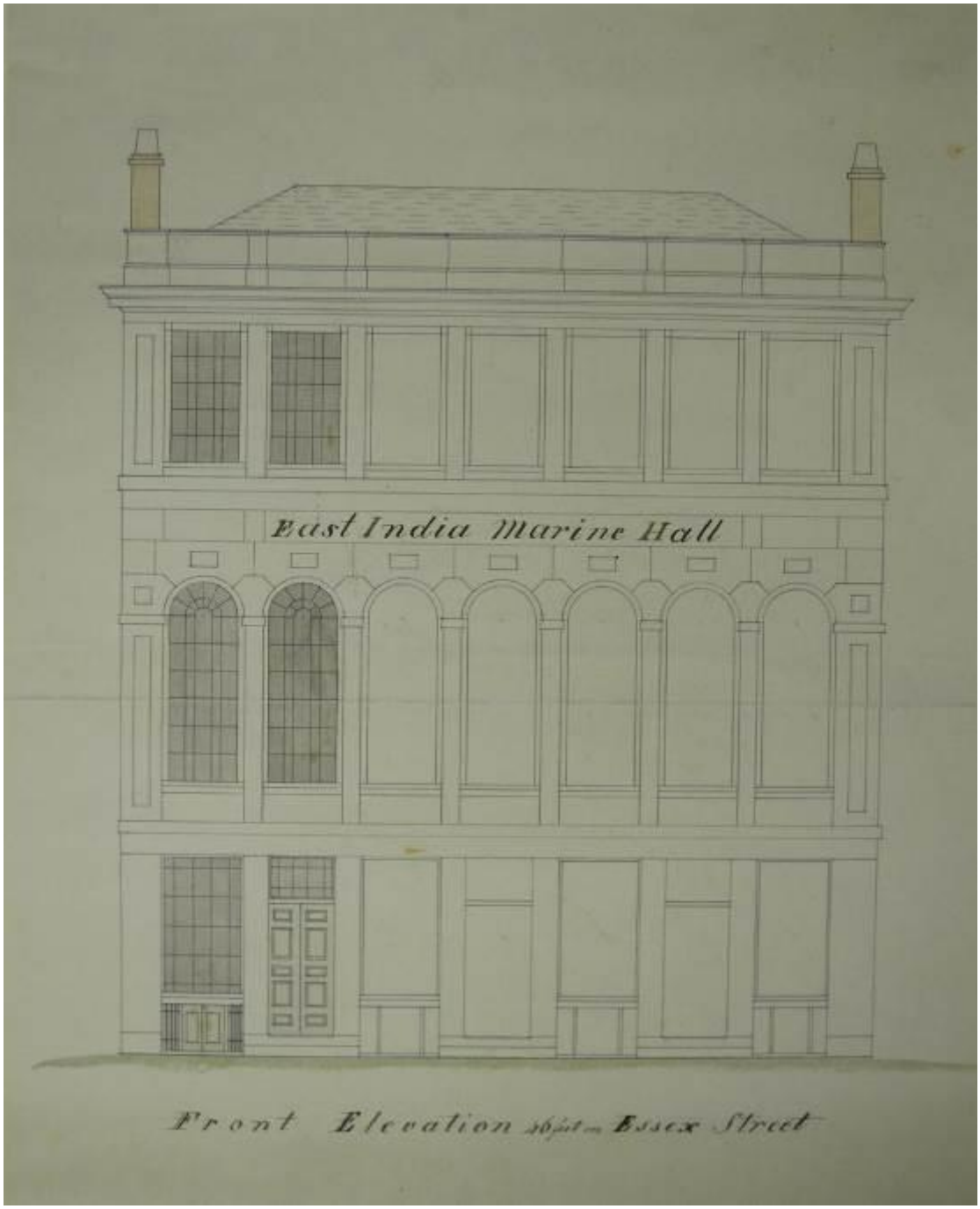


Fig. 27. Original Elevation Plan for the Front of East India Marine Hall on Essex Street. Thomas Waldron Sumner (1768-1849). Ink on paper. 1824. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 28. Original Elevation Plan for the West Side of East India Marine Hall. Thomas Waldron Sumner (1768-1849). Ink on paper. 1824. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 29. Portrait of Nathaniel Bowditch. Charles Osgood (1809-1890). Oil on canvas. 1835. 58 x 43 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M370.

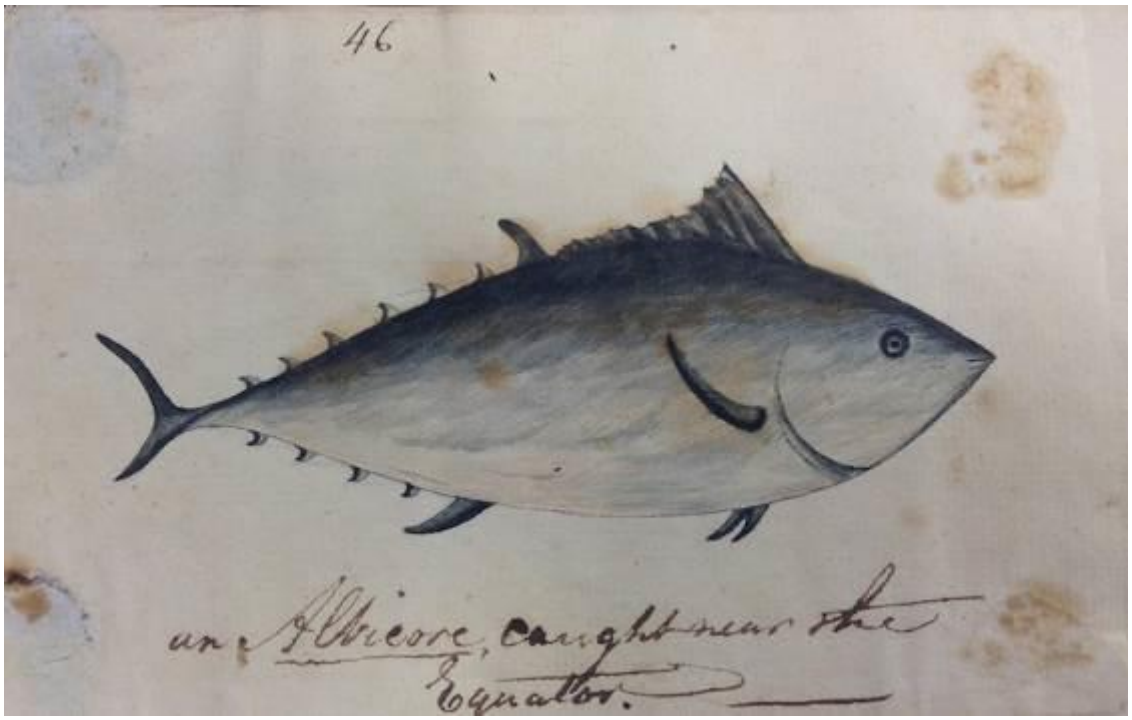


Fig. 30. "An Albicore, Caught Near the Equator." Israel Williams. Pen and ink on paper. 1797-1798. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88. This drawing appears in East India Marine Society Journal Volume 3, No. 21, Journal of the Ship *Friendship*, Israel Williams master, from Salem to Batavia, and back, 1797-1798, donated in 1806.

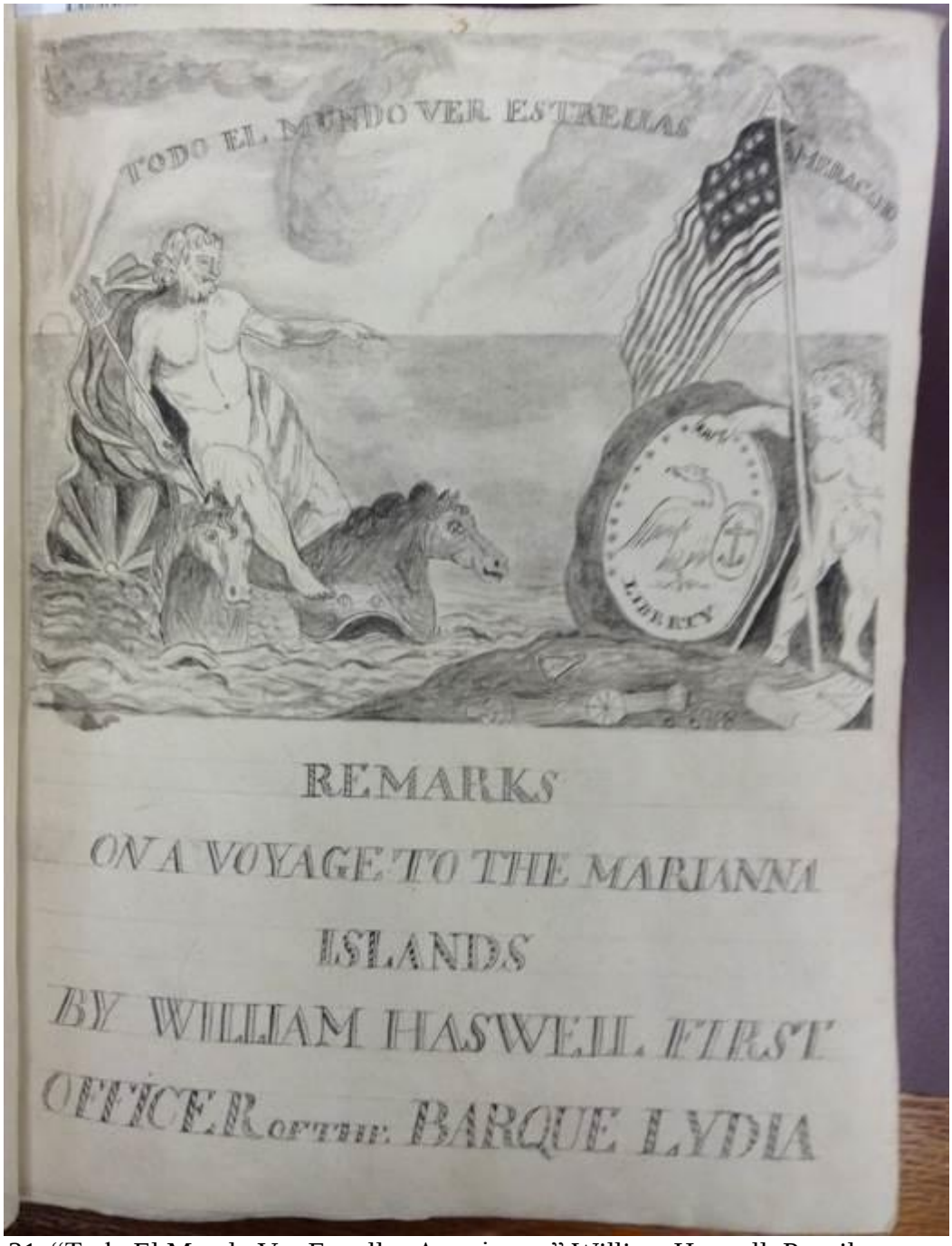


Fig. 31. "Todo El Mundo Ver Estrellas Americano." William Haswell. Pencil on paper. 1802. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88. This drawing appears in East India Marine Society Journal Volume 11, No. 91, Journal of the Bark *Lydia*, Moses Barnard master, from Manila to Guam and back to Manila, 1802, donated in 1828.

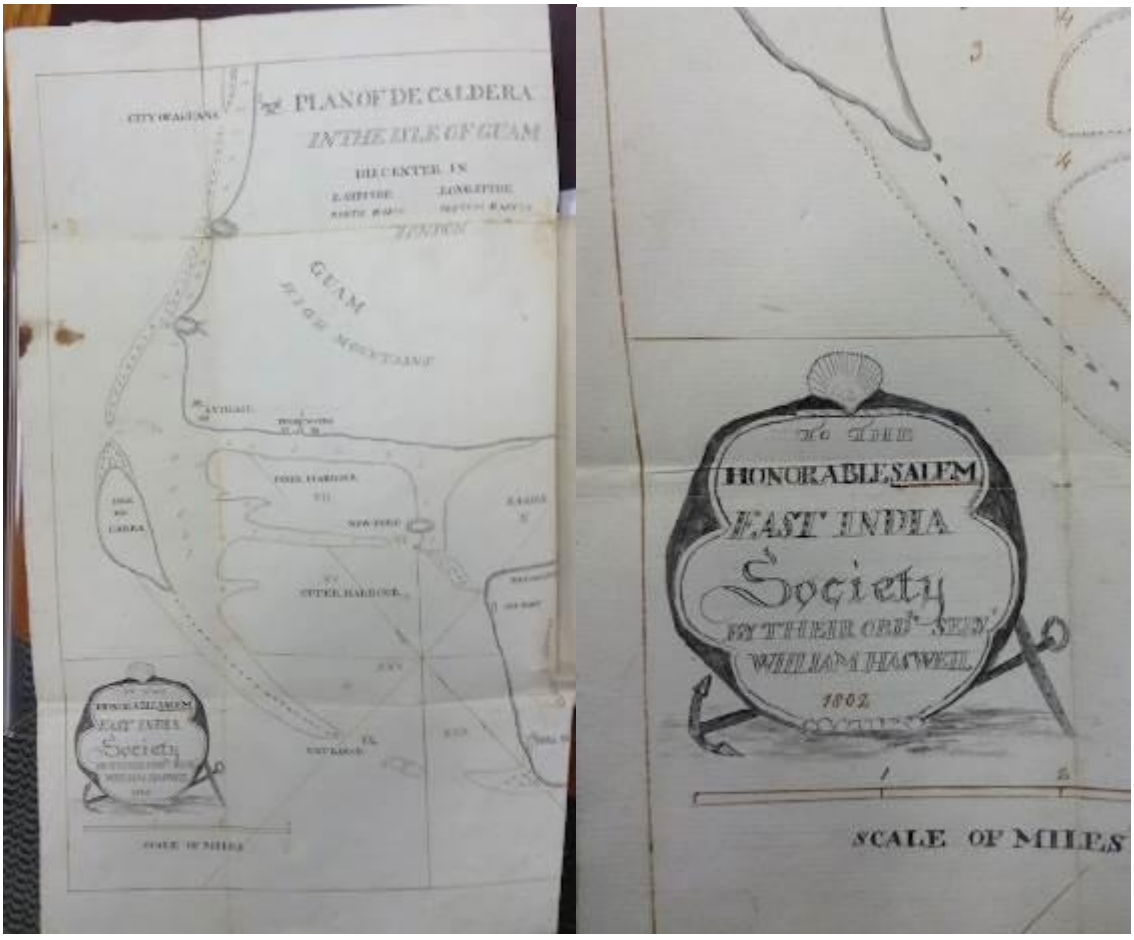


Fig. 32. “Plan of De Caldera in the Isle of Guam.” William Haswell. Pencil on paper. 1802. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88. This drawing appears in East India Marine Society Journal Volume 11, No. 91, Journal of the Bark *Lydia*, Moses Barnard master, from Manila to Guam and back to Manila, 1802, donated in 1828.

Fig. 33. Davis Quadrant. William Williams (1748?-1792). Ebony, boxwood, bone. 1768. 58 x 43 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M471.

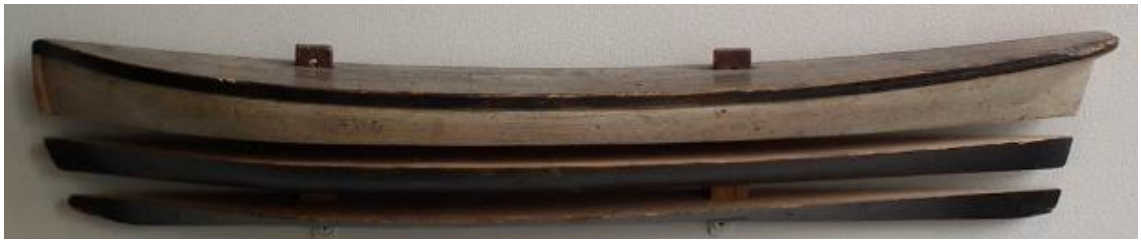


Fig. 34. Half-Hull Model of the Ketch *Eliza*. Wood, paint. Oil on canvas. c. 1794. 4 x 23 ¼ x 3 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M470.

Fig. 35. Mechanical Log Watch. William Lovelace. Wood, brass, glass. 1803. 4 ½ x 4 x 4 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M26.

Fig. 36. Model of the Ship *Ulysses*. William Mugford. Wood, cordage, paint. 1805. 15 x 47 ½ x 18 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M54.

Fig. 37. Portrait of Matthew Fontaine Maury. Salted paper photographic print. c. 1859. 21 ¾ x 17 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Salem, M820.

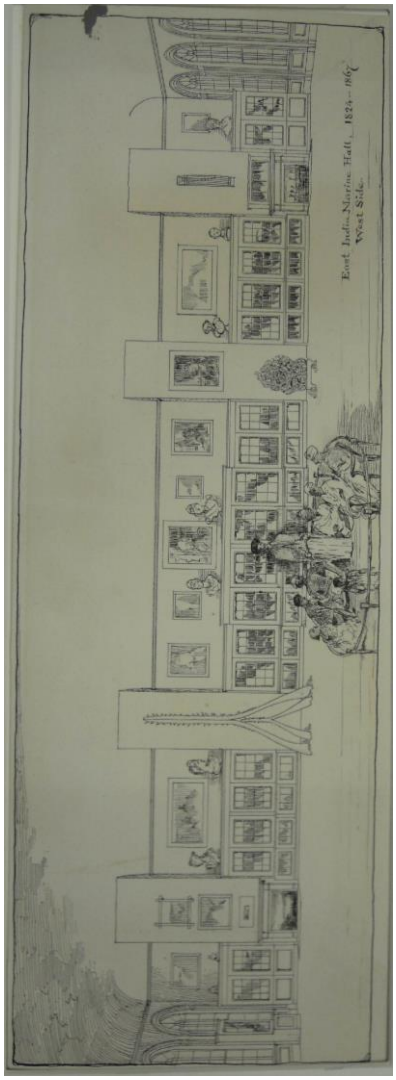


Fig. 38. *East India Marine Hall, 1824-1867, West Side*. James Henry Emerton (1847-1931). Ink on paper. c. 1879. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M303. According to a note by John Robinson, dated December 19, 1889, "These sketches were made by _____ through Mr. Wm. D. Dennis, architect, Salem, from scale drawings made by Mr. Arthur R. Stone from data furnished chiefly by Dr. Henry Wheatland from 1885-1889, and measurements of cases & objects formerly in E.I.M. Hall. Miss Mary Mason Brooks added the sketches of objects in the architects work." The name left blank is James Emerton, who is attributed as the main artist for these sketches. The two jaws of a sperm whale and the Neptune's cup take prominent places along two of the closed chimney flues.

Fig. 39. King Penguin (*Aptenodytes patagonicus*). c. 1820. Falkland Islands. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, EIMS1219.1.

Fig. 40. Bag of White Pepper Used as a Sample. Siam. c. 1823. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E4581.

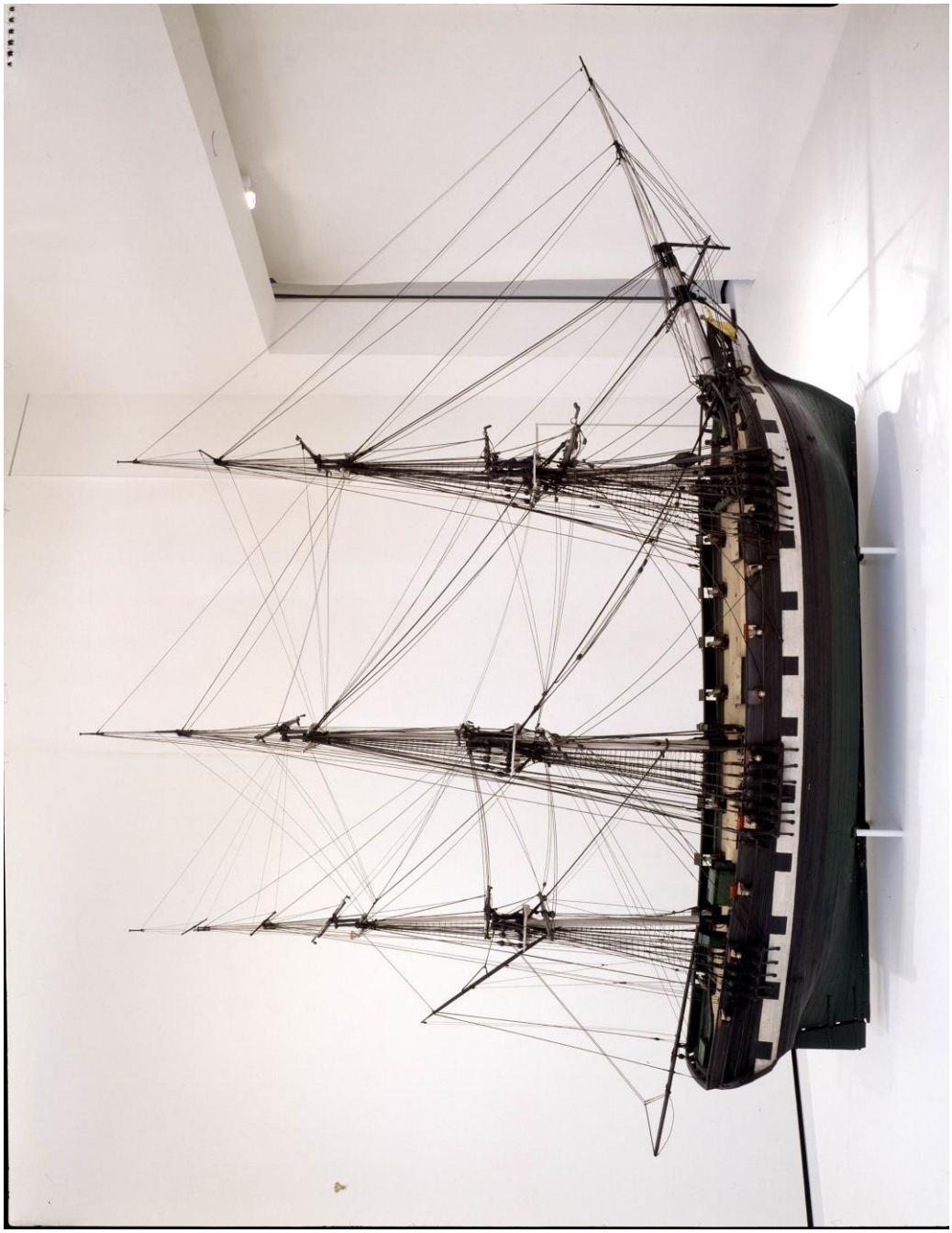


Fig. 41. Model of the Ship *Friendship*. Mr. Odell and Thomas Russell. Wood, cordage, paint. On board the *Friendship*. 1804. 96 x 140 x 55 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M48.

Fig. 42. Wig. Fijian maker. Wood, palm leaf. Fiji. c. 1836. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E5021.

Fig. 43. Double-Ended Dagger. John Rogers Jewitt (1738-1821). Metal, leather. Nootka Sound, British Columbia. c. 1803-1805. 24 ½ x 1 ½ x 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3559.

Fig. 44. Double-Ended Dagger. Tlingit maker. Copper, leather. Cook's Inlet, Alaska. c. 1830. 24 ½ x 1 ½ x 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3560.

Fig. 45. "Various Articles of Otaheite and New Zealand" from William Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*. London. 1781. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, G420 .C62 A5 1781.

Fig. 46. *Totokia* (beaded battle-hammer club). Fijian maker. Wood. Fiji. 1823. 33 x 8 x 2 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E4835.

Fig. 47. Sailing Needles. Fijian maker. Human bone. Fiji. c. 1824 and c. 1834. 12 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E5260 & E5261.

Fig. 48. *Bure kalou* (spirit house). Fijian maker. Coconut fiber, wood, shell. Fiji. Early nineteenth century. 44 x 25 x 41 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E5037.

Fig. 49. Pair of Men's Ear Ornaments (*ha'akai*). Marquesan maker. Sperm whale's teeth. Marquesas. 1804. 2 ¼ x 2 1/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3544.1-2.

Fig. 50. *Grand Turk* Punchbowl. Chinese maker. Canton. 1786. 5 ½ x 15 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E62499.

Fig. 51. Figure of Yamqua. Multiple artists. 1801. Mixed media. 72 x 20 x 20 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E7161.1-4.

Fig. 52. Figure of a Tea Packer and a Tea Porter. Chinese maker. Canton. c. 1803. 5 ¾ and 6 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E7100 & E7101.

Fig. 53. View of the Foreign Factories in Canton. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on panel. Salem, MA. 1804. 33 ½ x 53 ¼ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M292.

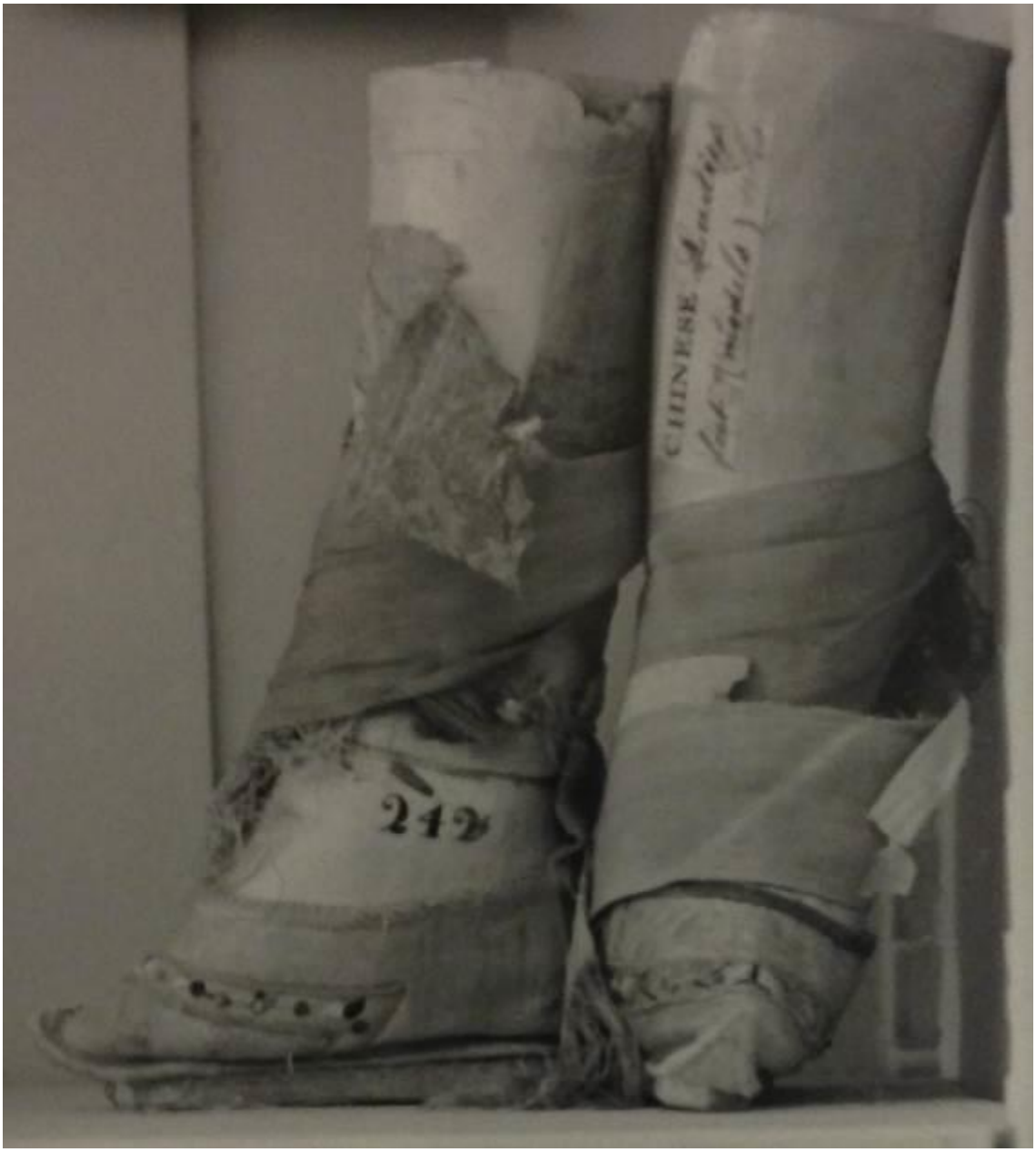


Fig. 54. Model of the Feet of a Chinese Lady. China. c. 1801. 3 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E8221.

Fig. 55. Figure of a Chinese Deity. Chinese maker. Nephrite. China. c. 1800. 5 5/8 x 6 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E9651.

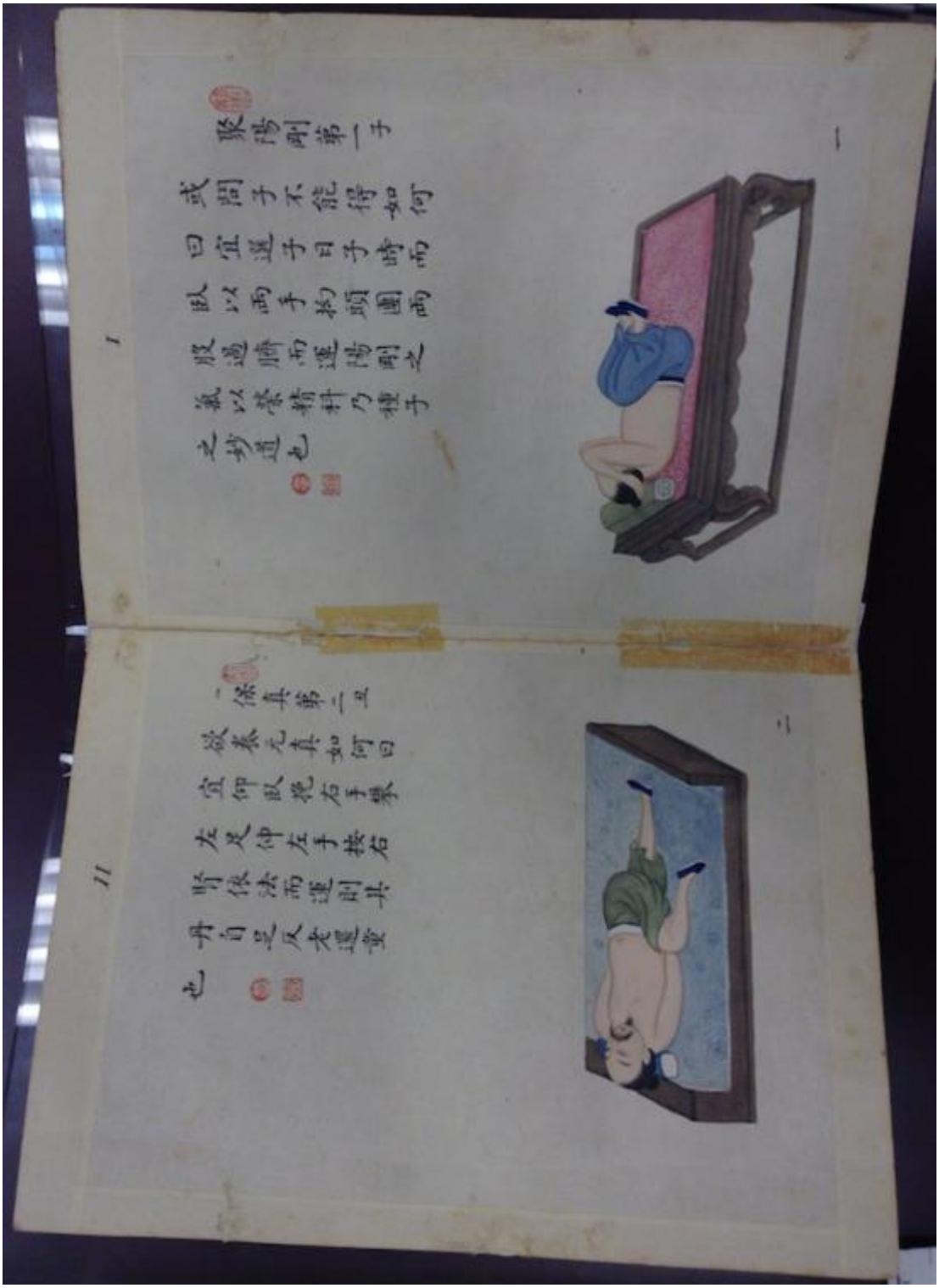


Fig. 56. *The Chinese Art of Curing Diseases*. China. Seventeenth century. 11 ½ x 16 ¾ x 1 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E11579.

Fig. 57. Portrait of Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia. Attributed to Spoilum. Oil on canvas. Canton. c. 1800. 39 x 29 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M245.

Fig. 58. Figure of Nusserwanjee Maneckjee Wadia. Salem maker. Mixed media. c. 1803. 72 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E9934.AB.

Fig. 59. Life Size Figure of a Cooley. Attributed to Kashinath. Clay over straw, pigments, cloth. Krishnanagar. c. 1823. 31 x 26 x 25 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E9923.

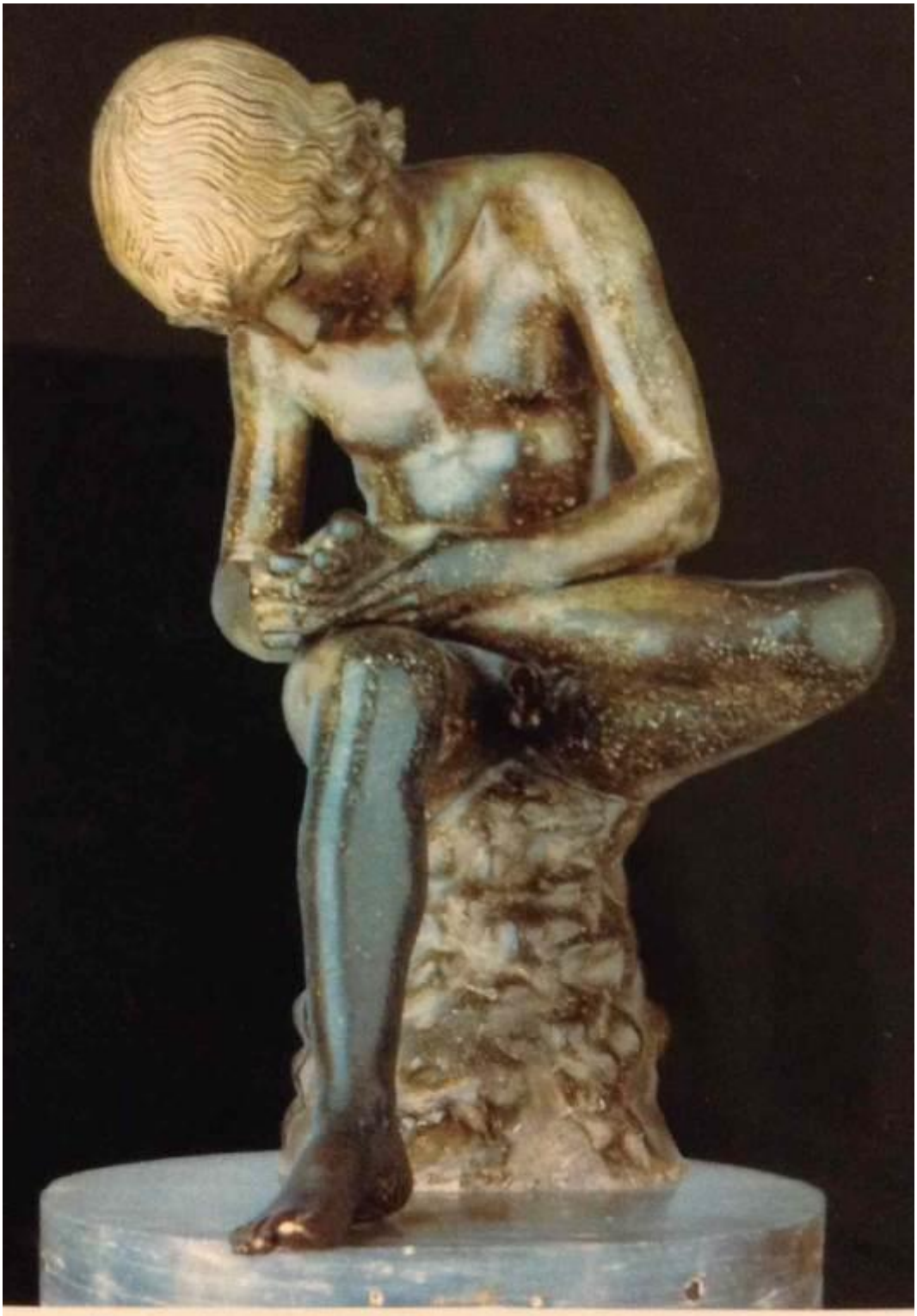


Fig. 60. *Boy With Thorn*.

Fig. 61. Hookah-Bearer. Calcutta or Krishnanagar artist. Calcutta or Krishnanagar. c. 1833. 13 3/8 x 4 ½ x 3 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E7654.

Fig. 62. *E-kyodai* (Brother Print). Kitagawa Utamaro (1750-1806). Woodblock print. Japan. Late eighteenth century. 15 1/8 x 9 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6545.

Fig. 63. Sandal. Japan. On board the *Friendship*. Straw, silk, cotton. c. 1800. 7 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6465.

Fig. 64. *The Island of Decima in Japan*. Japanese export maker. Lacquered wood, mother-of-pearl. c. 1801. 18 x 11 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6576.

Fig. 65. Cape Town, South Africa. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on panel. Salem, MA. 1804. 35 x 52 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M128.

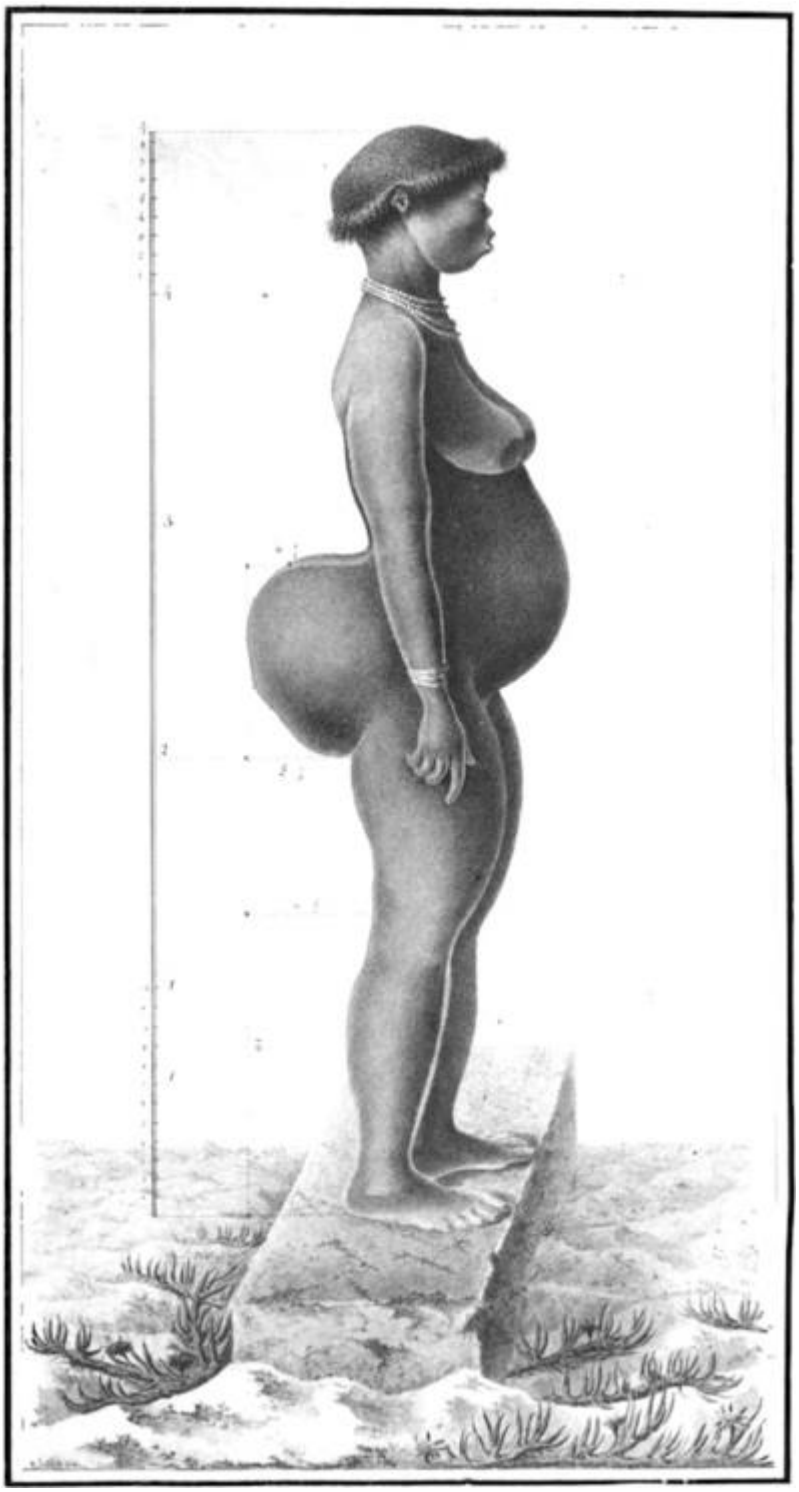


Fig. 66. Whole Length View of a Khoikhoi Woman. Signed. L. M. Thibaul del et P Cap de Goode Hoop, 1801. Watercolor on paper. 19 ½ x 10 3/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 67. Mbira. West Africa. Wood, steel. c. 1830. 5 ½ x 4 x 1 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6734.

Fig. 68. Vessel in the Shape of a Llama Head. Chimú maker. Earthenware. Valle de Chicama, Peru. 1200-1400. 5 7/8 x 6 1/8 x 4 ¼ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6828.

Fig. 69. Vessel in the Form of Zaramama. Inca maker. Earthenware. Peru. 96 x 140 x 55 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E6800.

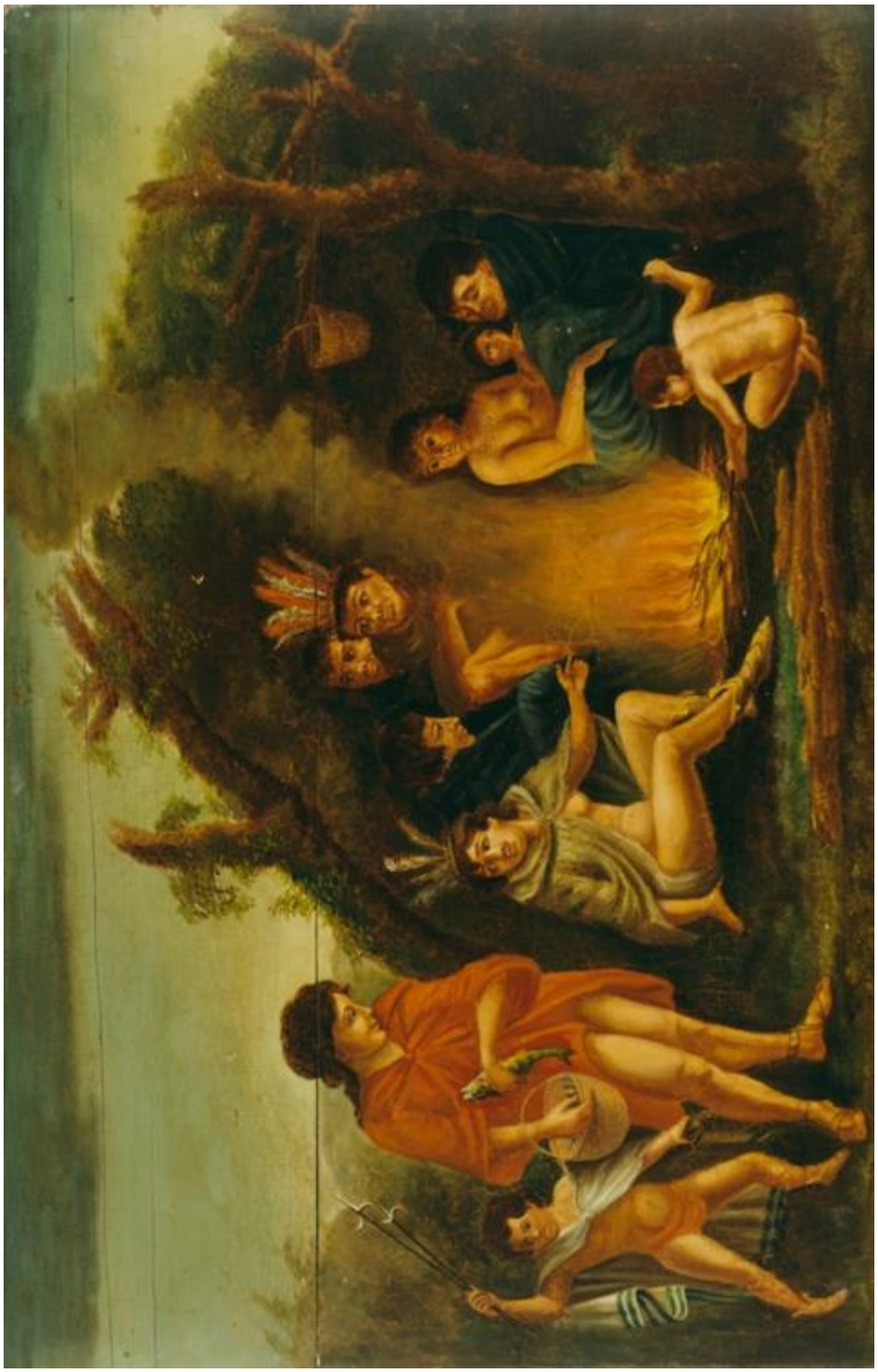


Fig. 70. Native Encampment. Michele Felice Cornè (1752-1845). Oil on panel. Salem, MA. 1804. 35 ½ x 53 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M288.

Fig. 71. *View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego* from William Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*. Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785), after Alexander Buchan (d. 1769) London. 1781. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, G420 .C62 A5 1781.

Fig. 72. *Landing of the Pilgrims*. Samuel Bartoll (1765-1835). Oil on panel. Salem, MA. 1825. 36 x 54 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M293.

Fig. 73. Canoe Model. Ottawa (Odawa) or Chippewa-Ojibwa (Anishinabe) maker. Birch bark, wood, paint. Lake Huron. c. 1823-1825. 22 3/4 x 4 7/8 x 6 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3760.

Fig. 74. Calumet Pipe. Dakota (Easter Sioux) maker. Catlinite, wood, hair, quills. Eastern Plains Region. c. 1820. 39 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3689.

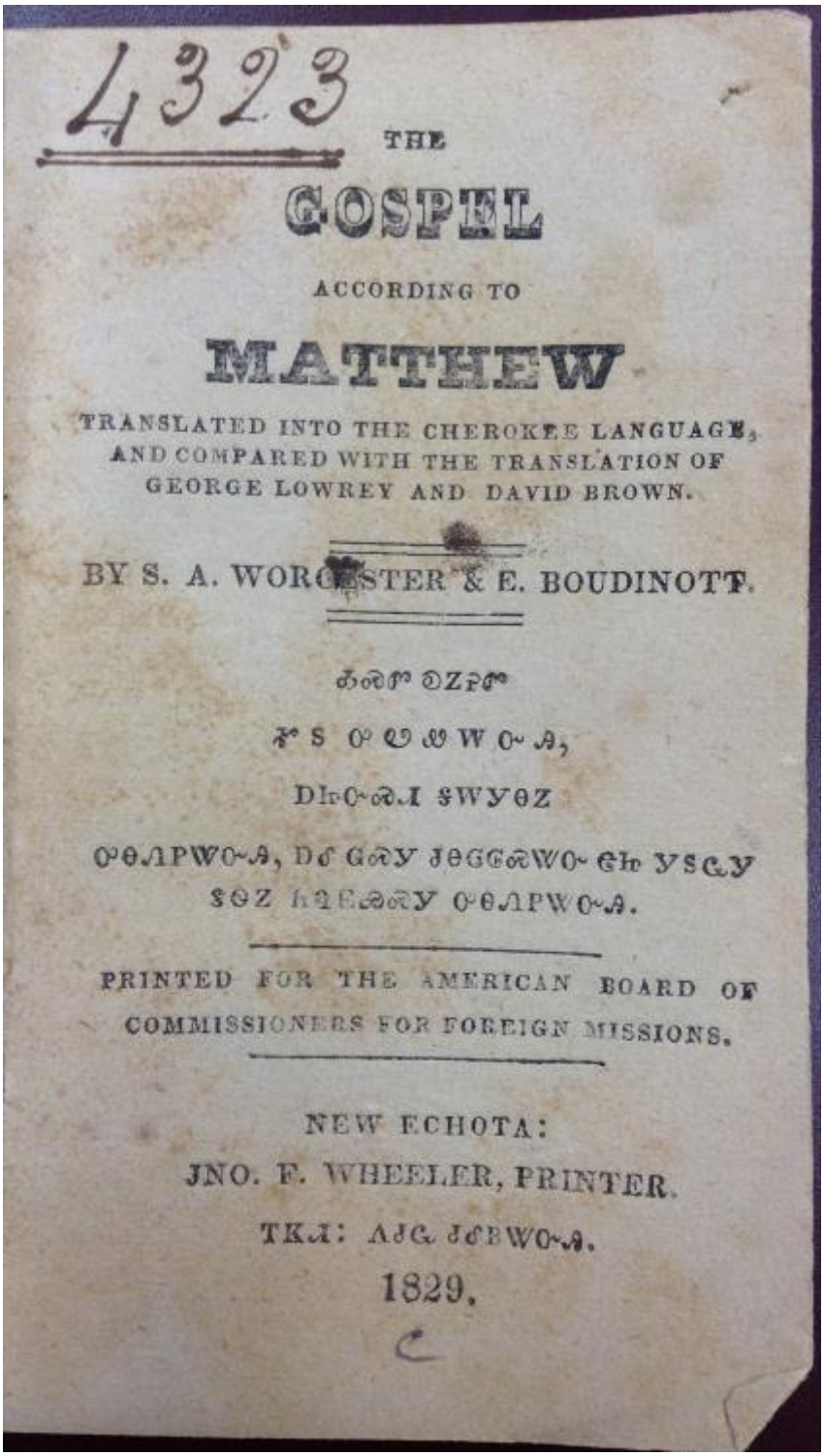


Fig. 75. *The Gospel According to Matthew*. New Echota, Georgia. Printed paper. 1829. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, BS345 .C47 M388 1829.

Fig. 76. Model of a Dog's Leg. Herculaneum, Italy. Terracotta. 5 ¾ x 2 1/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E5900.

Fig. 77. Heaven and the Day of Judgment Terminal Rosary Bead. Belgium. Boxwood. Late 15th–early 16th century. 4 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M557.

Fig. 78. *Death of Abel*. Antwerp artist. Oil on canvas. Early nineteenth century. 57 ½ x 73 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 108545.

Fig. 79. *View of the Temple of Apollo and Athens*. Theodore Fisher (1789-1819). Oil on canvas. 1812. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 108254.

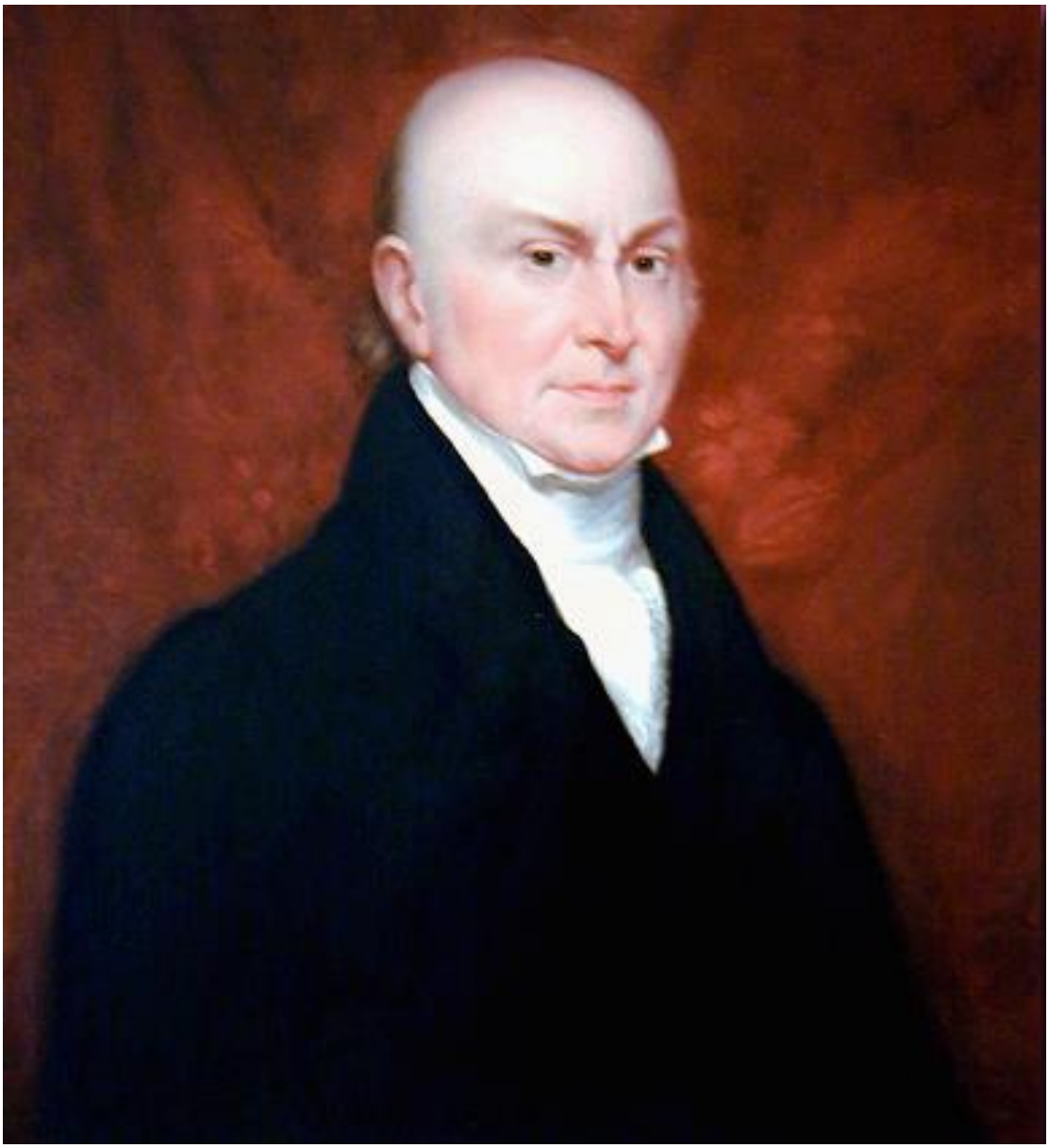


Fig. 80. Portrait of John Quincy Adams. Charles Osgood (1809-1890). Oil on canvas. 1834. 29 x 25 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 106820.

Fig. 81. Capture of the U.S. Frigate *Essex* by his B.M. Frigate *Phoebe* and Sloop *Cherub*. George Ropes Jr. (1788-1819). Oil on canvas. 1815. 15 ¾ x 25 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M455.

Fig. 82. Naval Engagement Battle Between French and English Vessels. George Ropes Jr. (1788-1819). Oil on canvas. 1815. 18 ¾ x 26 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M454.

Fig. 83. *America, Guided by Wisdom: An Allegorical Representation of the United States, Denoting their Independence and Prosperity*. Benjamin Tanner (1775-1848) after John James Barralet (c. 1747-1815). Engraving. c. 1820. Library of Congress Collection.

Fig. 84. *Vuë de Salem*. Balthasar Friedrich Leizelt. Hand-colored etching. Late eighteenth century. 16 ¼ x 20 1/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M11398.

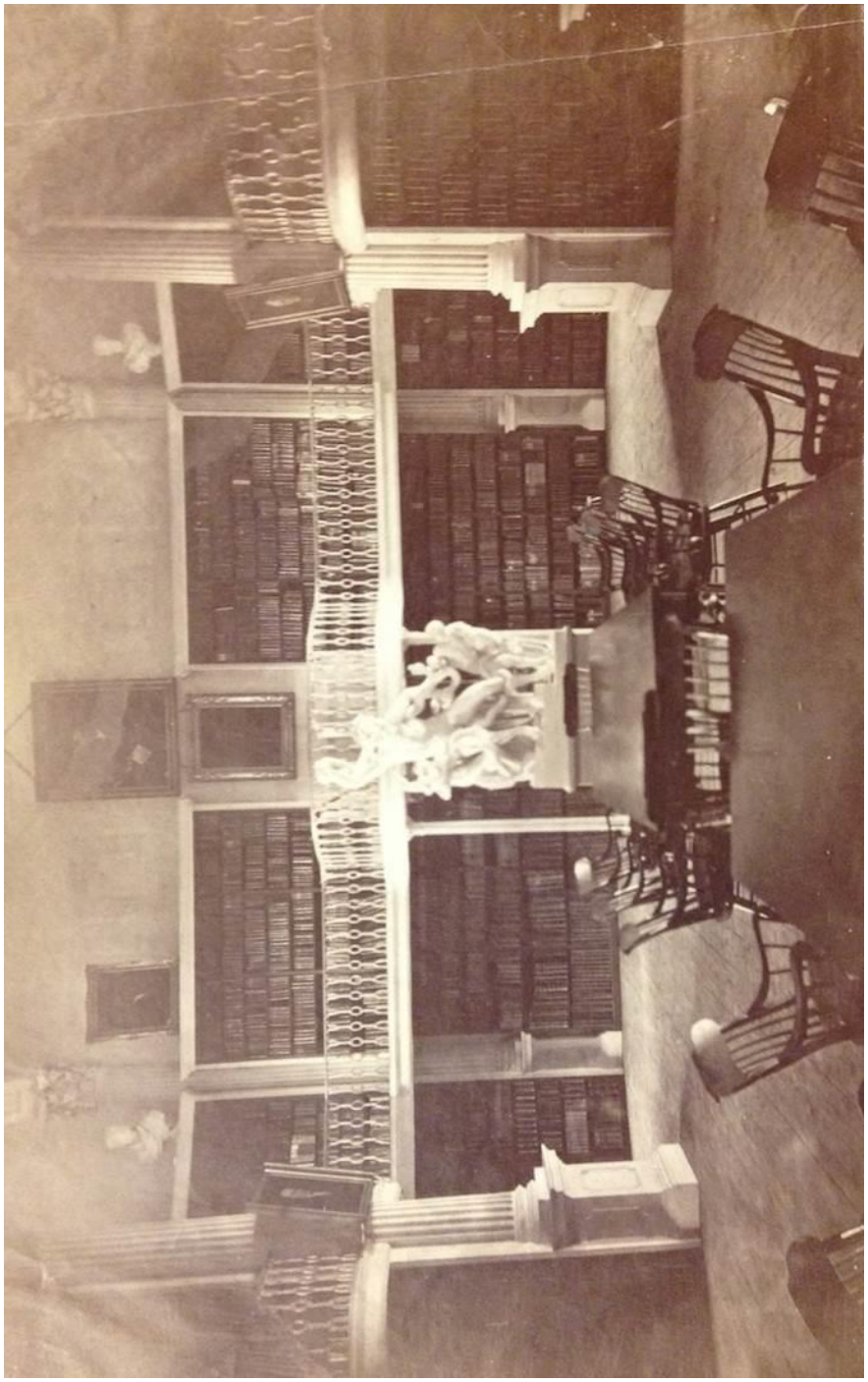


Fig. 85. Plaster Cast of the Laocoön Group. Photograph of it installed in Plummer Hall in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Neg. 30955.

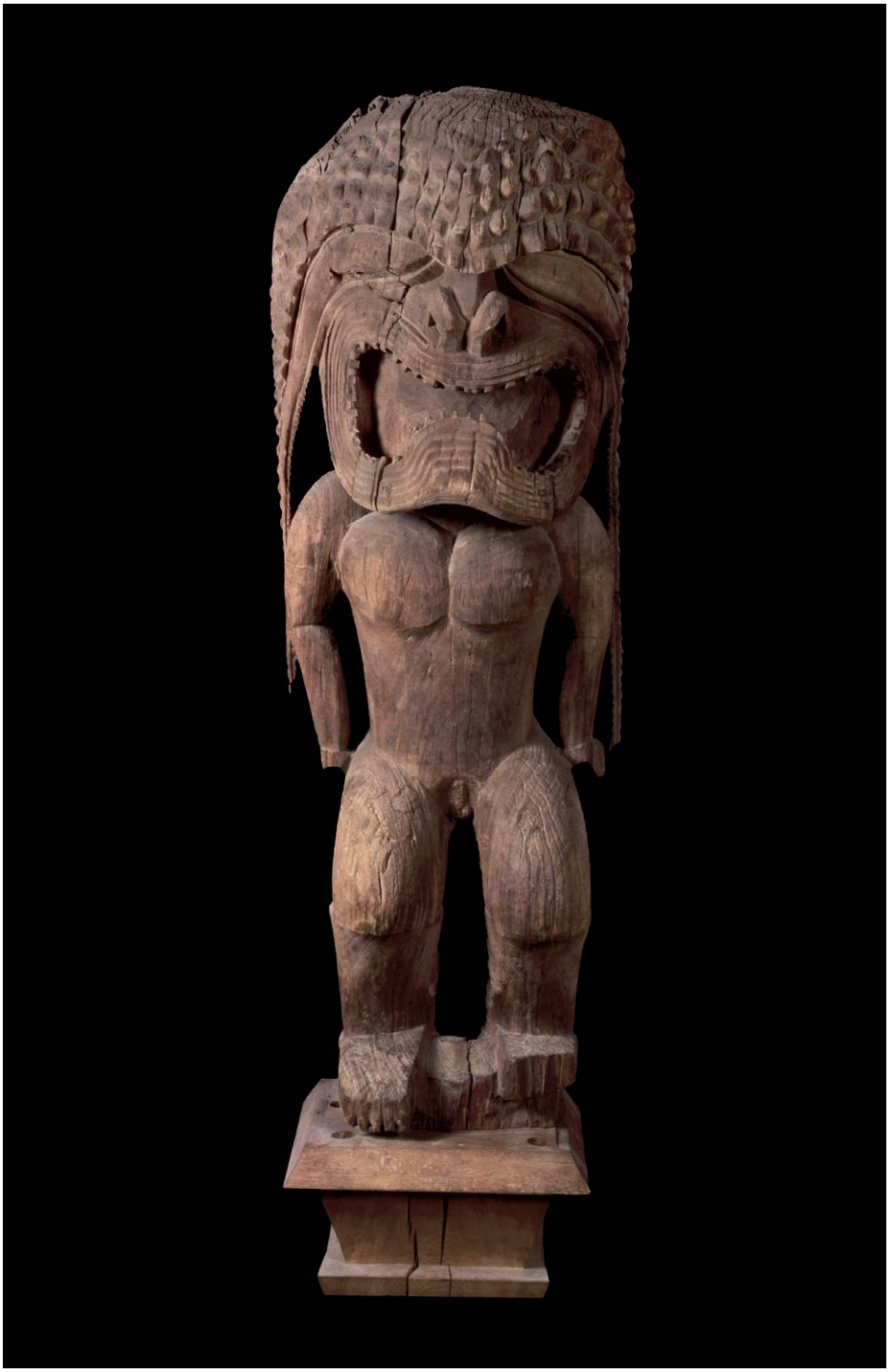


Fig. 86. Figure of Kuka’ilimoku. Hawaiian carver. Breadfruit wood. Early nineteenth century. 78 ½ x 28 x 20 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E12071.

Fig. 87. Pipe in the Form of a Ship. Haida maker. Argillite. c. 1820s. 2 ½ x 4 7/8 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E3498.

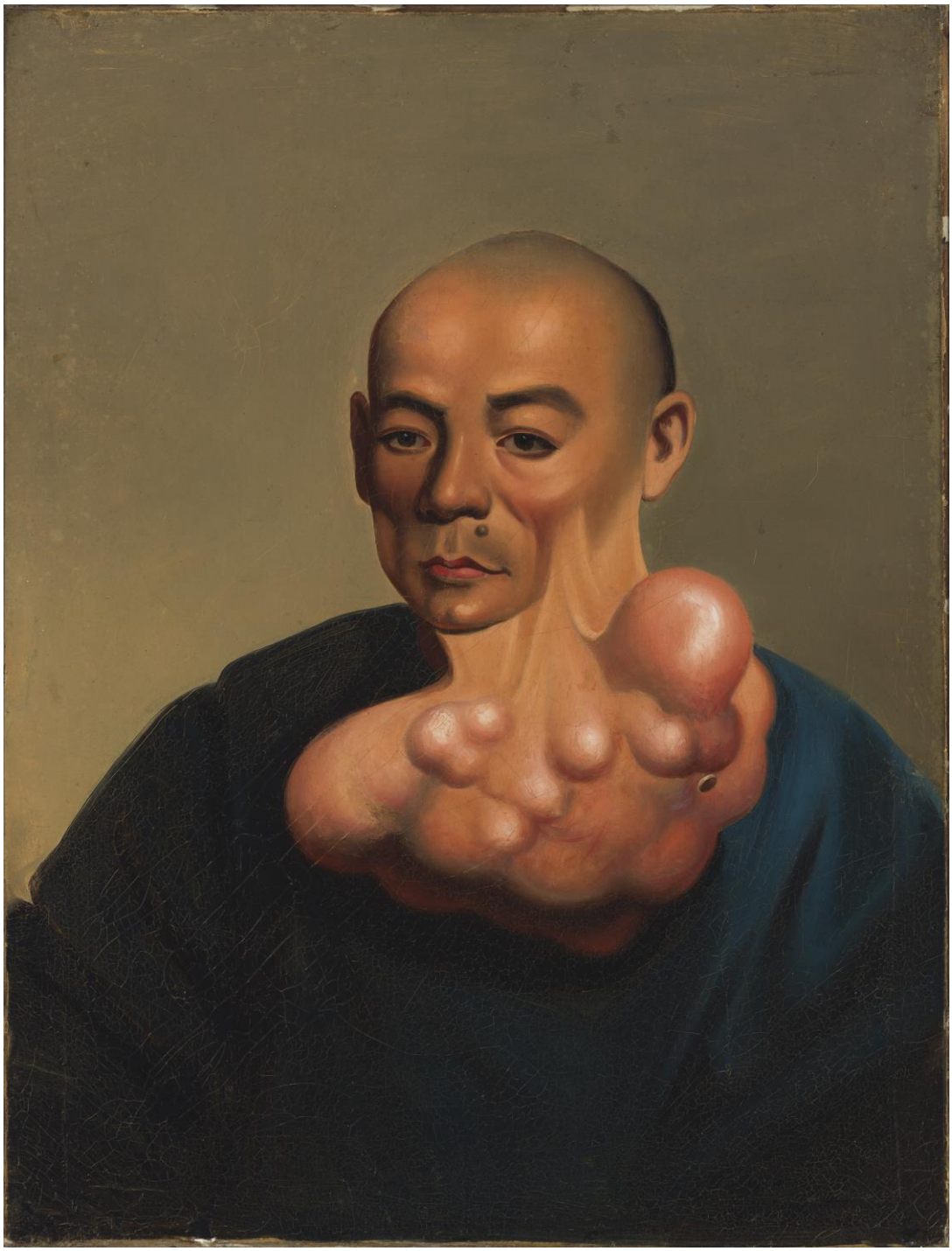


Fig. 88. Portrait of Woo Pan. Lamqua (1801-1860). Canton. c. 1837. 23 5/8 x 18 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M3684.

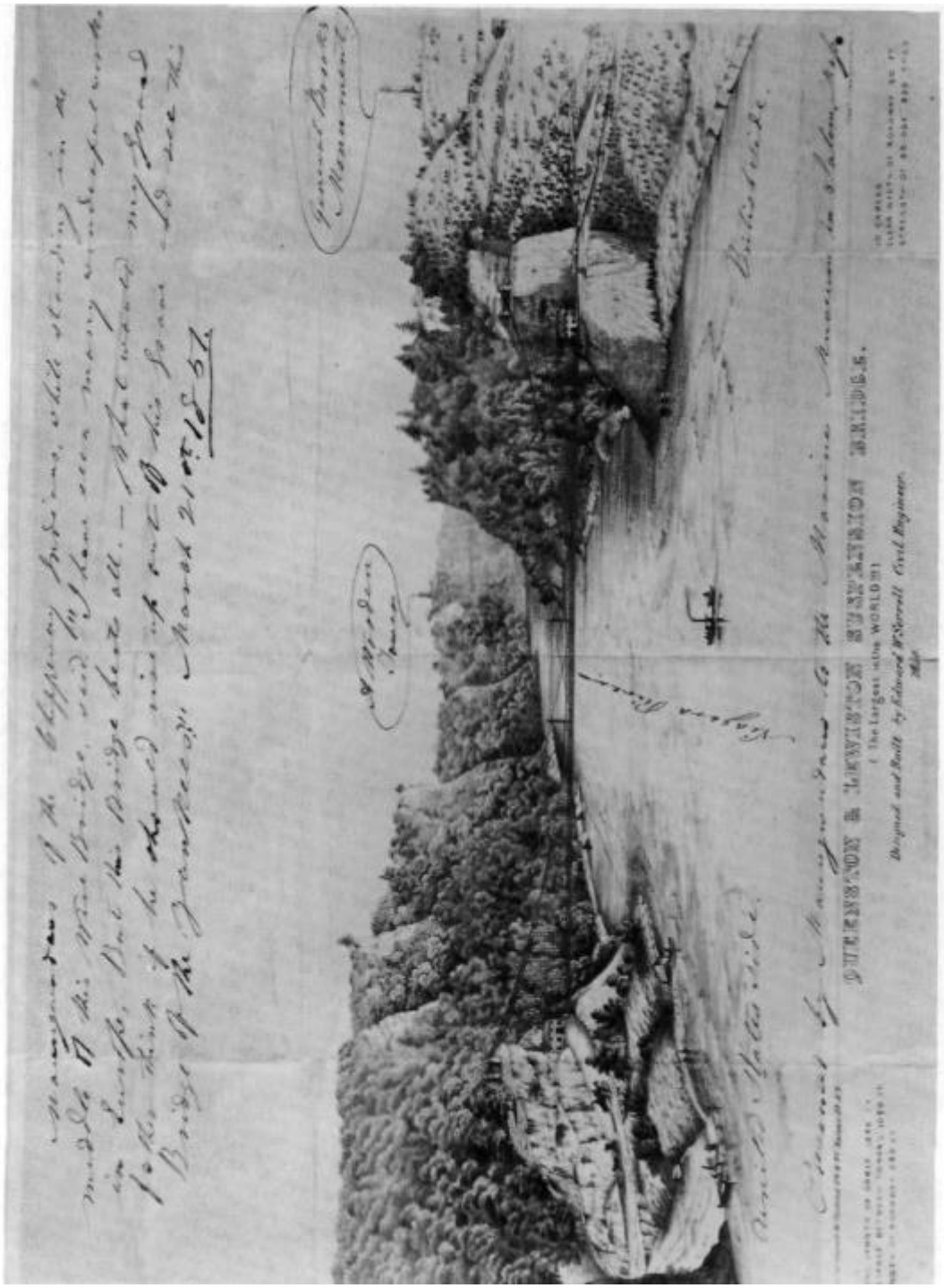


Fig. 89. *Queenston & Lewiston Suspension Bridges*. Frederick L. Knight. Print. 1850. 13 ¾ x 21 ¾ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

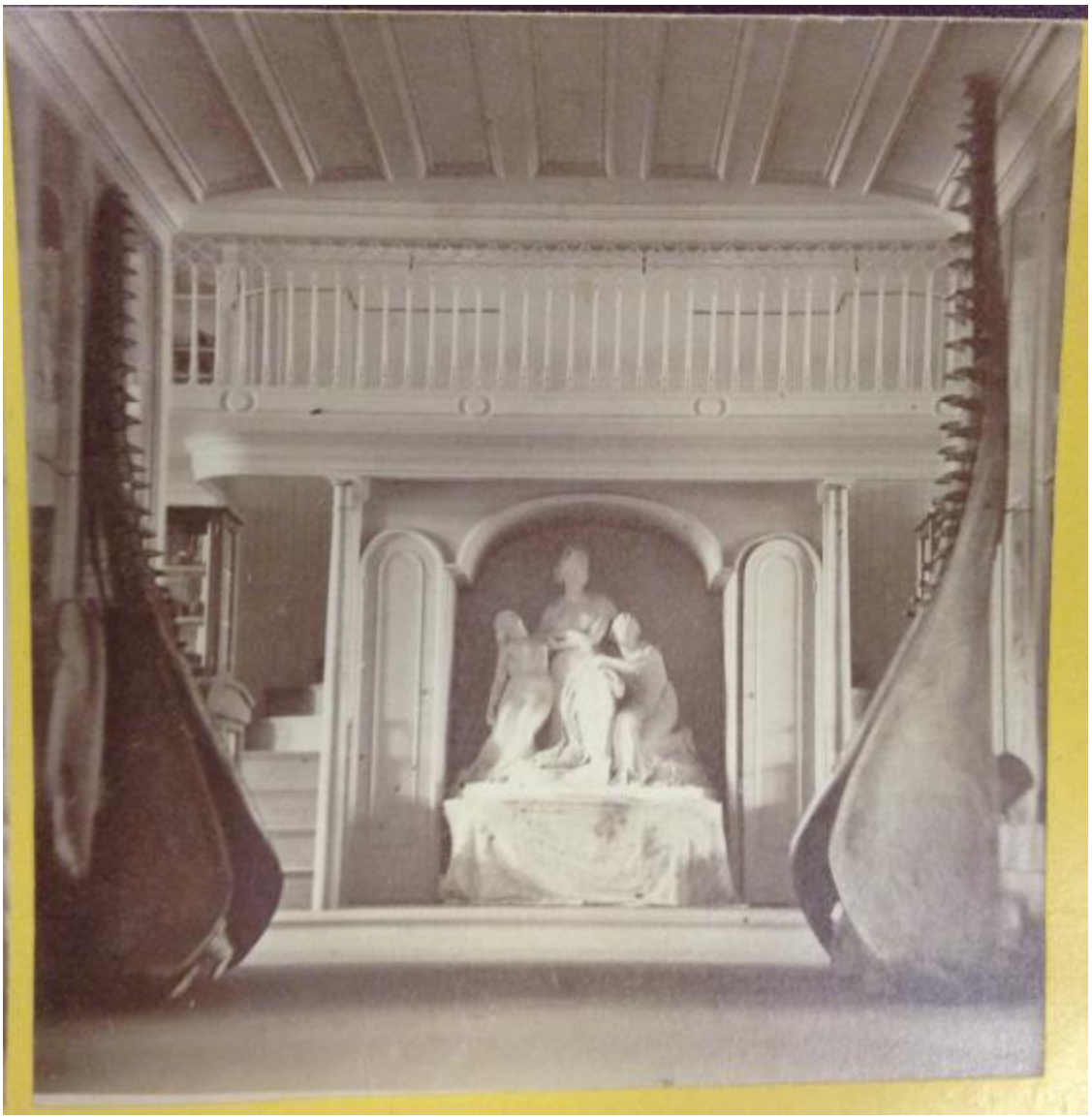


Fig. 90. *The Captive Pioneer Mother and Daughters*. Louisa Lander (1826-1923). Plaster. Rome. 1860. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, unnumbered stereoview in the Institutional Archives. Detail of a G.M. Whipple and A.A. Smith stereoview photograph c. 1869-1875.

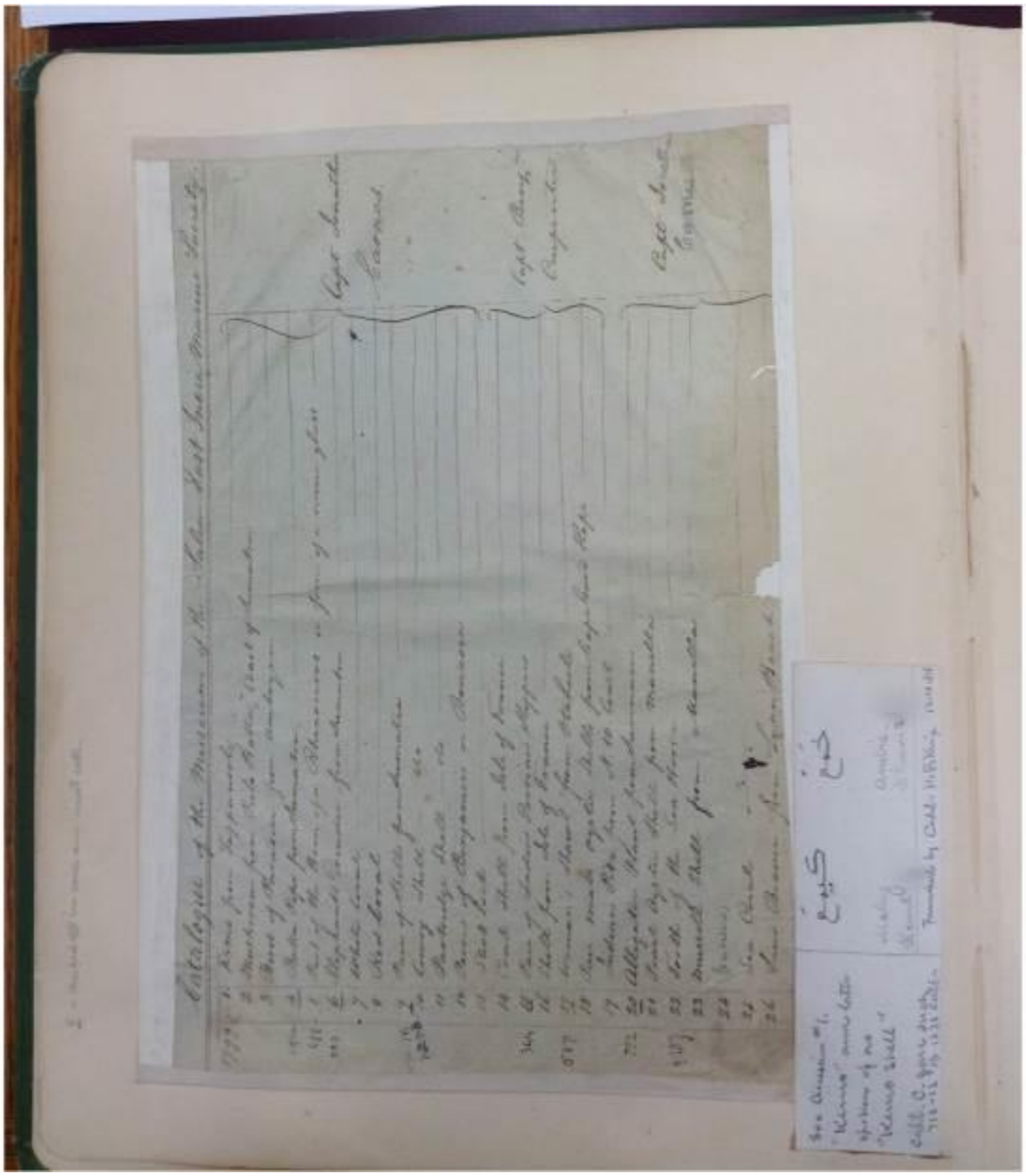
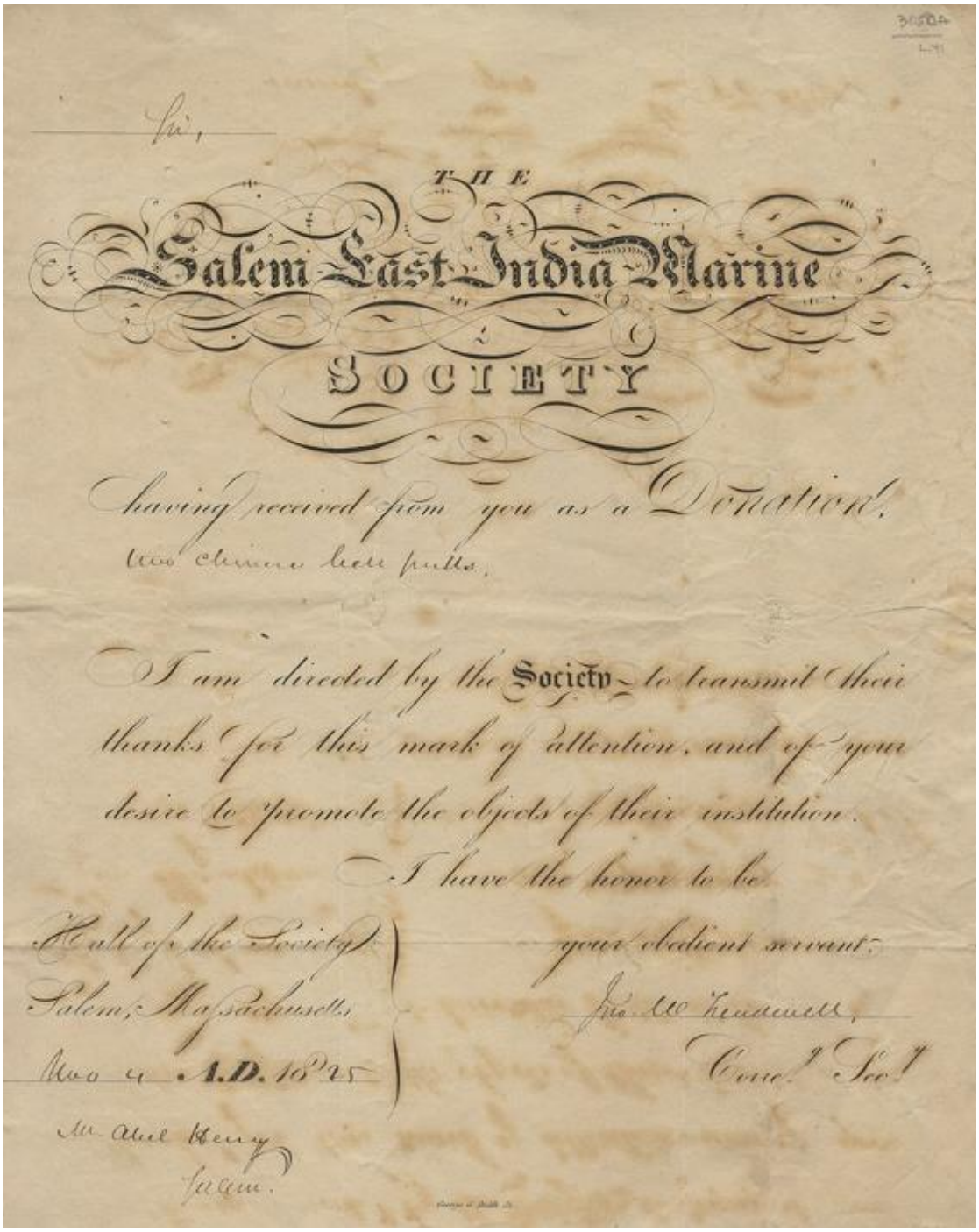


Fig. 91. Original Manuscript Catalogue of the East India Marine Society Museum. Pen and ink on paper. Salem, MA. 1799-1820. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88.

Fig. 92. View of the Stearns Building. Mary Mason Brooks (1860-1915). India ink on paper. c. 1888. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M300. According to John Robinson's entry for this object in the internal catalogue for the museum's maritime department, "E.I.M. Soc's first rooms…were in 3d story, lower right-hand windows," and the print was based on an, "old print and the building itself."

Fig. 93. Salem Bank Building c. 1804 to 1825. Mary Mason Brooks (1860-1915). India ink on paper. c. 1888. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M301. The second floor was occupied by the East India Marine Society. According to John Robinson's entry for this object in the internal catalogue for the museum's maritime department, this image was constructed, "from data and rough sketches furnished by H.M. Brooks, (who was in the Salem Bank when a young man) and Dr. H. Wheatland."



Sir,

THE

Salem East India Marine

SOCIETY

having received from you as a Donation,
two chinese lean pullets,

I am directed by the Society to transmit their thanks for this mark of attention, and of your desire to promote the objects of their institution.

I have the honor to be

Hall of the Society
Salem, Massachusetts
Nov 4 A.D. 1825

your obedient servant,
Jno. W. Knowles,
Corr.g Sec.y

Mr. Abel Berry
Salem.

Fig. 94. East India Marine Society Donation Certificate. George S. Smith Jr.. Engraving. Salem, MA. 1825. Collection of the Author.

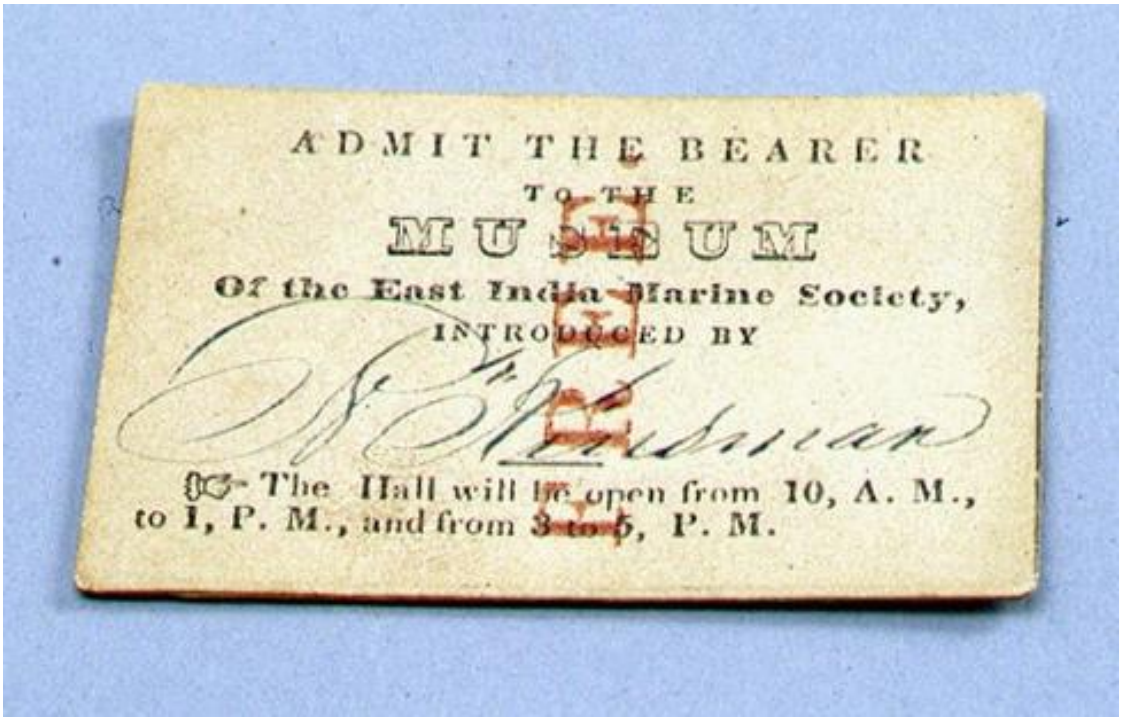


Fig. 95. East India Marine Society Museum Pass. Ink on paper. Salem, MA. c. 1840. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M17. This pass is signed by Society member Nathaniel Kinsman.

Fig. 96. First Floor of East India Marine Hall, c. 1908. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 97. East India Marine Hall, Looking South, as it Stands Today. pem.org.

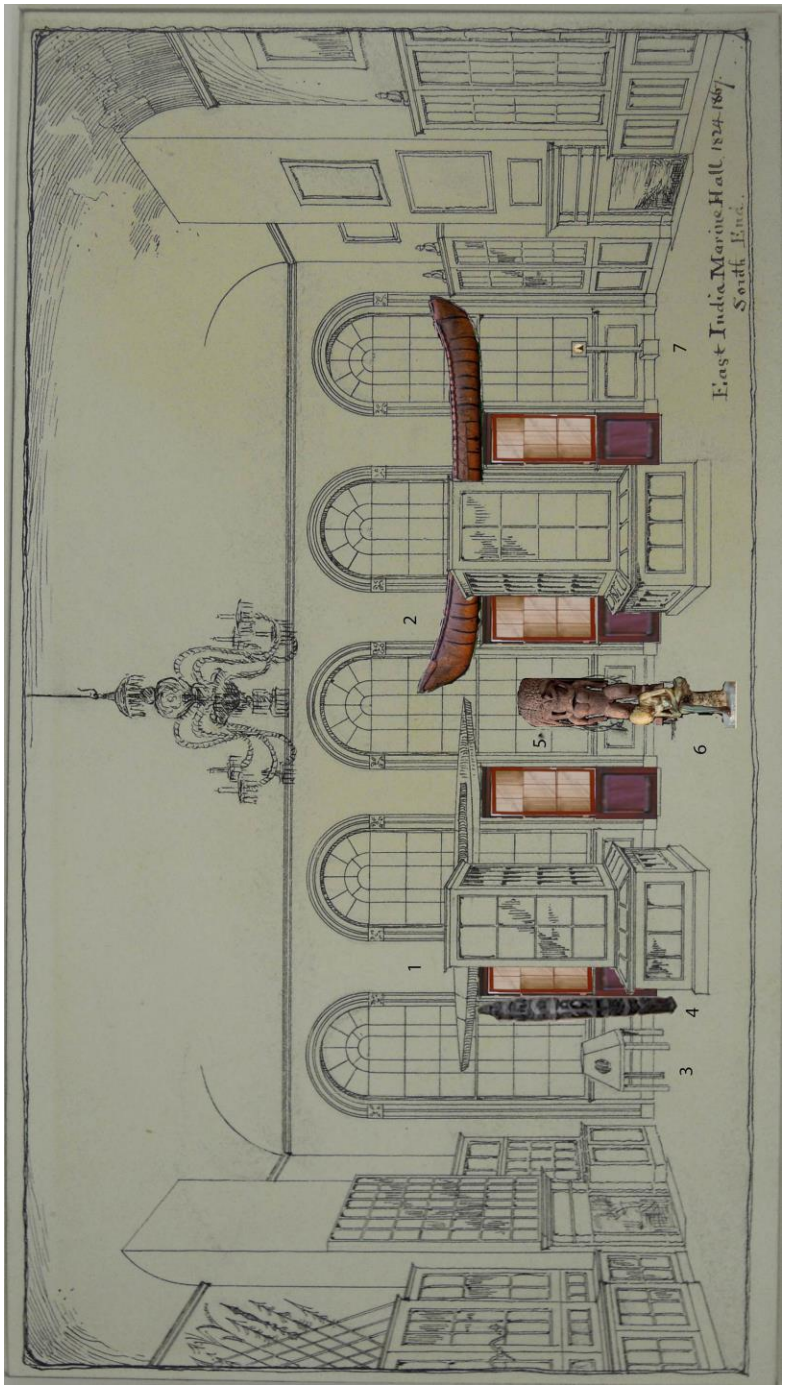


Fig. 98. *East India Marine Hall, 1824-1867, South End*. James Henry Emerton (1847-1931). Ink on paper. c. 1879. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M303. Images of objects overlaid by the author. Key to objects—1. Sealskin kayak; 2. Birchbark canoe; 3. Perspective table; 4. *Virshakashta* (memorial post) from India; 5. Figure of Kuka'ilimoku; 6. *Boy With Thorn*; 7. Sundial owned by Governor John Endicott.

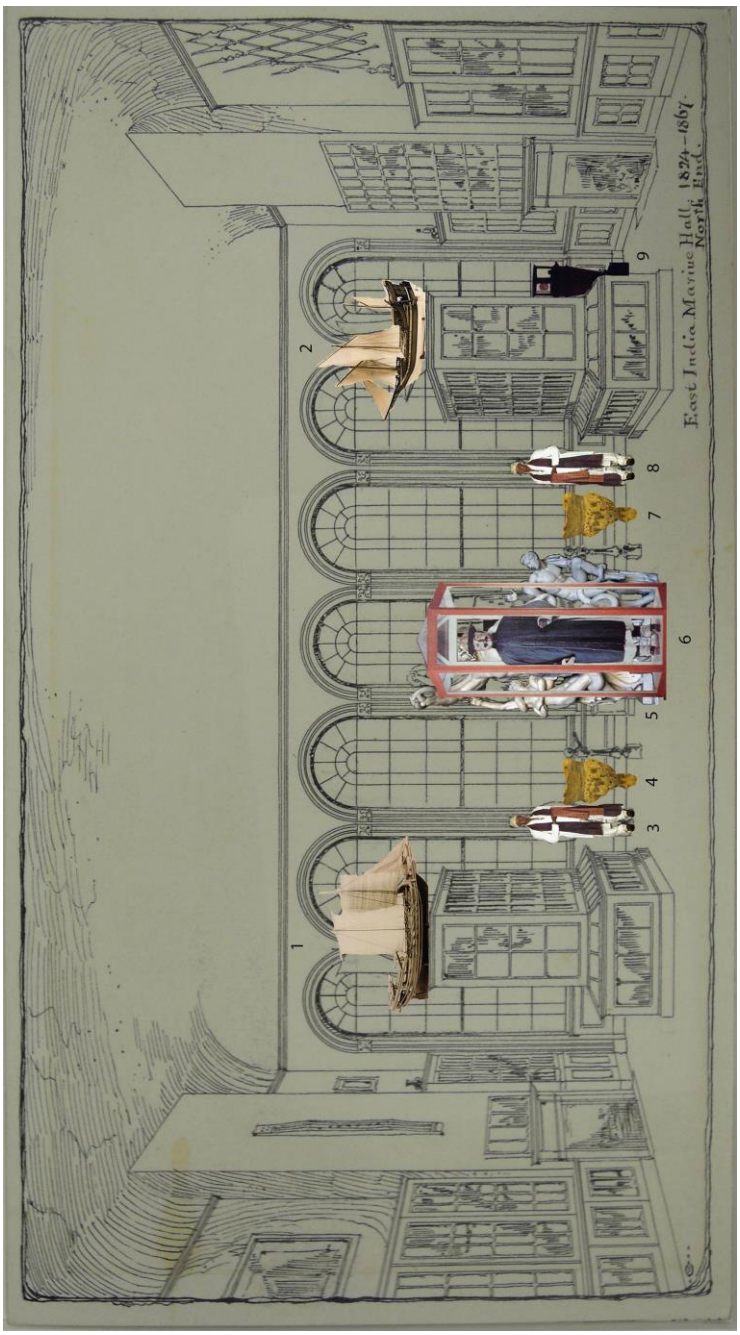


Fig. 99. *East India Marine Hall, 1824-1867. North End*. James Henry Emerton (1847-1931). Ink on paper. c. 1879. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M303. Images of objects overlaid by the author. Key to objects—1. Malay pirate ship; 2. Malay trading ship; 3. Figure of an Indian man; 4. Neptune's cup; 5. The Laocoön Group; 6. Figure of Yamqua; 7. Neptune's cup; 8. Figure of an Indian man; 9. Heaven and the Day of Judgment Terminal Rosary Bead.

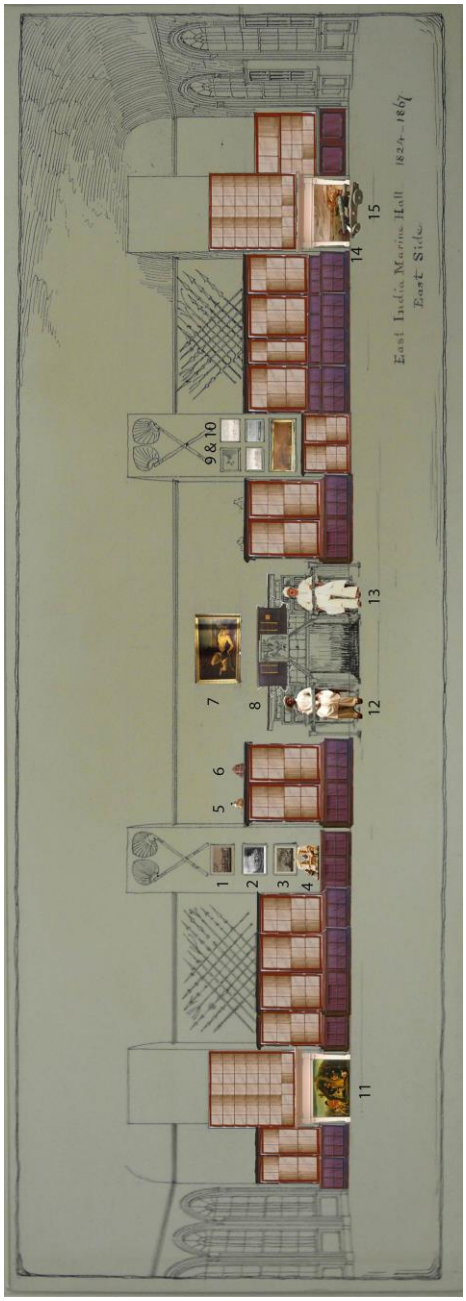


Fig. 100. *East India Marine Hall, 1824-1867, East Side*. James Henry Emerton (1847-1931). Ink on paper. c. 1879. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M303. Images of objects overlaid by the author. Key to objects—1-3. Naval prints donated by Benjamin Tanner; 4. *The Sick Chamber* by Cleveland; 5. Indian religious sculpture; 6. Chinese religious sculpture; 7. *The Death of Abel*; 8. Palanquin; 9 & 10. Print scenes of Calcutta and a view of Gibraltar; 11. Native Encampment by Cornè; 12. Figure of Rajinder Dutt; 13. Figure of Raj Kissen Mitter ; 14. *The Landing of the Pilgrims* by Bartoll; 15. Chinese canon from the Fort at Ningpoo.

Fig. 101. Figure of Rajinder Dutt. Attributed to Sri Ram Pal. Krishnanagar, India. c. 1848. Clay, straw, pigment. 48 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E9936. Mitter and Dutt, like their predecessors, cemented their relationship with Yankee mariners through visual arts. This new generation of Indian businessmen joined their brethren in East India Marine Hall, subject to a Western gaze and visitors who had no idea that the individuals they depicted were from different generations and represented changes and developments in Indian society.

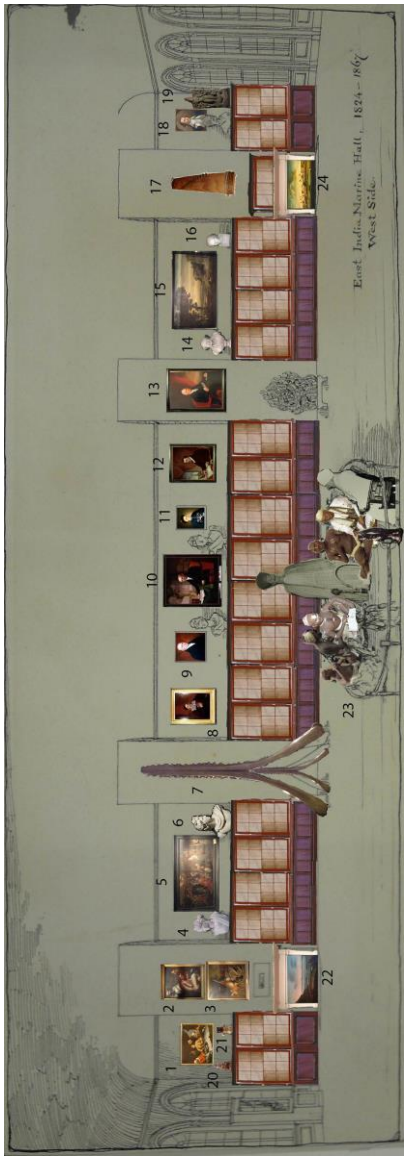


Fig. 102. *East India Marine Hall, 1824-1867. West Side*. James Henry Emerton (1847-1931). Ink on paper. c. 1879. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, M303. Images of objects overlaid by the author. Key to objects—1. Columbus and the Egg by Cornè; 2. *Susana and the Elders* by Delano; 3. *Game Piece* by Vervoort; 4. Bust of Diana; 5. *The Adoration of the Magi* by Van Wyck; 6. Bust of Apollo; 7. Sperm whale jaws; 8. Portrait of Governor John Endicott by Frothingham; 9. Portrait of John Quincy Adams by Osgood; 10. Portrait of Nathaniel Bowditch by Osgood; 11. Portrait of Eshing by Spoilum; 12. Portrait of Elias Hasket Derby by Frothingham; 13. Portrait of Joseph Peabody by Osgood; 14. Bust of John Adams; 15. *View of the Temple of Apollo and Athens* by Fisher; 16. Bust of Napoleon; 17. Harp from Japan; 18. Portrait of Captain Cook by Cornè; 19. Figure of Durga from Java; 20-21. Religious statuary from India; 22. View of Cape Town by Cornè; 23. Figures of Indian merchants and inhabitants; 24. View of the Foreign Factories in Canton by Cornè.

Fig. 103. Figure of Jagannatha. Calcutta maker. Clay. c. 1815. 7 in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E7626.

Fig. 104. East India Marine Society Guestbook, 1834-1837. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88.

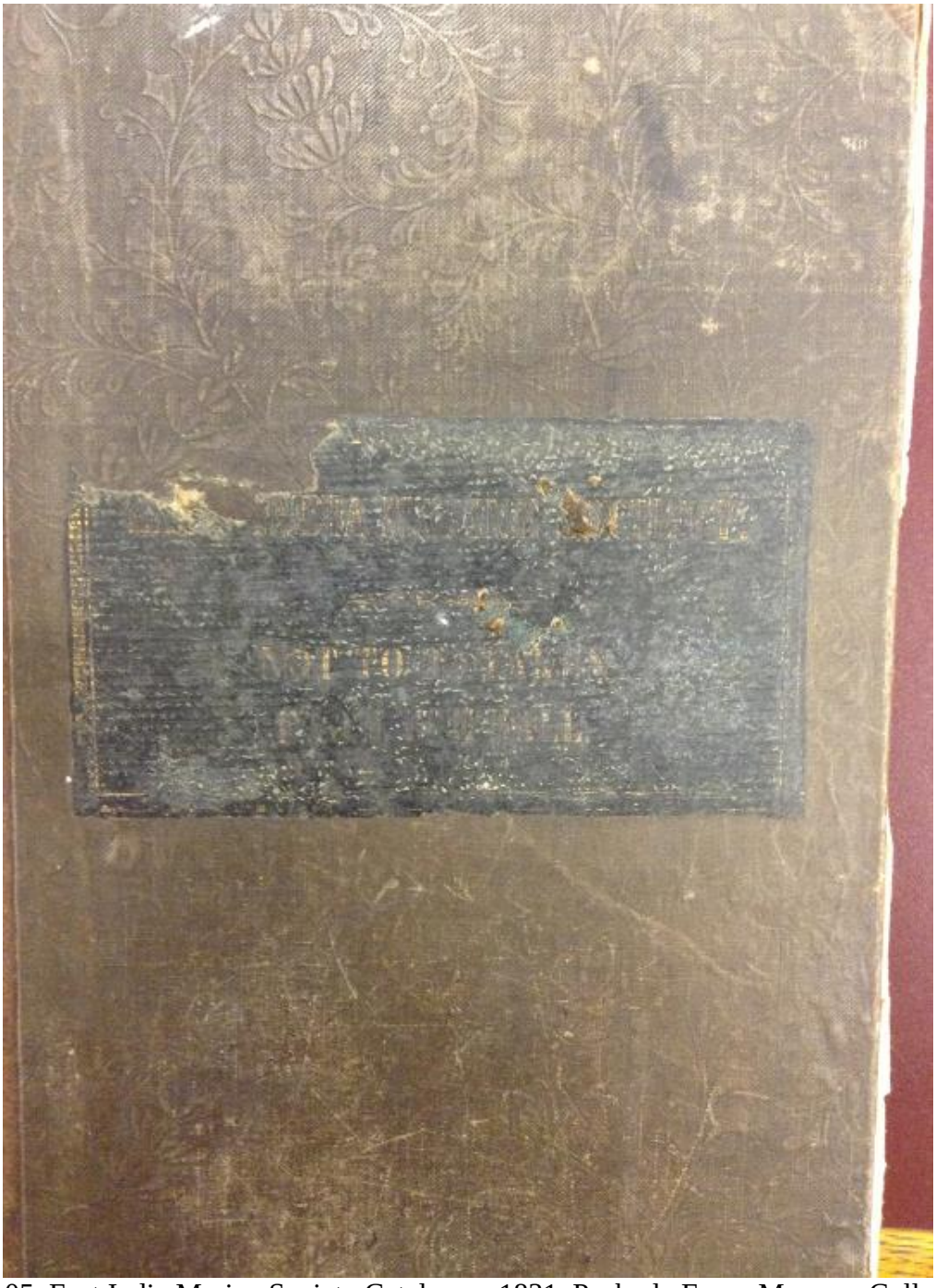


Fig. 105. East India Marine Society Catalogue. 1831. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, East India Marine Society Archives, MH-88. The label reads “Not To Be Taken From The Hall.”

Fig. 106. Figure of a European Officer. Javanese maker. Bronze. Concealed in an old Temple at Jochtacartha, Java. Early nineteenth century. 5 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, E4631.

Fig. 107. *The Sick Chamber*. Lucy Hiller Cleveland (1780-1866). Mixed media. c. 1831. 17 ½ in. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 105329.F.

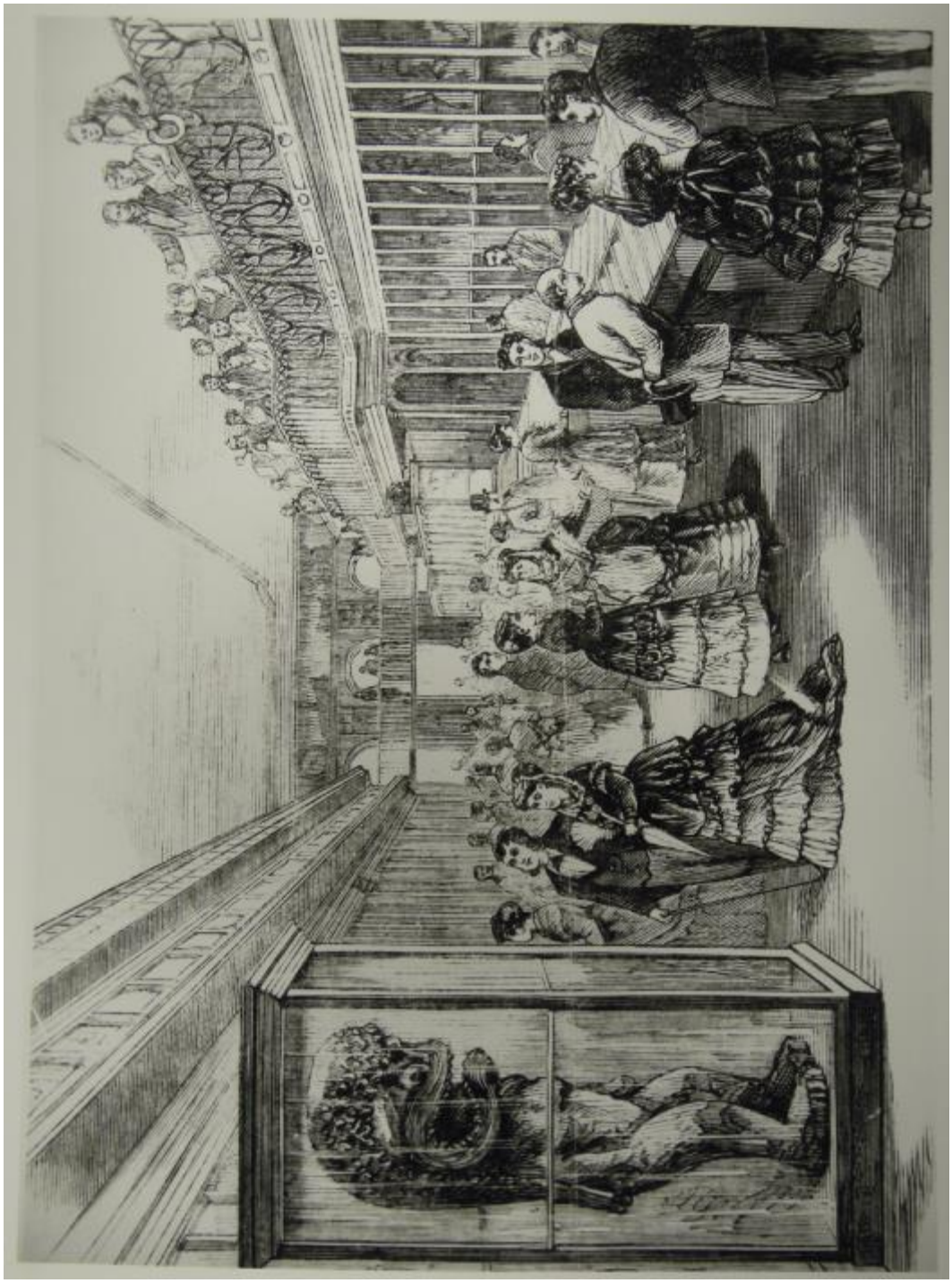


Fig. 108. "Interior of the Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 4th, 1869. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 109. East India Marine Hall Looking North. c. 1876. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Neg. 8224. Captain Joseph Hammond is seated in the center of the photograph.

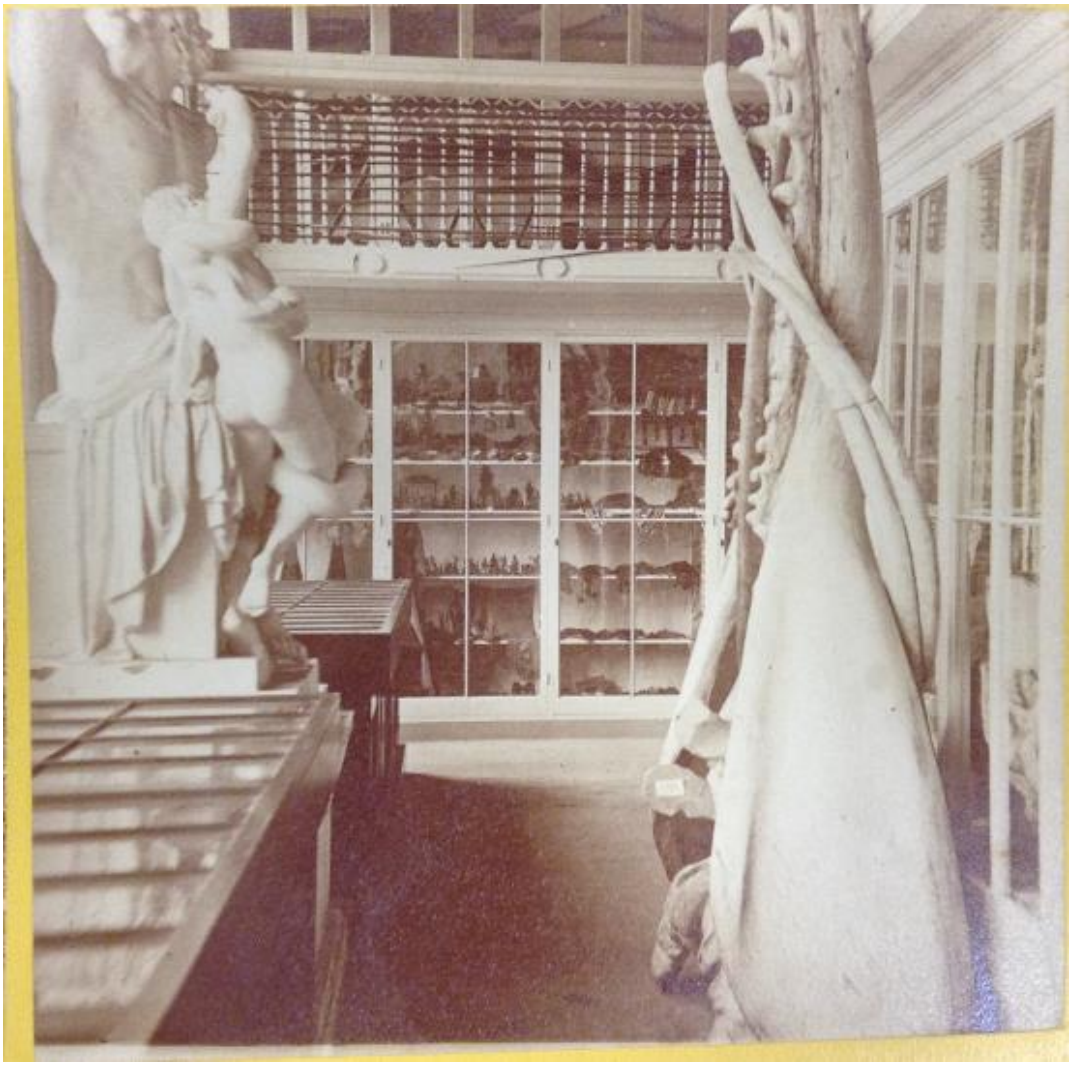


Fig. 110. Western Section of East India Marine Hall Looking Southeast (detail). G.M. Whipple and A.A. Smith. Stereoview photograph. Salem, MA. c. 1869-1875. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, unnumbered stereoview in the Institutional Archives. The Laocoön Group is on the left side of the photograph.

Fig. 111. The *Ship Trophy* in East Hall. c. 1892-1893. Peabody Essex Museum Collection. Photograph taken for the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago.

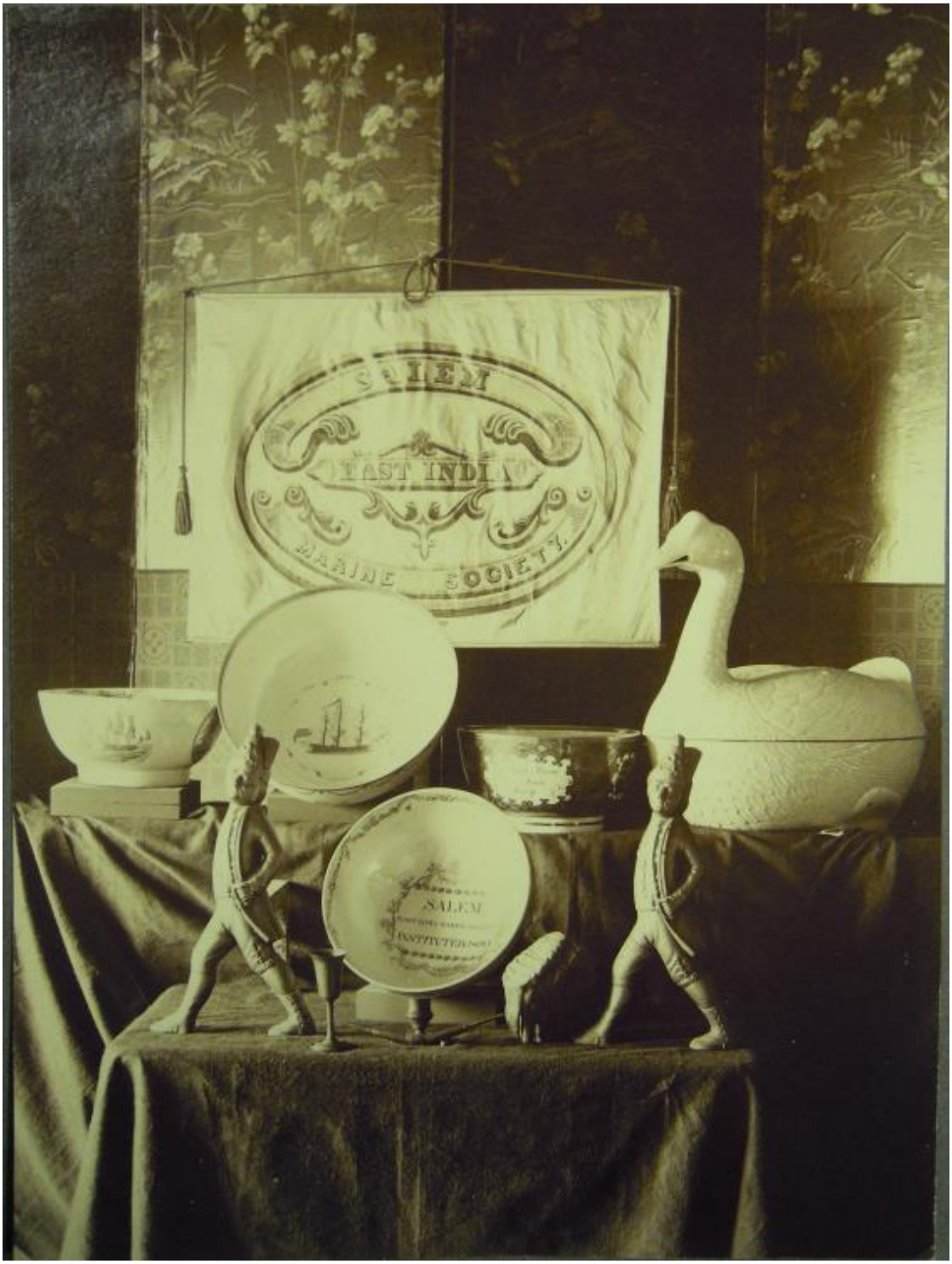


Fig. 112. *Relics of the Salem East India Marine Soc. Arranged for Photograph*. c. 1892. Peabody Essex Museum Collection.

Fig. 113. The Marine Room Looking Southeast. 1930. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, Neg. 19092. The closest floor case contains the "Relics of the E.I.M.S."

Fig. 114. Detail of *Figurehead* projected in East India Marine Hall. 2010. Peabody Essex Museum Collection, 2011.23.1. (c) 2010 Charles Sandison.

APPENDIX A:

TOASTS DELIVERED AT THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL DINNERS

1804

The toasts given during the 1804 annual dinner were printed in the *Salem Register* of November 12th and transcribed by William Bentley in his diary entry on November 10th.

I. Vasco da Gama, What genius performs may genius immortalize.
II. May each mariner record, so that Enterprise may discover.
III. Commerce without violence & no war upon the sea.
IV. The riches which the arts give, may they find sacred to their support.
V. The Practical Navigator. Facts first, then theories.
VI. Natural history. May commerce never forget its obligations.
VII. A Cabinet. That every mariner may possess the history of the world.
VIII. Commerce with all the nations. But the love of our country our best happiness.
IX. Industry rich and free, always active and always content.
X. Our families never absent from our hearts.
XI. Absent members. The praise they ought to love, may they merit.
XII. The Clergy. May our reputation abroad, prove their duty at home.
XIII. The Salem East India Marine Society. May resources from the ambition of its members continue to accomplish its design.

1806

The toasts given during the 1806 annual dinner were printed in the *Salem Register* of November 6th, 1806.

1. The Salem East India Marine Society—*Improvement* "ahead," *Harmony* "in the beam," and *Party Spirit* "astern," *hull-down*.
2. The memory of Capt. Benjamin Hodges, our late President—May his worthy example, by its pure light, illuminate and cherish this institution, of which he was so bright and ornament.
3. Our brethren who have fallen in a foreign land—May the sympathy of a brother never be waning for those whose graves are watered by the tears of a stranger.
4. In our intercourse with our brethren, may we discharge our "duties" without a "drawback."
5. May we never "bear away" when we see a friend in distress, nor "luff up" to needless animosities.

6. The enemies of our country—May they be blessed with

Leaky clumps,	Cloudy noon,
Choak'd pumps	At night no moon,
Sails rent	Compass lost,
Grog spent,	Tempest-tost,
Wormy bread,	A winter's coast.
Wind ahead,	

[*When this toast was drank, a salute of 16 guns was fired from a full rigged ship in the museum*.]

7. The good ship "American Commerce" *Abundance* her cargo—*Enterprise* and *Industry* her owners—*Fair dealing* her Factor, and *Success* her port of destination.
8. The Ocean—The nursery of valour, enterprize, honour and wealth.
9. May the hurricanes of passion never drive us out of the "regular trades" of social duty.
10. May we at every good *observation*, find knowledge in its *right ascertion*, Virtue on the *meridian*, and vice and prejudice below the horizon.
11. When Passion blows a gale, may Reason "steer her true."
12. The Reverend Clergy—the faithful pilots who conduct us through the stormy lea of life to the haven of peace and happiness.
13. The Military Corps which have acted as an escort—thanks to the patriotism and intelligence which have produced so martial a spectacle.

1807

The toasts given during the 1807 annual dinner were published in the *Essex Register* of November 9th.

The Town of Salem—May its propserity even flow from the honorable sources of enterprize, industry and "fair dealing."
The East India trade of the town of Salem—May the grateful remembrance of its first projectors ever be awakened in our breasts on this anniversary.
Commerce and Agriculture—Their mutual dependence confirms our country's independence.
Preble—His name was terrible to his enemies—his memory will ever be dear to his countrymen.
Our Country—Sound from *stem to stern*, and *well manned*—her weight of metal will enable her to repel her foes.
Our Constitution—May she never be "*hove down*" while she is able to swim.
Our Seamen—May their country ever *deserve* and *find* protection in their bravery.
Wealth—By fostering Genius may she willingly *offer* the tribute which the modesty of Science never *demands*.
The Salem East India Marine Society—May its *zeal* never fall short of its *ability* to promote Nautical Science.
Our Museum—May these emblems of the wants of the *savage*, teach us to value the blessings of the *civilized* state.

Cook and La Perouse—Martyrs in the cause of science—may a similar *fate* never attend those who shall dare to emulate their *fame.*
Absent Members—Full ships and flowing sheets.
Escort—Their performances of this day inspire future expectations of good order and discipline.

1808
The toasts given during the 1808 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6.

1st. The United States of America; may their Independence always be defended with the same valour & unanimity with which it was won.
2. The Salem E.I.M. Society, may we always have in mind the objects of the institution, promotion of knowledge, & releaf [sic] of the distressed; and be zealously united in promoting its respectability.
3. The Constitution of the United States of America, may we ever prize it as our principal safeguard from confusion and anarchy, and hold to it as to the sheet Anchor of our political salvation.
4. East India Commerce; may it soon resume with safety, its former state of Prosperity.
5. The Memory of Washington; may his Virtues and Patriotism be followed as well as admired by every American.
6. The true Patriot & Philanthraphist, will never invade the rights of others nor surrender his own without a struggle, but will vie with his neighbours in kind offices towards them, and for the true happiness of mankind throughout the world.
7. The Memory of the late Elias Hasket Derby Esq. the first promoter of the East India Trade from the Town of Salem.
8. The Clergy. Peace on Earth and good will to all men.
9. The Memory of the late worthy Benjamin Hodges, first President of this Society.
10. The cause of Religion & learning, may it never be forgotten that the strength of every Free Government is intimately connected with the wisdom & virtue of its Citizens.
11th. The Memory of our late Treasurer, (Jacob Crowninshield Esq.) we recollect with gratitude his attentions to this Society.
12. Equal & Exact Justice to all Nations, founded upon the strictest laws of Impartiality.
13. The Militia may they by their improvement in military Tactics & discipline supercede the necessity of a Standing army.
14. The Memory of the Deceased Members of this Society.
15. Vasco de Gama. The intrepid Portuguese who first discovered the Passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies.
16. The Fair Sex. Without whose smiles, both Liberty & Life are but dreary things.
17. Our absent Brethren—may their honest industry be amply rewarded.

1809

The toasts given during the 1809 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6.

N°1. The day consecrated to festivity by this Society, may future anniversaries brighten with joy the continuance of Members yet unborn.
N°2. The objects for which this Society was established the promotion of Knowledge, relief of the distressed, may they ever be pursued with zeal and success.
N°3. The memory of Washington.
N°4. Commerce, it is our birth right; and ought to be as free as the winds which waft our Ships.
N°5. Christopher Columbus. May the enterprize which directed his steps never be extinguished in the Country he discovered.
N°6. Agriculture, Commerce & Manufactures grand Pillars of national existance.
N°7. The cause of Liberty throughout the World.
N°8. The Atlantic Ocean may it ever separate us from the calamaties of Europe.
N°9. The Merchant, casting his bread upon the Waters may he find it again after many days.
N°10. The Navy. our flag will never be dishonored by american Seamen.
N°11. The Militia, the invincible bulwark of a free People.
N°12. Our rights as freeman. May we be proud in possessing, Active in exerting, and zealous in defending them.
N°13. The Clergy. our Pilots in the Voyage of life, may they deserve & receive our confidence.
N°14. American enterprize. May it never be restrained by lawless power, or rival jealousy.
N°15. The absent members of this Society; may they Escape the Fangs of unprincipled Oppressors, and be returned to the bosoms of their families, & friends, richly rewarded.
N°16. The Fair Sex, may their Virtue be an ornament to their beauty.
N°17. The memory of deceased Members of this Society.

1810

The toasts given at the 1810 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6. After each toast is the name of the march played right after (written by another hand).

1. The Day—the anniversary of our Society. May its every return find us action & united in pursuing its objects—to extend useful knowledge & relieve the distressed. Washington's March.
2. Our Country—may it ever be the seat of Liberty, secured by good & wholesome Laws, uprightly & ably administered. Massachusetts March.

3. The Memory of Washington—may his undeviating patriotism & integrity be ever imitated by the Rulers, & revered by the People of our nation. Dead march in Saul.
4. The constituted authorities of our Country. Waltz in Battle Marengo.
5. Vasco de Gama, the intrepid adventurer who first discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies—His memory shall ever be respected by those who follow in his steps. Col. Ames March.
6. Christopher Columbus—may the enterprize which directed his steps, never be extinguished in the country he discovered. Hesian Grenadier March.
7. Commerce—may we soon again see it free from every restraint, and open to the pursuits of Enterprize & activity. Brazen March.
8. Agriculture & Manufactures—the supporters—not rivals—of commerce. Boston Cadet's March.
9. The Atlantic Ocean—may it ever roll between us & the calamities of Europe. Downfall of Paris.
10. Party Spirit—it has no place within these walls. May it be forever banished from our Shores, & the public homage be paid alone to the wise of the virtuous. Turner's Waltz.
11. Our rights as Freemen—may we be proud in possessing, active in exerting, & zealous in defending them. Finale in Oscar & Malvina.
12. Religion & Learning—the only pillars on which can rest, the edifice of a free Government. March in Blue Beard.
13. The Clergy—our Pilots in the voyage of Life, may they guide us safe from the dangers of the tempestuous state, to peace & happiness in brighter worlds. Highland Lad.
14. Our absent Brethren—good ships—liberal Employers—prosperous voyages & happy returns. Waltz in F.
15. The memory of the departed Members of this Society. German Hymn.
Unnumbered. The Court, whose presence we had hoped, on this our anniversary. may our Supreme Branch ever combine to be filled by the first Talents, the purest Integrity & the most perfect Independence.

1811

The toasts given during the 1811 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6.

1. The Day—May the festivity of our anniversaries be continued, without diminution, to members yet unborn.
2. Our Country—May it ever be the seat of Liberty, protected by wise & just Laws, uprightly & ably administered.
3. Europe—May the calamities of a long & oppresive War soon be exchanged for the blessings of a permanent Peace.
4. The Constituted authority of our Country.
5. Commerce—it is our birth-right, an inheritance that we ought to think no sacrifice too great for the protection of.

6. Christopher Columbus—His memory can never be extinguished in this Land that he discovered.
7. Agriculture & Manufacture—Supported by, & the support of Commerce.
8. Vasco de Gama—The enterprizing adventurer of the 15th Century, whose memory will ever be respected by the members of this Society.
9. Washington—His memory will ever be revered by the People of our Country—may his virtues ever illumine the Council & the Camp.
10. Party—Spirit—It has no place in this Society—an example worthy of imitation by other associations.
11. The Militia—The invincible balwark of a Free people.
12. The Navy—American Tars will never suffer our flag to be dishonored.
13. Our absent Brethren—We wish them happy returns, enrich'd themselves, & enriching their employers.
14. The memory of departed members of this Society.
15. The Clergy. May they prove good Pilots in the voyage of Life, & guide us to peace & happiness in brighter worlds.
16. Am. Rights as Freemen—May we be proud in possesing, active in exerting, & zealous in defending them.
17. The Fair Sex—Liberty & Life are but dreary things without the zest of their virtuous smiles.

1815

The toasts given at the 1815 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6. After each toast is the name of the march played right after (written in pencil and by another hand).

1. The Day. May each ~~returning~~ anniversary of this Society, find us united and active in the pursuit of its objects. The cultivation and extension of useful knowledge, and inpacting [?] relief to the poor and needy. Yankee Doodle.
2. Our Country. As it developes its character, may it increase our attachment. Adams Liberty.
3. The President of the United States. Presdts [sic] March.
4. The Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mass. March.
5. Commerce. Happily freed from the embarrasement of War, may it henceforth circulate, free as air, the mutual support and supporter of Agriculture & Manufactures. America Com. & Freedom.
6. Christopher Columbus. The Western World is a Grand Monument to his memory. Interlude in Ladoerbe [?].
7. The Enterprising Portuguese. Vasco de Gama. His fame is as imperishable, as the Table Mountains of the Cape. Linide-Reel of Marengo.
8. The East India Trade of Salem. Even, during the pestilence of War, it discovered some signs of life, we hail, unite pride, the bright prospect of its former activity and vigour. Life Let us Cherish.

9. The Navy. It has encircled the nation with imperishable Glory, Commerce [?] while it acknowledges its protection, will cheerfully contribute to its support. Hulls Victory.
10. The Army. May its officers inherit the virtues, and emmulate the patriotism, of Washington. Lady in Loch [?].
11. Washington. His memory will ever be revered by the citizens of the country which he saved. Dead March in Saul.
12. The Atlantic Ocean. May it forever roll between us and the calamities of Europe. March in 40 Thieves.
13. Religion & Learning. The only pillars on which can rest the edifice of a Free Government.
14. The Clergy. Our pilots in the voyage of Life, may they conduct us safely this the dangers of this tempestuous state, to a Haven of peace & happiness in a better World.
15. Our absent Brethren. Good ships. Liberal employers, Honest Banyans, prosperous voyages, and Happy returns.
16. The Memory of the departed members of this society.
17. The peace of December 1814. May it be perpetual.

1816

The toasts given at the 1816 annual dinner were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6. After each toast is the name of the march played right after.

1. The Day. The Anniversary of our Society at every return may it find our exertion in the diffusion of useful knowledge & the exercise of Charity unremitted & successful. Washington's March.
2. The President of the United States & the constituted authorities of our country. Presidents March.
3. The Governor of Massachusetts. Mass. March.
4. Our Country. As it devellopes [sic] its character may it increase our attachment. Adams Liberty.
5. Commerce. Happily freed from the embarassments of war, may it long continue open to the pursuits of enterprize & activity. Am. Com. & Freedom.
6. The Mercantile Community of the Civilized World. Liberal in its views and exalted in its sentiments, may its present extensive intercourse be distinguished by promptitude, punctuality, honour and integrity. March in 40 Thieves.
7. The East India Trade. To it Alexandria and Carthage were indebted for their ^ commercial emninence in the Old World, may Salem become no less renowned by its successful pronecation in the New. Hessian Grenadiers March.
8. The Navy of the United States. The Guardian of the Merchants rights, and the avenger of the Nation's wrongs. May its march to emninence and power be undeviating and sure. Hulls Victory.
9. The Army. It acquired, by its valor, the respect of the Nation, may science and honour unite in its staff and patriotism & intrepidity pervade its ranks. Jacksons Victory.

10. Religion & Learning. The only pillars on which can rest the edifice of a free government. Waltz Battle Marengo..
11. Vasco De Gama. The intrepid navigator of the 15 Century. His memory shall ever be respected by those who follow in his steps. March in Blue beard.
12. Our rights as freeman. May we be proud in possessing active in exerting and zealous in defending them. Yankee Doodle.
13. The Clergy. Our pilots in the voyage of life, may they conduct us safely amid its vecissitudes [sic] to peace and hapiness [sic] in a better world. German Hymn.
14. The Spirit of faction. It has no place within these walls. The wise and the virtuous are alone entitled to our homage.
15. The Embassy to Naples.—In these times of paper depreciation, may the negotiation be confined altogether to Cash [?]. Life let us cherish.
16. Our absent brethren. We wish them happy returns. Enriched themselves & enriching their employees.

1825

The toasts given at the 1825 dinner dedicating East India Marine Hall were published in the *Essex Register* of October 17th and latter reprinted in Jenkins and Whitehill, *The Restoration of East India Marine Hall*, 8-11.

REGULAR TOASTS

1. The President of the United States. [Immediately after this toast was drunk, President ADAMS rose, and, after expressing in warm and animated terms, the gratitude he felt for the repeated marks of kindness and attention he had received at the hands of the citizens of Salem, even from his earliest youth, he gave—THE MARINERS OF ESSEX—and their tributes, in Peace and in War, to the glory of their Country.]
2. The Governor of the Commonwealth.
3. Civil and Religious Toleration—produced and supported by commercial intercourse.
4. American principles—Like the Northern Lights, their radiance shoots across the political sky—Despotism beholds it trembling "with a fearful looking for of a judgment to come."
5. The Merchants of the United States—May they inherit the spirit of Cosmo de Medicis, and learning and arts bear testimony to their munificence.
6. Vasco da Gama — The first bold navigator who doubled the Cape of Storms.
7. Our Navigators—They have been enlightened by distinguished men of all countries. Let us recollect the science of D'Apres, Dalrymple, Hosburgh, Milburn and Phipps, and strive to acquit ourselves of the obligation.
8. The trade to India—No commercial nation has been great without it, may the experience of ages induce us to cherish this rich source of national wealth.
9. The Fair of America, and the wealth of India—In pursuit of each a Good Hope is half the voyage.

These toasts were interspersed with appropriate music by the band—and the following gentlemen being called upon gave the sentiments annexed:—

By the President of the United States. The Cape of Storms. To the Navigators and merchants of Salem, may it prove the Cape of Good Hope.
By Hon. Jos. Story—(after some appropriate remarks in which he pronounced an eloquent eulogium upon the founders of the Society.) The Memory of Benjamin Hodges, the first President of the Society — whose life exemplified every virtue, whose death was felt as a public calamity.
By Hon. B. W. Crowninshield. The Navigators of the Town of Salem—famed for Nautical skill, correct discipline, and pure patriotism.
By Hon. Mr. Hill, of the executive Council. The Salem East-India Marine Society—The enterprise of its members forms a bright example for the imitation of the citizens of the United States.
By Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, President of the Senate. My fellow members of this Society—May their success as masters of good ships enable them to become owners of better ones.
By Hon. John G. King. That illustrious member of the Salem E. In. Marine Society, whose honorable labors have made the "courses of the Stars" familiar to the learned, and the paths of the Ocean safe to the humblest seaman.
By Hon. Timothy Pickering. Harmony among the various professions of society important to the prosperity of all.
By Hon. Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston. The ship of State and her pilots – May future times say of her what the present times say of the Salem East India Marine Society, that "She contains the best Navigators that the world produces."
By Hon. Joseph Story. Boston!—If you ask for her jewels, look at her children—for her glory, read her annals—for her achievements, "search but her bosom or survey her shore."
By Hon. Mr. Quincy. The inhabitants of the Town of Salem—who at all times, but especially in times of greatest peril, have stod to those of Boston in the relation of firm friends, generous rivals, and exemplary patriots.
By Col. House, of the U. S. Army. The town of Salem—May its prosperity be commensurate with the enterprise of its citizens, and the liberality and benevolence of its institutions.
By Mr. Sturgis, President of the Boston Marine Society. Salem!—Distinguished for the intelligence and enterprise of its citizens, and for more practical knowledge of commerce, than any other spot on God's earth of equal population.
By Hon. Stephen White, President of the Society. The Boston Marine Society—Whose worthy President is a fit representative of the energy and talent which distinguish the members of that useful institution.
By President Kirkland. Foreign Commerce—The great civilizer of nations.
By Hon. Israel Thorndike. The Town of Salem—May its inhabitants be as well rewarded for their enterprize and perseverance, as their predecessors have been.
By Hon. Benj. Pickman. Success to the Society, whose enterprize and liberality are so strikingly exemplified in this Hall.

After the President had retired, the President of the Society gave—Our Illustrious guest, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, President of the United States, the second President of his family—he owes not his elevation to hereditary rank, but to hereditary talents and virtues.
By Hon. W. Crafts, of Charleston, (S. C). Commerce. The golden bridge of the Universe, that pays toll to all mankind, and asks protection only of Heaven.
By Gen. Miller, Collector of Salem. The East India Trade. It has contributed to the promotion of Nautical skill, to the encouragement of commercial enterprise, and to the advancement of our country to the high rank which it now sustains as a commercial nation, more than any other branch of our foreign trade.
By Judge White. The memory of Hugh Peters, the early friend of Salem—who started the spirit of enterprise which has explored the Globe in the cause of Science, as well as wealth, and gathered the treasures of every clime.
By Abijah Northey Esq. 1st Vice President. Our ships of War and Indiamen—Between them both they pepper friends and foes.
By Israel Williams Esq. 2d Vice President. China Produce. Once considered nectar for the Gods—may it never make scandal for our Goddesses.
By Capt. Henry Prince, Jun. 3d Vice President. The Brandywine. Skill and bravery direct her course—may she be favored with a Soldier's breeze and fair sea.
By Hon. D. L. Pickman. The Mayor of Boston—The whole community does justice to his public services; those who know him, admire equally his private worth.
By Wm. Fettyplace Esq. Treasurer of the Society. The Independent Governments of South America. May they, like this distinguished Republic, be ever supported by civil and religious liberty.
By Gen. Elias H. Derby. Worthy sons of energetic sires, who distinguished themselves during the revolution, in making Britain contribute 1100 sail of her shipping to our glorious cause of liberty. You, as their descendants, have almost without intending it, founded a college for well instructed merchants, and the ablest navigators in the world.
By the Sheriff of Essex. John Adams—the venerable patriarch of New-England, and eloquent advocate of Independence.
By John W. Treadwell, Esq. Corresponding Secretary. The drain of Specie from the West to the East, and its magical effects—which enriches those who spend, in proportion to their prodigality; and those countries which it exhausts the most, it renders the most inexhaustible.
By Richard S. Rogers, Esq. The Mariner nerved and sinewed in the storm—"he dare do all that man dare." By Lt. White, of U. S. Navy. The favorite quick march of our Republic—the march of the human mind.
By Joseph Ropes, Esq. The Mariners of the U. S.—Prompt and patriotic—ever ready at the call of their country, to greet a friend, or beat an enemy.
By Henry Ropes, Esq. Recording Secretary. This Society—May it, like the columns of Hercules, remain firm during the lapse of ages.
By Capt. Henry Prince. The Journals of this Society, under the inspection of our late President, like the Colossus of Rhodes, they will light the path of the Ocean to future Navigators.

By Charles Saunders, Esq. The strong limbs, hard faces, and free-born manners of our Sailors—these things are not the product of spinning-jennies.
By N. L. Rogers. Our late President BOWDITCH— Having *insured* the honor of this Society and the glory of his country, may he be rewarded by a large *annuity*.
By John Howard, Esq. The commerce of the U. S. which was annihilated in 1775, has by divine providence in 1825 a free access to every sea, unmolested except by Pirates—an unexampled event in the history of the world.
By Perley Putnam, Esq. The Salem East India Marine Society. Distinguished for nautical and commercial knowledge and enterprise, indefatigable in its rearches for Natural and artificial curiosities in Foreign Climes, and as a specimen of the judgement and taste of its members in the display of them, we have this day occular demonstration, in the scientific arrangement of this splendid Hall.
By Lt. Pearson, of U.S. Navy. Greece—In their struggle for freedom, may they but emulate the virtues of their own Aristides, a name more lasting than the proudest columns raised to commemorate his victories.
By James Cook, Esq. La Fayette—Hoping that ere this he may be more than *half-seas over*, and expecting if this breeze lasts, we shall soon overtake the *Brandy-wine*.
By Capt. Jesse Smith. Our modern 74's—May they be as useful in the service of their country, and as free from being water-logged, as our old 75's.
By Jona. P. Saunders, Esq. The Pioneers of the India Seas—To them we are greatly indebted for enterprize and skill—May we, as their descendants, imitate all that is valuable in their example.

1841

The toasts given at the 1841 annual dinner were published in the *Salem Gazette* of November 9th.

Charles M. Endicott, Esq. President of the Society, presided at the table, and after a few pertinent remarks, proposed the following toast.
The Memories of Benj. Hodges, Benj. Carpenter, John Osgood and *Jacob Crowninshield*, whose names are recorded in our act of Incorporation, as among the foremost of the founders of this Society—distinguished alike for their great integrity, purity of character, and elevated patriotism.—The records of the Society bear ample testimony of the untiring zeal, with which they watched over its infancy and promoted its prosperity.—May their names and their memories be ever dear to the hearts of its members, *so long as its existence* continues.
Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, the only one of four surviving members, present at the table, who founded the Society, made some interesting remarks on its origin and early history, and gave as a toast
The *memory of the departed* members of the Society.
Then followed a toast to
The *Memory of the late Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch*—whom it has been our pride and honor, to number as one of the *early* members and former Presidents of this Society, and whose eminent services in its behalf have contributed much to the success of its object.

Which was responded to in a neat and impressive manner, by his son J.I. Bowditch, Esq. of Boston.
After these, many toasts were given, among which are the following.
The Founders of the E.I. Marine Society—May their descendants equal them in perseverance and enterprise, whether it is in the pursuit of a "Golden Fleece" or that of Scientific attainments.
The early Members of this Society—May the same spirit and zeal which actuated *them*, continue to animate us and all who may join with us, in carrying out the great objects of the Institution.
The Surviving Members of this Society—May their success as *Masters* or *Factors* of good ships enable them to be *owners* of *better* ones.
Our Friends, the absent Members of the Society—It would have gladdened our hearts the more, to have seen them all at this festive board.
The American Exploring Expedition—May it safely return, and its success be equal to the efforts of its enterprising conductors, and the great objects for which it was undertaken.
The Two Capes—The Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn—May those who pass the *first* have their "Hopes" more than *doubled* and those who pass the *last* secure to themselves a 'Horn' full of plenty.
The Ladies of Salem—and especially those in search of Husbands, with them as with the Mariner, a "Good Hope" is half the voyage.
China—In her struggle for her rights and self government, may she furnish *Gun Powder Tea* sufficient to learn "John Bull" less arrogance.
The American Navy—The right arm of our defense, may it always be in readiness to repel an enemy or protect a friend.
Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures of the United States—May their combined operations promote the prosperity of the India Trade and encourage the enterprise of the members of the E.I. Marine Society.
The Shipping of the Port of Salem—Well may our city exclaim with the mother of the Gracchi "These are my jewells."
Our Meeting this Evening—As it is the first festive meeting here, to some of us, may it be the last to none of us.

Undated #1
These toasts were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6.

A Gang of Toasts & Suit of Sentiments.
What Ship? The good ship "Salem East India Marine [Society,]" staunch & well found.
The Crew. Brethren embarked in ~~the just~~ ^a good cause doing their duty manfully under faithful & intelligent officers will never want Heavens "protection."
Anchor a-trip. Honour to the founders of the Institution.
The Voyage. Security of Navigation & Prosperity of Commerce.
The Flag, American only; Patriotism wants no false colours.

The Cargo; Enterprise, Industry & Intelligence with an assortment of social feelings.
Insurance. Honesty the Policy & Happiness the Premium.
The Hull. A sound bottom, well ~~united~~ fastened, which holds defiance to the vermin of discord.
The Spars. Public spirit that will stand as long as Discretion will carry sail.
The Canvas, all set to catch the breeze of public benefit but close reefed to the head flaws of factions.
The Weather. Steady Trades & a good chance the Heavens favourable for our observations.
The Sea. The current of information setting the right way, without the undertow of prejudice.
Adventures, Laid in with Judgment disposed of with spirit, and profitable in the proceeds [or the proceeds invested in Profit].
The Figure Head. The wonders of Nature & Art which attract the applause of admiring spectators.
Friendly "Sails". Our gratitude is due to those belonging to other ships, who have generously added to our stores.
Pipe all hands. At ^this our Roast Meat Anniversary may we not forget those that are condemned to "banyan" all the year round.
Return to Port. With a broadside of kisses for sweethearts & wives.

Undated #2

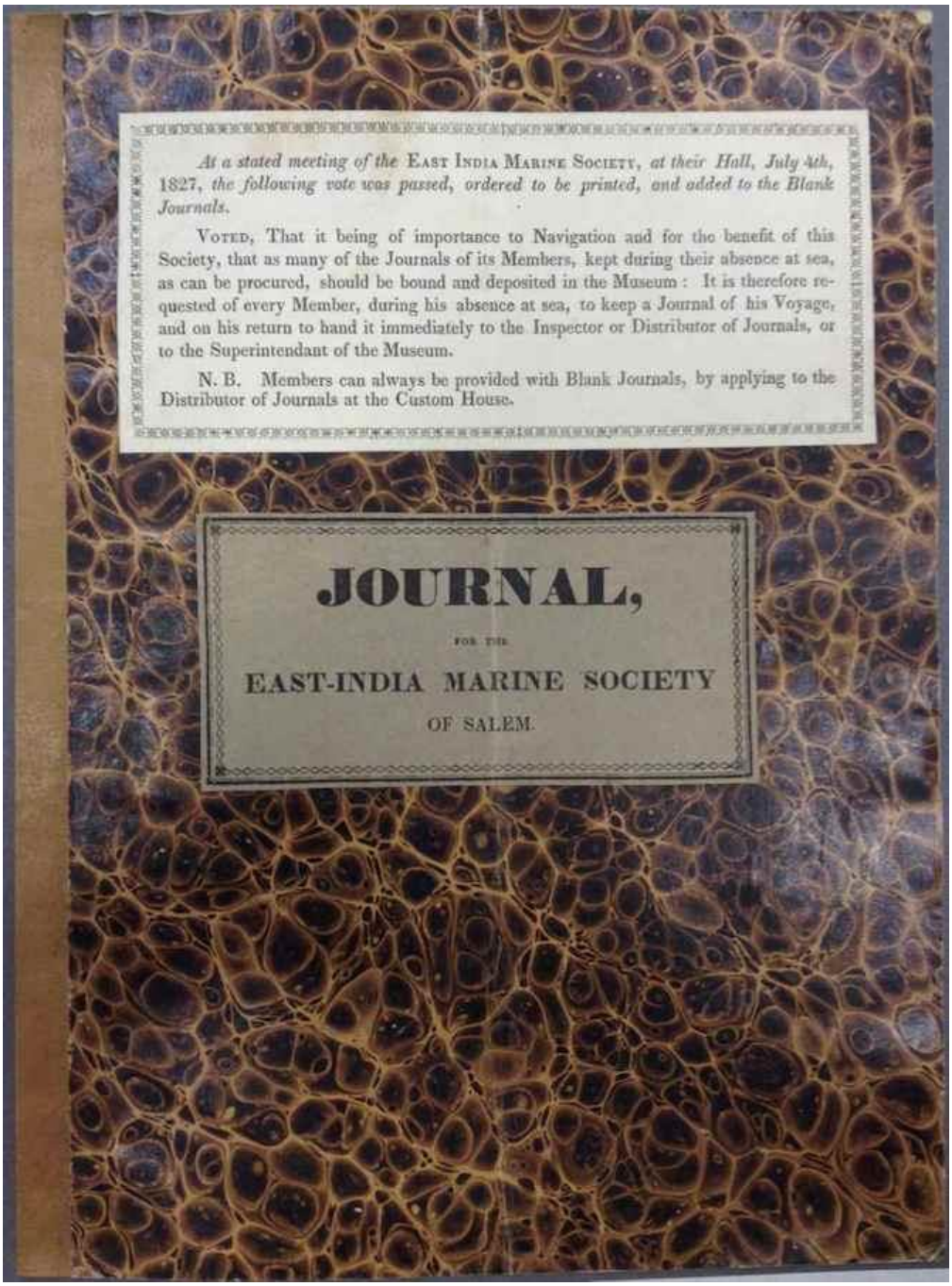
These toasts were written down and archived in Toasts, 1808-1815. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 14, Folder 6.

The Militia of the U.S.—The invincible bulwark of a free people.
Agriculture, Commerce, ^Fisheries & Manufactures—The principal pillars of our national prosperity.
The Day—Consecrated to festivity—may future anniversaries brighten with joy the countenances of members yet unborn.
Science & literature—As they adorn human nature may they be cherished by the sunbeams of Liberty.
The American Flag—May the world know that it is not good to insult it.
The Spirit of Duty—may it forever defend our Country.
The Clergy—may they be shining lamps on the eminence upon which they stand.
The learned professions—may they ever be filled with men who do honor to their professions, their country & themselves.
The Fair Sex—may their virtue be an ornament to their beauty.
May Europe with ^for the same reason that an individual changes bad company for good—change war for peace.
The Navy—Our flag will ever be protected with honor by American seamen.
E.I. commerce, ["the commerce of Salem (or US)" written in pencil next to it]—may the adventures of the present year be as ~~successful~~ productive as those of the most profitible ^successful preceding one.

Europe may its monarch for the same reason that an individual changes bad company for good—change war for peace.
[rest of toasts in pencil]
Absent members—We wish them a safe return enrich'd themselves & enriching their employees.
E.I.M. Society—the great learning that has ever subsisted in the Society is an ~~honorable~~ example worthy of imitation by other associations.
E.I. Commerce—may it ever afford great [?] to Capts. & Factors & ample profit to the [?].
Our Country—may the guardian angel of protection dispell the demon of party spirit & our Land.
[Last toast illegible].

APPENDIX B:

EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY BLANK JOURNALS



At a stated meeting of the EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY, *at their Hall, July 4th,* 1827, *the following vote was passed, ordered to be printed, and added to the Blank Journals.*

VOTED, That it being of importance to Navigation and for the benefit of this Society, that as many of the Journals of its Members, kept during their absence at sea, as can be procured, should be bound and deposited in the Museum: It is therefore requested of every Member, during his absence at sea, to keep a Journal of his Voyage, and on his return to hand it immediately to the Inspector or Distributor of Journals, or to the Superintendant of the Museum.

N. B. Members can always be provided with Blank Journals, by applying to the Distributor of Journals at the Custom House.

JOURNAL,

FOR THE

EAST-INDIA MARINE SOCIETY

OF SALEM.

No.

JOURNAL

From . *to* *in*

the *Master:*

kept by *for the use of the*

East-India Marine Society.

AT a Meeting of the EAST-INDIA MARINE SOCIETY, at their Hall, on Wednesday Evening, November 4, 1801, it was unanimously voted,—That in order to promote one great object of their institution, which was the acquiring of Nautical Knowledge, a Committee should be chosen to procure *Blank Journals* for the use of the Society; and that each Member bound to sea should be furnished with one of them, to be returned, with a regular diary of the winds, weather, and remarkable occurrences, during his Voyage, arranged in such manner as the Committee should direct.

Conformably to the above vote, a Committee was chosen, who, having procured JOURNALS of the present form, request the Members to fill up the blanks according to the following

DIRECTIONS.

THE blank at the top is to be filled up with the names of the Master, and of the person keeping the Journal, the name of the ship, and the places nearest to the ship on the days given in that page. As for example: after passing the Cape de Verds, say, from the Cape de Verds towards the Cape of Good-Hope.

In the 1st column of the Journal must be marked the day of the month; in the 2d, the course made good on that day; in the 3d, the distance sailed; in the 4th, the latitude at noon by account; in the 5th, the latitude by observation; in the 6th, the longitude by account; in the 7th, the longitude by observation reduced to noon by means of the log, or a time-keeper.

When the variation is observed, it is to be marked in the 10th column, the latitude and longitude in at the time of taking the observation, being calculated from the observed latitude and longitude at noon by means of the log, and marked in the 8th and 9th columns. When the variation is observed both in the evening and morning of the same sea-day, the evening observation must be marked first; and it may be also noted whether the observation was by an azimuth or amplitude, by marking the former *az.* and the latter *am.*

The winds are to be marked in the 11th column, two or three times each day, placing them regularly beneath each other.

In the right hand column must be noted, the general state of the weather, winds, currents, bearings of capes, islands, *&c.* with their estimated distances, and any other remarks that may be useful to navigators.

When an opportunity offers to take any observations for determining the latitude or longitude of any remarkable place or point of land, it should be carefully attended to; and for the satisfaction of those who may examine the Journals, it will be proper to give a detail of the observations. Thus, if the observation was taken for determining the latitude by the meridian altitude of the Sun, it would be proper to note the altitude of the Sun's lower limb, taken from the quadrant, the declination, and the bearing and distance of the place at the time of observation. Should the place not be in sight at the time of taking the meridian observation, it would be proper to note the course and distance made good by the ship, between the times of taking the meridian observation and observing the bearing of the land. A particular attention to observations of this kind will probably be the means of procuring a valuable collection of useful information. If the latitude or longitude observed should differ from any late books or charts, it would be proper to note it. In case any general remarks on the wind, weather, *&c.* experienced in the passages, should occur to the Journalist, he is requested to arrange them in the blank pages left for that purpose at the end of the Journal. A page is also assigned for an account of the coin, weights and measures of the several places touched at in the voyage; and it is hoped that care will be taken in acquiring information on these subjects. Any remarks on the commerce of the different places touched at, with the imports, exports, and manner of transacting business, will be of public utility. Whatever is singular in the manners, customs, dress, ornaments, *&c.* of any people, is deserving of notice.

There should be collected for the Museum, specimens of various kinds of vegetable substances, earths, minerals, ores, metals, volcanic substances, *&c.* There should also be preserved (according to the directions hereafter given) such parts of birds, insects, fish, *&c.* as serve most easily to distinguish them; and if no part can be preserved, a description of any that are remarkable, may be given. Inquiry should be made for any remarkable books in use among any of the eastern nations, with their subjects, dates and titles. Articles of the dress and ornaments of any nation, with the images and objects of religious devotion, should be procured.

DIRECTIONS

For Collecting and Preserving Objects of Natural History.

By SETH BASS, M. D.

I. MINERALS.—Minerals should be packed in cotton, oakum, or any soft substance. It would be proper to procure all the specimens of about the same size; pieces of three inches square will be sufficiently large. Specimens of all the most common rocks found on the Islands in the South Seas, and on the North-West Coast of America, would be considered valuable in the eyes of the Geologist and Mineralogist in America.

II. BOTANY, or VEGETABLE KINGDOM.—Plants should be collected when in flower, and placed between two pieces of blotting paper, and should be pressed moderately by placing a piece of board or plank on them for a day or two, and should then be taken out and placed in dry papers, taking care to lay all the leaves in a natural position, and then return them to the press with an additional weight. It will be necessary to change them several times, until they are perfectly dry; when they should be packed in a box, with a small quantity of Camphor, to prevent their being eaten by Insects. The boxes should be secured as close as possible. It is desirable to procure the seeds, or fruit, in their seed-vessels, in every case where it is possible. Fruit, if pulpy, may be preserved in spirits, and in some cases of rare plants, the flowers also. Seeds, when small, should be well dried and wrapped in paper, with some account of the plant; whether a tree, or annual plant; the situation in which it was found, &c.; and then packed in glass bottles, well corked, or secured with a cement made of Bees-wax and Resin. The larger seeds may be packed in dry powdered charcoal in a close box. Seeds of all kinds may be brought home in bottles of *Honey*, and this is probably the very best method of preserving them. Specimens of the different species of Wood found growing on the Islands in the Pacific Ocean, and North-West Coast of America, would be curious, and may be useful. Blocks sawed about one and an half inch thick, with the bark on; if the log is very large, the block may be split in quarters or any section of a circle.

III. MADREPORES, CORALS, *&c.*—To preserve marine productions, it is always necessary to soak them in fresh water, in order to extract the salt, and perhaps it would be best to have the water boiling. Specimens of all the Madrepores and Corals, &c. with the animals in them, preserved in spirits, and secured in close stopped bottles, would be a great addition to our Museum. Pieces of three or four inches in length will be sufficiently large.

IV. CONCHOLOGY, or SHELLS, *and the animals that inhabit them.*—Those Shells only are worth preserving in a Cabinet of Natural History, which have been taken with the animals alive in them, as those which are driven on shore by the tide, have generally been dead some time, and if not broken, the colours are always much faded, and sometimes are so much altered that they cannot be recognized as the same species; for the shell begins to bleach the moment the animal is dead; and therefore the only way to procure good specimens is to get them fished up, and to have the animals extracted, which may be done by pouring boiling water on them. Then soak the shells in fresh water for twenty-four hours, to extract all the salt, and pack them carefully with cotton in a box; but no attempt should be made to clean them on any account. It would be an addition of considerable interest to have a shell of each kind with the animal in it, preserved in spirits, as they are very imperfectly known.

V. ENTOMOLOGY.—Insects should be secured by pinning them into shallow cases, and very carefully closed by pasting strips of paper over the seams of the case; or the case may be enclosed in canvas, or thick paper, and then smeared over with pitch or tar; they will then be very secure from moisture. A small quantity of Camphor should be enclosed in a piece of gauze, and nailed into the case, to keep away other insects which would destroy them. Spiders and Worms should be preserved in spirits.

VI. CRUSTACEOUS ANIMALS.—Crabs, Sea Urchins, or Sea Eggs, and the like, should have the internal parts removed, and if large, carefully packed in boxes of powdered charcoal, or saw-dust, having been well washed in fresh water previous to packing them. If the species are small, preserve them in spirits.

VII. REPTILES AND FISH.—If the specimen is small, preserve it in a bottle of spirits. But if of large size, they should be carefully skinned, and then the blood soaked out by soaking in fresh water, changing the water several times. The skins may then be put into casks of strong brine. The heads of fish, with the gills, should be preserved entire.

VIII. ORNITHOLOGY.—To prepare and mount Birds, let the following directions be attended to, viz. Skin the bird as soon after the bird has been killed as may be convenient, in the following manner:—Make an incision down the side under the wing sufficiently large to permit the body to be taken out; disjoint the legs at the knees, and the neck close to the head; take out the brains, eyes and tongue; dissect as much of the muscles from the wings as you can, and then strew over the whole a fine powder composed

of white oxide of arsenic, one part, mixed with burnt alum, two parts; then stuff the head and legs with cotton; pass wires up the legs, and through the neck and head. Sometimes the wings may be supported by wires when they are to be spread; but generally they should be kept in place by pinning them to the side. If you intend to mount the bird, a piece of cork must be cut of exactly the same shape as the body of the bird, and the skin sewed over it, and the wires secured in the cork to support it—or the body of the bird may be slightly stuffed with cotton and hung up in the air to dry, and afterwards packed in a close case in cotton, with some pieces of camphor strewed in the case. All possible care should be taken to keep the feathers clean. In order to keep them perfectly secure, it would be best to cover the box with old canvas, or thick paper, and then smear it over with pitch.

The Nests and Eggs of birds are objects worth collecting. The eggs should have their contents blown out, then packed in the nest with cotton, and stowed into a box.

IX. QUADRUPEDS.—Animals should be carefully skinned, and the flesh dissected as clean as possible from the head and feet. It may not be necessary in every case to separate the head from the skin; but the safest method is to put the head into boiling water to boil the flesh; then take out the brains, eyes, &c. wash it clean, strew powdered *Arsenic* and *Alum* over it; then replace it in the skin, and secure the skin carefully to the teeth. The feet and ears should be wet with Spirits of Turpentine, and then the whole outside as well as inside strewed over with the powder of *Arsenic* and *Alum*. After sewing up the abdomen, except a small opening, stuff the skin with some light and dry substance; in some cases it may be more convenient to bring the skin home in strong brine, if the animal is large; in which case care must be taken to have all the blood soaked out before it is placed in the brine; and if soaked for some days in alum water, previous to placing it in the pickle, it would be an additional security.

NOTE.

In filling up the Journal, care must be taken not to write near the margin of the paper, either at the top, bottom, or the side; to prevent any of the writing from being cut off in binding up the Journals.

JOURNAL, in the

Date. 18	Courses.	Dist.	Latitude.		Longitude.		Variation.		
			Acc.	Obs.	Acc.	Obs.	Lat.	Long.	

APPENDIX C:

CHARTS AND TABLES

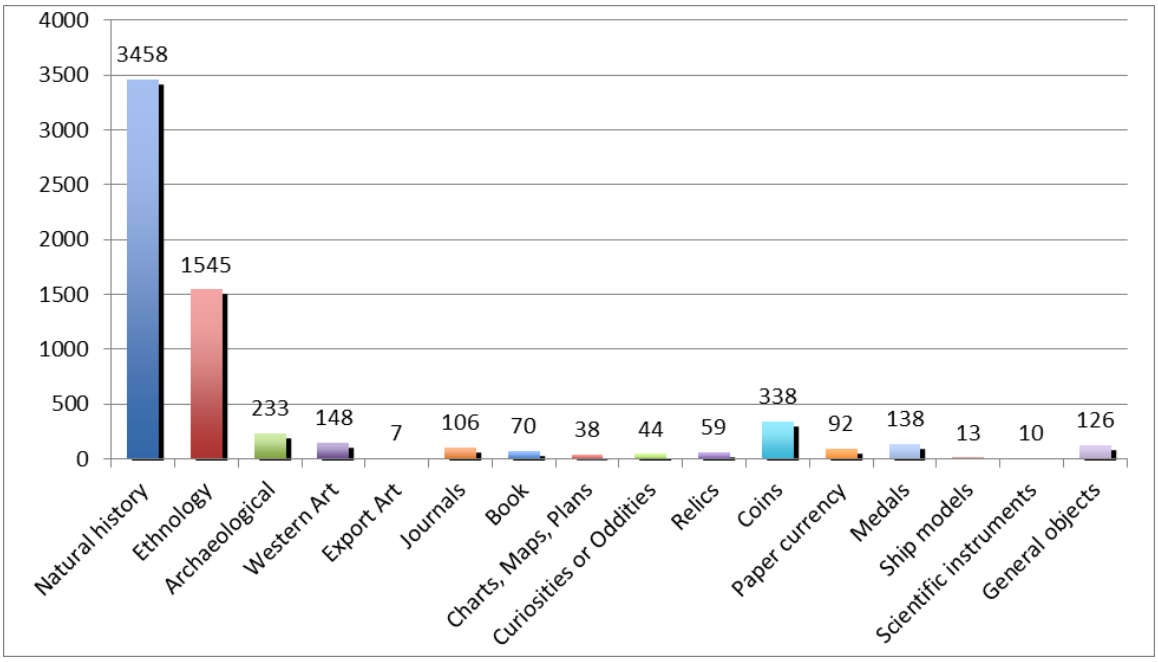


Chart 1. Breakdown of the East India Marine Society Collection

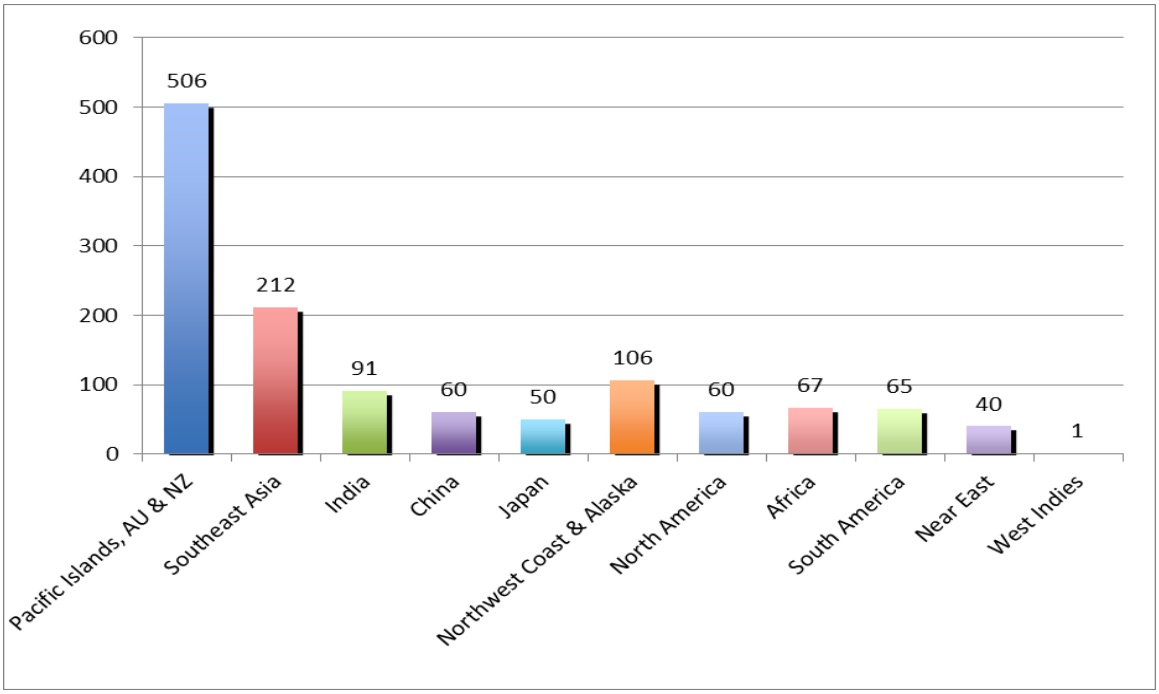


Chart 2. Breakdown of the East India Marine Society Ethnological Collection

Year	Natural history	Ethnology	Archaeological	Western Art	Export Art	Journals	Books	Charts, Maps, and Plans	Curiosities or Oddities	Relics	Coins	Paper Currency	Medals	Ship models	Scientific or Navigational Instruments	General Objects	Total accessions	Objects Not From Beyond the Capes
1799	22	10					2	1	1							1	37	10
1800	56	66	8	2	1	1	5				2					4	145	18
1801	8	19	2	1	1	5	1	3							1		41	7
1802	22	93	6	1	1	6	1		1	1	3		1			3	139	15
1803	134	128	4	10	1	6	4	2	4	1	9	1		1	1	4	310	66
1804		1		3		12											16	3
1804-1806	11	7	10	8													36	15
1805		1		1		9								1			12	2
1806	8	1		4	2	14	2				1			1			33	8
1807	30	51	1	1		3	5			1		1			2	5	100	19
1808						1											1	0
1809	12	4	2			1	1										20	7
1810		1				2											3	0
1810-1811	12	4	1				1										18	12
1811											7						7	3
1812	16	48		1					1		2					1	69	15
1812-1817	5	12	1														18	3
1813				1										1			2	0
1814																	0	0
1815		7								1							8	0
1816		1															1	0
1817	5	13		1													19	1
1818	25	2				3					4					1	35	21
1819	1				1												2	0
1820	47	15	14	5		3	2			1						4	91	51
1820-1821	51	8	3							1	2	1				1	67	19
1799-1821	932	125	18	13			16	2	1	5	219	16				25	1372	348
1821	5	12	1	1		2					1	1			1		24	9
1822	61	20	4	3		3	1		3	1		6		1		2	105	70
1823	83	67	16	2		7	2		2	3			111			1	294	128
1824	162	15	6	14		1	3			2	27				1	1	232	140
1825	35	25	3	4			2	2	2	2	3	1	1			5	85	41
1826	282	158	18	11		2	1		5	7	18	1			1	3	507	150
1824-1826	116	14	2	2					1	1	2						138	80
1827	94	191	27	1		11	3	2	2		4	1	3			8	347	60
1827-1829	114	8	6	20					3	4				1			156	140
1828	16	3	6	1		6					1					1	34	14
1828-1829	3	1	2								1	1					8	7
1829	32	17	3	1		2			1	4			1			1	62	18
1829-1830	67	3	1	2			2		3			1				1	80	48

Table 1. Development of the East India Marine Society Collection

1830	43	31	1	2						2	2	4	1	2	2			8	98	30
1831	11	22		3		2					1	1	1						41	5
1821-1831	511	17	3	5						1	2		22	13	1			5	580	310
1831-1832	9	3		1							1								14	7
1832	51	30	1	4						3			8					2	99	38
1833	77	62	1	2			1				2	1			1			4	151	55
1834	38	17	4	2				1	1		1	1	4					5	74	40
1835	15	27		1			3			1			1	1				3	52	15
1835-1836	27	9	1					2				5	1					1	46	19
1836			17																17	0
1837	6			1				1											8	5
1838	30	25						3	1			7	3					1	70	23
1839	15	6	1	1				1		1		1	3					1	30	24
1840	39	14	5	1						1	1	1	2	1				4	68	24
1841	28	9		1				1		1	2	3	2						47	30
1842	9	7										2	1	1					20	8
1843	5	3	1															1	10	5
1844	3	9						1	2		1	3	2				1	1	23	8
1845	6	6										1	1					1	15	8
1846	4	11	1																16	3
1847	1	4	1								1	1						2	10	5
1848	3	20		1				2	5									1	32	4
1849	3	4		2				1	3					1					14	7
1850	6	18	3					1	3						1	1		2	35	24
1851	27	5	22	1						1		4							60	15
1852	16	8	5					1	11			2						4	48	39
1853	4	3											1	3					11	5
1854	1	12								1				2					16	3
1855	1	7	1	3						2			2			1			19	13
1856																		1	1	0
1857												1	1					5	7	7
1858											1								1	1
1859				1											1				2	2
1860-1861	1			1															2	1
1862-1863	1	2		1				1				1	2		1				9	6
1864		1																	1	1
1865																			0	0
1866		1																	1	0
1867		1																	1	0
Total	3458	1545	233	148	7	106	70	38	44	59	338	92	138	13	10	124	6423	2338		

Table 1. Development of the East India Marine Society Collection (continued)

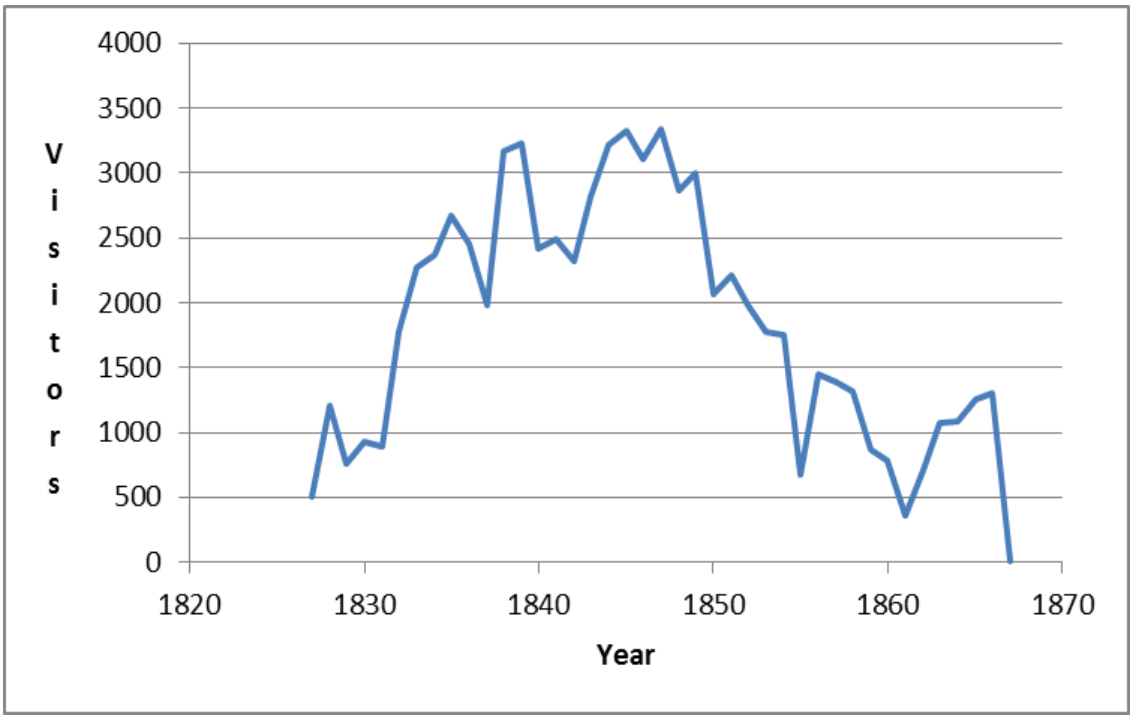


Chart 3. East India Marine Society Museum Annual Visitation 1827-1867.

Year	@ Number of Visitors	Notes
1827	508	Book Starts on July 2nd
1828	1,206	
1829	758	
1830	923	
1831	892	
1832	1772	
1833	2265	
1834	2371	
1835	2668	
1836	2451	
1837	1977	
1838	3171	
1839	3232	
1840	2412	No December Visitation
1841	2485	No January of February Visitation
1842	2320	
1843	2810	
1844	3220	
1845	3322	
1846	3100	
1847	3338	
1848	2863	
1849	3002	No January of February Visitation
1850	2068	
1851	2213	No January of February Visitation
1852	1979	
1853	1771	
1854	1751	
1855	671	No January of February Visitation
1856	1447	
1857	1384	
1858	1309	
1859	870	
1860	784	
1861	363	No January, February, or March Visitation
1862	714	No April Visitation
1863	1074	
1864	1089	
1865	1259	No January, February, or March Visitation
1866	1300	
1867	13	Last visitor April 18th, William S. West of Salem
Total Visitation	75,125	@1913 per year (excluding the partial records for 1827 and 1867)

Table 2. Breakdown of East India Marine Society Museum Annual Visitation 1827-1867.

APPENDIX D:

EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY INTERNAL REPORTS

Document 1. Report Delivered by Nathaniel Bowditch on July 5th, 1820. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 2.

The committe [sic] appointed at a late meeting of the society to procure a new catalogue of the articles in the museum—beg leave to report.
That soon after their appointment they met in the museum & carefully examined its situation and with much surprize found very many of the articles in a perishing situation. The moths had taken to most of the birds and insects and the articles preserved in spirits were in a state of decay from the evaperation [sic] of the liquor and the neglect of changing it when it became impure—and even the shells, which had been supposed hardly viable to decay, were in many instances destroyed by the salts which had been left on them. Most of the bottles in which the fish, snakes & small animals were preserved were more or less opake so that it was difficult if not imposible to view the objects distinctly, and so many articles (sometimes of entirely different forms & natures) were crowded together in the same vessel, that the beauty & usefulness of the part of this part of the museum were in great measure destroyed.
None of the shells and minerals were classed and hardly any of them numbered. Many important articles were not entered upon the Catalogue, and nearly half the curiosities in the museum were without any marks by which they would be identified on the old catalogue and the names of the donors ascertained.
The elegant arrangement which had been made in the museum, soon after it was placed in the present Hall, had become considerably broken in upon by the great accumulation of articles since that period, ^ & which, for want of room had been stowed away wherever a spot could be found to place them in, so that things of a similar nature, instead of being collected together, were scattered about all over the museum, and it became therefore absolutely necessary to make a thorough alteration in every part of it.
Notwithstanding the labour which was then found to be necessary to place the establishment in a better order, the committee would have willingly undertaken it, without other assistance, had it not been for the difficulty in classing the shells, minerals, animals etc., a subject to which none of the committee had paid that particular attention which would ensure a [?] and accurate selection & arrangement of the articles. This induced them to favour the assistance of Doctor Bass, a gentlemen eminently qualified by his skill in various branches of Natural History. He also has arranged the shells and labelled the minerals, and has also assisted the committee very much in other parts of the work.
New numbers have been painted upon most of the articles, and it is proposed to label as many of them as will admit of it conveniently. The catalogue corresponding to these numbers is now in considerable soundness and it would contribute very much to its

accuracy, if persons who have made donations to the society would examine the entries of the articles presented by them; to see if they have been ~~done~~ entered correctly. When the catalogue shall be completed, it would be very useful to print it, for the use of persons visiting the museum, and to enable members when abroad to know what articles may be wanted to complete the collection. It would not cost much to furnish each member with a copy at the expense of the society, and some extra copies might be printed without much additional cost to present to the gentlemen of our town & its vicinity who have taken an interest in this very important institution.

The committee have ordered a sufficient number of sashes to be made & glazed to put more of the articles under cover, to protect them from dust and from decay by frequent handling, as well as to place them in a situation of greater security, having found by the examination of the old catalogue that some articles have been taken away from the museum. Fortunately however the number of missing articles is small, and (except in one or two instances) not of much importance.

To produce greater regularity and accuracy in the entries on the Catalogue and in the arrangement of the articles which may hereafter be presented to the society, the Committee would recommend the appointment of a person to superintend the museum under the direction of the President & Committee, and it is believed that Doctor Bass (stimulated by the wish to keep this valuable collection of curiosities in the best possible order) would cheerfully accept the office for a moderate compensation.

The annual rent formerly given for this Hall was $160. The lease has expired since the last meeting of the society & the heirs of the late Col. Pickman have offered to renew the lease at the reduced rate of $80 to continue till _____ years _____ , and it was requested by them that the society would take the subject under consideration at this meeting, & if it is thought advisable to accept their terms it will be necessary to appoint some person to execute the lease in behalf of the Society.

A few days since another volume of the marine journals (being the sixth of this collection) was bound up and placed in the library—these with three unbound numbers make in all sixty three journals, containing much important & useful matter which has frequently been refered to by members of the society & by others. Here we may find the original observation of three of our members by whose ^ meeting the Society had the honor to correct the enormous error of above eight degrees in the longitude of George's [?] Island & their observations have been confirmed by those of later European Navigators. The latitudes & longitudes of many places determined in these journals by actual observations, have already been & will always continue to be useful to confirm & correct other observations and furnish useful alterations in the charts of the countries visited by our ships. They are also extremely useful in late morning the knots & variations of the trades winds and monsoons, the variation of the magnetic needle in various places etc. A list of these journals will be given in the catalogue. To increase the collection of most important & valuable matters, it is to be wished that the younger and more active members of the society would invariably provide themselves with blank journals on all their voyages. For greater convenience in supplying them it is proposed by the Committee that Henry Elkins Esquire (naval officer of the port) be appointed the distributor of the blank journals to be left under his care at the Customs House and that he

be requested to make a report at each meeting, of the number he has so distributed—and also that the inspector of the journals be requested to make a report of the journals he may receive from time to time.
In making the alterations in the museum when must necessaty [sic] be attended with some expense, it is gratifying to find that the inspector [?] has given not only has ^ had a tendency ^ already to increase the collection of curiosities but also to increase the funds of the society by the admission of new members, there being twenty persons who have consented to be proposed this evening for admission.

All which is respectfully submitted.
By order of the Pres[t] & Committe [sic]
N. Bowditch Prs

Document 2. Mem[d] for signal flag for members by Israel Williams. E.I.M. Society, 1821. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3.

Flag Blue Bunting, with figures denoting each member in White; to be 9 feet long 7 feet wide.
The new Alphabet, to have numbers against each name, corresponding with the flag.—
Ship's Colours to be always hoisted ath [sic] the Main, or Mizen Peak, or <u>where best seen</u>—
If assistance should be wanted the signal flag to be lowered to half mast. If the vessel [sic] spoken be a Salem Vessell [sic], she ought, show her signal in Answer.—
All the Merchants, be respectfully requested to furnish their masters with a flag, contain a <u>number</u>, to be furnished by the Presed[t] of E.I.M. Society, and these numbers to <u>commence</u>, where the society <u>leave off</u>, by this arrangement this plan, will be generally usefull [sic], to the Town, even where, masters of ships are not elligible [sic] as members of the society.—
Which would be most adviseable [sic], for each member to be requested, to furnish his own flag, or to raise a sum by subscription? The latter, may be said, most equitable as in this case, the merch[t] would bare [sic] a part of the expence [sic] as well as the master. It must be considered reasonable that the Owner of a ship, should contribute his part, which will be most benifitted [sic] by the plan.—

Document 3. Report of the Committee Upon the Subject of Adopting a Signal Flag—September 1821. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3.

Mr. President,

The Committee appointed at the last meeting of the S.E.I.M. Society to consider of the propriety of the societys adopting a Signal Flagg [sic]; have attended that duty, and beg leave to make the following <u>report</u>—

The Committee [sic] are of opinion, that the adoption of a signal flag, will not, only be extreamly [sic] usefull [sic] to the ship owners, the underwriter, but to all concern[d] in Navigation; and in particular to the relatives of our seafaring bretheren, by which they will be more frequently gratified [sic], in hearing from them.
The Committee [sic] therefore recommend a blue flag, with white figures, corresponding, with the member's number's as published in the new Alphabet, to be 9 feet long 7 feet wide, to be hoisted at the fore, the Ensign to be displayed at the main or Mizen peak at the same time, to denote, of what country. Blue is recommended, for two reasons. In the first place, because in N. York, a similar flag has been put in operation, having a white field and blue letters; and in the second place, for the very good reason that blue above the Horizon, will show more plain & distinct, than any other Colour.—
Should the Colour be hoisted, when assistance is needfull [sic] it is then recommend[d] to those, who are in distress, after being answerd [sic], to lower the flag half most.
That the benifit [sic] of this plan, may be publickly [sic] usefull [sic], the Committe [sic] would recommend, that the merchants in general, should be invited to make application to the President of the society for number's, by the means, ~~the advantage~~^much benefit will [?] and it will be [a] great advantage to the Town, in general.—
It has been ascertain'd that a flag can be obtain'd, at the low price of $4 of the best bunting. but if members should prefer one of blue Cotton, it would cost a trifling. The Committe [sic] however, are satisfied, that bunting is most proper, for the reason, that Cotton is too heavy a material for to show well in light wind & would be liable to split, in heavy strong gales then therefore recommend Bunting; but leave it optional, to furnish either, as may prove most acceptable to each member.
If any thing is done to further this object, the sooner they think, the better, as the members of the society are daily going off to sea, and no one being required to furnish himself a flag, unless he pleases, they therefore trust, and concludes, that there is no one of our brother seamen, can reasonably object to the society giving them sanction, to so usefull [sic] and economical a plan for the communicating agreeable [sic] intelegence [sic], and assisting in the cause of humanity.—
~~As the catalogue is now in the press and as the committee [sic] decern it of consequence if the system recommended should be adopted that directions for the use of the signals and the numbers of the members should be arranged with reference that they recommend that a special meeting should be called to take the sean [?] of the society in time for this addition to the catalogue to be made.~~ [This paragraph was crossed out]

Israel Williams

Document 4. Report Delivered by Stephen White at the January 7th, 1824 Meeting. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 2.

The President and Committee of Observation submit to the society the following Report of the situation of its funds, the state of the Cabinet and other topicks [sic] connected with the welfair [sic] of the Society, which they have thought would prove interesting to the members and with the view also of introducing, if such a cours [sic] should be approved,

the custom of laying before the Society at their annual meeting in each succeeding year a similar Report to be made by the President & Committee for the time being.
In taking the view now proposed they are naturally led back to the period, AD 1820, when from a variety of unfavourable circumstances the Society was in a situation by no means flattering—Its members were diminishing in number and its funds ^ increasing little in amount—The museum itself was in a state of much confusion and many of the most valuable articles in a ~~state~~ ^ situation of rapid decay—The amount of the Funds as exhibited in the Treasurer's Report in January 1820, the period alluded to, was $6310.39. The number of members as nearly as can be ascertained was then one hundred & fifteen* (see records Jany 5, 1820), since which ~~seventy~~ eighty persons have joined and there are now one hundred and ~~sixty~~ ^ seventy three * (including 13 who have not yet signed & 6 admitted tonight) members being an increase of fifty eight members since January 1820. The Report of the Treasurer for the present year is hereto annexed showing the amount of the funds to be $7894.06 exhibiting and increase of ____ in the last four years of $1583.67—independent of the enhanced value of the Stocks themselves, and notwithstanding the very considerable sums expended in new arranging the hall, printing catalogues, and other expenses incident to the late alterations voted by the society—In the condition of the Museum the comparison is still more gratifying—The zeal and perseverance with which our late president Doctor Bowditch strove, and with so much effect, to promote the renovation of the Cabinet have been acknowledged by the Society in an unanimous vote of thanks. These endeavours ~~would~~, as Doctor Bowditch has frankly acknowledged, ^ would have been much less successful had not the Society been fortunate in obtaining the services of a superintendent of so much science and ability as Doctor Bass—this to him in a great measure the Society owes the present admirable classification of the articles and the prosperous situation of the Cabinet. Under his able superintendence aided by the awakened interest which so generally prevails among the members and the peculiar facilites [sic] afforded them while on foreign voyages to enrich the Cabinet, the society may look to possess a collection of objects of curiosity and science exceeded in value and extent by no other in the Union—Already the hall which it occupies is becoming too small to permit such an arrangement of the articles as will show them to the best advantage and it will necessarily press itself upon the consideration of the Society whether they are to look for additional space by new arangements [sic] and additions to the present hall or whether the Cabinet must be unmoved to some other situation affording more capacious accommodation.
Notwithstanding the ^ recent rapid growth of the Cabinet the collection would at this time have been much more valuable and extensive it is thought, if the power of making mutual exchanges of duplicate and triplicate specimens, with other Cabinets, has been confided to some one or more of the officers of the Society—Applications on this subject have been numerous and guided by the science and acuteness of Doctor Bass, it is presumed the Society would run little hazard of ^ suffering any loss by such exchanges ~~being overeached~~ —
Among the shells in an especial manner there are abundance of specimens of a kind precisely similar one to another, to an almost indefinite extent—many in fact are now laid away there not being space or in fact need for them in these cases. These ~~corals~~ [?], it has been ascertained, could be exchanged for other articles of which the Cabinet is in want

and would this conduce much to the extent ~~and~~ variety and completeness of the collection. Many articles also, are lost to the Society from the fact that the members and others who would gladly bestow them if they thought the donations would be serviceable give them some other direction when they ascertain that articles of the same kind are already in the cabinet, wherees [sic], if there existed a power to exchange such articles for others the society would always be secure of such donations, nor would the donors lose the credit which they would so justly deserve in as much as their names might stand in the catalogue as donor of the several articles there taken in exchange.

The propriety and expediency of admitting Honorary members is another subject to which the president & Committee are desirious [sic] of calling the attention of the society. They are aware that it is a subject of some difficulty, but feeling well assured that it would lead to beneficial results, if it could be placed on a proper footing, they deem it their duty to suggest it for consideration. Under the present system it seems to be agreed that the society possesses no adequate means of repaying the many distinguished gentlemen who have from time to time made valuable donations; unless it be a mere vote of thanks, while ^ it is believed, in most, if not in all other societies founded for scientific purposes, honorary memberships are ~~bestowed~~ conferred on such benefactors as may be distinguished by the extent of their donations as for their scientific requirements. The admission of such member it has been suggested would not fail to prove beneficial, both by increasing the extent of the donations and in extending the direct influence of the society. It does not appear necessary that such members should be vested with any show or property in the Society Funds or Cabinet, but that they should enjoy merely the privelege [sic] of holding the diploma or certificate of the Society and of being perhaps admitted to its meetings without the right of voting and under such other limitations as may be provided. In order that such memberships, if granted, should not be made too common, it would seem to be ~~the~~ proper to limit the number that may be annualy [sic] admitted to four or five and these ~~would~~ for obvious reasons ^ to be ~~principally~~ bestowed on persons not inhabitants of the town.

On the 2^{d} may 1821 a vote of the Society was passed directing the President & Committee to procure a handsome and appropriate engraving for a certificate of membership to be regularly signed, for the use of each member of the society. In consequence of several obstacles which have presented themselves the vote has not yet been carried into effect. Mr. Penniman of Boston is however now engaged in completing a proper design and it is hoped that the work will be before long in the hands of the engraver.

The Vth Article of the Bye Laws provides that the Committee of Observation with the consent of the President, shall purchase such Books of History etc. as they may think useful to the society. This authority has been rarely exercised, but had the Committee been allowed to elevate a small sum from the funds to purchase, beside Books; such articles of curiosity as from time to time as brought from abroad by persons whose circumstances will not admit of their presenting them it is thought the money would have been benificially [sic] expended and many valuable articles obtained. A sum not exceeding fifty or one hundred dollars ^ it is thought would be ample for the purpose, to

which sum the authority of the Committee may be limited, should the society deem it proper to make any new provision in this respect.

~~Salem Jany 7 1824~~ ~~Stephen White Pres~~

One of the principal objects in the formation of the Society being the promotion of nautical science the system of distributing blank journals to the members was one of the earliest provisions of the By Laws. The subsequent appointment of a particular officer for the purpose of making such distribution has given great aid to this beneficial object, but it remains still a matter of regret that but few journals have been recently returned compared to the number distributed when it is remembered how much valuable information may and has been frequently obtained by a careful comparison of accurate and well kept journals, as well in establishing the geographical situation of places as assisting in the formation of systems of variation of the compass, the set of the currents etc. it is hoped that hereafter a larger number will be furnished to the Inspector. The aid which our late President received in the completion of his valuable work "The Practical Navigator from consulting these journals is well known to the members, and recently it has been enquired of the President by a person who has it in contemplation to print here a new Edition of Hornsburys East India Directory whether the Society would permit their journals to be consulted for the purpose of furnishing matter for notes and correcting for this new edition. The whole number of Journals distributed the past year is eight or ten [these numbers written in pencil] and these have been returned to the Inspector of Journals in the same time three only—that of Capt. John Endicott in the Ship Catherine, Capt. William Haskell in the Ship Factor and Capt. George Archer, Jr. in the Ship Restitution. All which is respectfully submitted.

Salem January 7 1824

Stephen White
President

Document 5. Report Delivered by Henry Wheatland, September 6th, 1838. Records/Minutes 1824-1852. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 1, Volume 2.

To the members of the E.I.M. Society of Salem. Gentl[m], at the request of your President I now present the following report giving a [sic] account of the changes and alterations the museum has undergone since the last meeting. Time, the great destroyer, had been making extensive ravages; the moth & corroding rust who, in their inventive gambols, do much serious injury to man, had been permitted to sport with boundless freedom. Thus being the state of affairs the Committee of Observation deemed it expedient that something should be done, and that quickly, to prevent further destruction. Accordingly in May I attempted to make a thorough cleansing of this Augean stable & devoted several weeks to the undertaking, aided at times by one or more assistants, how far I have succeeded you and the public are the Judges. Before proceeding farther, it may be necessary here to state, that the insects, shells and wet-preparations have not been attended to, as they were comparatively in a good condition, it was decided to defer this part of the task to some further occasions. Every article, with the above exceptions have

been removed from the cases, the cases cleaned as well as the articles themselves before being replaced many of which however, were found so decayed that a sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced, such as the skins of Birds, quadrupeds, etc., & then specimens of cloth & dress that are made of animal materials. I do not intend to be understood that all but a major part of this class of articles were condemned. In looking around you will observe that many of the articles have changed which they probably occupied for years. This was done, in order to bring together such articles as bore a resemblance to each other or were used for the same purposes in the economy of life by the different nations, such as the cooking utensils, shoes, hats, warlike instruments etc. etc. The natural productions are in like manner brought together, such as the corals, specimens of the different wood & fruits, fishes reptiles etc. This however was very imperfectly done, owing partly to the nature of the articles themselves which compeles [sic] me to make several miscellaneous cases, & partly to the great length of time required for the accomplishment of this object, which I was not authorized to spend in replacing the articles in these respective cases I have followed no plan but have arranged as would best please the eye of the casual visitor. The dress of the figures placed in the center and other parts of the Hall were much soiled and damaged, some of these have been cleaned but many of them had to be replaced by others, this was the most difficult part of the undertaking & the one, that to my mind is the least satisfactory owing to the impossibility of obtaining the proper material & the want of skill in making & fitting dresses evidently at variance with our habits and modes of life. This deficiency both of material and skill we have endeavored to obviate by imitating the original as far as possible.

On the ninth of June the Society received a valuable present from A.A. Low Esq. of Canton, cidevant townsman, consisting of a rich and very splendid dress of a mandarin. To exhibit this dress to the best advantage it was necessary to procure a suitable figure and to enclose the same in a glass to prevent any injury or defacement that may arise from the exposure to the air, dust and last though not least the excessive handling by visitors; A habit to which the Yankies [sic] are very much addicted and one which is said by some peculiar to this genius. I would here suggest the expediency of passing a law forbidding persons from bringing into the Hall any umbrella parasol canes and the like, much wet and dampness would thus be saved in unpleasant weather and considerable injury and other to the statues, figures and all the exposed articles would thus be prevented at all times.

The old covering for the table was found to be in a very ruinous condition, and the harbor for moths, it was therefore replaced by the present incumbent, which to the general appearance of the Hall and will no doubt meet the best wishes of everyone. Many articles of great interest to the student of nature the mariner and the casual visitor, have been added to the collection since the last meeting as will be seen.

In conclusion let me add that much has been done the past summer and more still remains to be done, the insects, shells and minerals will need soon to be thoroughly overhauled and rearranged; our work is never finished as soon one portion is completed, others we quickly find demand our attention. Respectively submitted

Salem Sep^{t} 5, 1838 by signed H. Wheatland.

Document 6. Report of the Committee of John Bertram, William B. Parker, Charles Mansfield, and President Benjamin H. Silsbee, delivered at the November 29th, 1865 meeting. Records/Minutes 1853-1896. East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 2, Volume 1.

That it is evident to the Committee, and must so be to all the members that unless some inducement can be held out for new members to join, the Society must in a few years die out---The roll of membership shows but 70 names, of ages averaging something more than 60 years; but two have joined in the past five years, altough [sic] many others have been chosen. It is very clear, then, that something must be done, some exertion made, or this old and respectable Society must in a very few years come to and end. It has been suggested heretofore that the adoption of an admission fee might have a good effect, by giving us a large income, increasing our usefulness as a charitable association and thus imparting new life.—But your Committee do not believe that the adoption of this course would have any permanant [sic] good effect. It would create dissatisfaction among some of the members who are deciedly [sic] opposed to it, and would not induce any new members to join the Society. Your Committee are strongly of the opinion that in order to put new life into the Society and make it an object for young men to join it a permanent fund must be created, the income of which shall be appropriated to the relief of indigent members and their families. There are two ways by which this can be done: one is, to make a systematic and earnest effort to raise it by subscriptions, and donations; (and the one which in the opinion of the committee should first be attempted) and the other is, by the sale of our valuable collection of curiosities which they believe would bring a large sum of money. Your Committee are not fully confident that the course first mentioned will succeed—but they would advise that this should be tried—and in the event of its failure, they would reluctantly, recommend the adoption of the second course—as the only means left of the ~~of~~ keeping the Society from being broken up—They will regret not less than any one in the community, to see this world renowned and unique museum removed from the place which it had almost made celebrated for so many years, but they feel that this much regretted course should be adopted rather than this time honored Society should become extinct, and many of its worthy and aged members be deprived of that assistance [sic], which a sale of the curiosities, in the failure of the other attempt would secure to them. There are many members and the families of deceased members who require and deserve more help and we can give them from our present funds; and it whould [sic] be borne in mind in this connection the expence [sic] of maintaining the museum is just so much taken from these needy and worthy ones.

In addition to the raising of a permant [sic] fund, your Committee are of the opinion that some change is desirable in our Act of Incorporation and By Laws, so as to somewhat extend our terms of admission.

In conclusion, to carry out the views expressed in this report, your Committee would recommend the passage of the following resolutions-----

Resolved, That a Committee of five members be chosen whose duty it shall be to ascertain the practiability [sic] of raising a permanant [sic] fund by subscriptions, and

donations—and also in case they find this impracticable, to inform themselves as to the probable amount that could be realized from the sale of the museum; and that such Committee shall report-----

Resolved, That a Committee of three members, be chosen to consider and report what alterations and amendments in the Act of Incorporation and By Laws are expedient in order to extend the terms of membership of this Society.—Benjamin H. Silsbee, Chairman

APPENDIX E:

PEOPLE OF NOTE WHO VISITED THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY MUSEUM

10/22/1803
Bishop John Carroll (1735-1815)—He was the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States. William Bentley notes in his diary on this date, "Bishop Carrol [sic] of Maryland is in town this morning. He has been into Maine to visit a Catholic Congregation on the Kennebec. He was accompanied with Mr. Chevrus of Boston & the Revd. Mr. Romagne from Maine. The Bishop is a fine man at 68 years of age. Speaks freely. Converses on all subjects as a man of literature. He came into town late last evening. Mr. Chevrus gave me notice this morning. We conversed upon various topics & Mr. Romagne informed us of his greater success with the Dam[ar]iscotta than Penobscot Indians. The Bp. visited our Museum, & was pleased with its progress. He was determined to reach Boston this morning." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 53.

8/18/1804
French Consul & M. Monville of St. Domingo—William Bentley notes in his diary on this date, "Yesterday the French Consul & M. Monville of St. Domingo spent the day with me. The Consul has much curiosity. Mr. Monville has lost his plantation at Aux Cayes, his slaves, & the remainder of his family has been assassinated. Upon my first coming to Salem he had a son under my care, who has since died at Baltimore. They visited the Museum of the East India Marine Society." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 104.

3/2/1806
Indian Chiefs—William Bentley notes in his diary on this date, "The Indian Chiefs, who were on Saturday introduced to the Government of this State, at Boston, on Sunday made a visit to this town, where every attention, consistent with the day and the few hours they tarried, was paid them. They walked through the town, viewed the wharves, shipping, and museum of the Eat-India Marine Society, and visited Gen. Derby and Col. Lee. They returned to Boston in the evening."—*Salem Gazette*, March 4th, 1806.

4/11/1809
Selleck Osborn (1783-1826)—He was a journalist who served in the War of 1812, who was found guilty of libel for material published in his pro-Democrat publication, *Witness*. William Bentley notes in his diary on this date, "This day dined with me the noted Select Osborn of Litchfield & lately of Boston, & now Lieut, of the U. S. Cavalry, introduced & accompanied with Capt Ranier & Lieut. Welsh. He has an agreeable person & has been considered with great enmity by the Opposition. We had no topics of serious conversation. We visited the Museum after dinner & parted." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. III, 412.

5/4/1818
Prince Saunders (1775-1839)—He was an African American teacher and diplomat, advisor to Emperor Henri Christophe of Haiti. At the time of his visit, he was advocating for free blacks to immigrate to Haiti. William Bentley notes in his diary on this date, "Mr. P. Saunders who was with me last Evening, breakfasted & dined with me this day. I went with him to G. C[rowninshield]'s barge & to the Museum. He shew [sic] to me all the Letters he had mentioned & urged one addressed to him to be sent to Hayti [sic]. It did not Seem to fulfil [sic] his wishes. He wished me to write directly to Hayti [sic] & upon the Subject of the emigration of Africans from our States." Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, Vol. IV, 516-517.

11/11/1818
Henry Clay (1777-1852)—He was an influential statesman as a United States senator and congressman from Kentucky, Speaker of the House and Secretary of State from 1825 to 1829. Henry Clay was invited to a dinner with the East India Marine Society on November 4th, 1818, and while he could not attend, he did visit the museum as noted in the *Salem Register* and reprinted in the *Baltimore Patriot* of November 11th, 1818. See Robert V. Remini, "Clay, Henry," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/03/03-00100.html.

7/17/1827
Rubens Peale (1784-1865)—He was an American artist and museum director, the son of Charles Willson Peale. Listed residency as "Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York." Wrote to East India Marine Society in December of 1827 according to a notation on "A List Of Purchases Made for the East India Marine Society" in East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Box 18, Folder 4. See Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*.

7/25/1827
John Oyarzabal, Malaga, Spain—He was the brother-in-law of Massachusetts captain, George Loring, who settled in Malaga and pioneered American trade with this region as one of the wealthiest merchants. Oyarzabal was a business partner with Loring. Both men visited the museum on the same day. See Charles Henry Pope, *Loring Genealogy* (Cambridge, MA: Murray and Emery, 1917), 139-140.

7/28/1827
Charles Sumner (1811-1874)—He was a United States Senator from Massachusetts and antislavery advocate. He also visited on August 22nd, 1849 when giving a lecture at the Salem Lyceum. See Frederick J. Blue, "Sumner, Charles," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/04/04-00969.html.

8/6/1827
William Ware, New York City (1797-1852)—He was a novelist and minister, born in Hingham, MA. Owned and edited the *Christian Examiner* from 1838 to 1844. Wrote several historical romances including *Zenobia, or the Fall of Palmyra* (first published as *Letters from Palmyra*, 1836 and 1837). See *Ware, William, 1797-1852. Papers: A Finding Aid*. Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

8/10/1827
William Blanding, Camden, SC (1773-1857)—He was a naturalist and physician, born in Rehoboth, MA, and a graduate of Brown University (1801) before settling in South Carolina. Was an avid collector, and it is said that his personal cabinet of natural history was the largest in the United States at the time. In 1871, his family donated his collection of 7,769 specimens, coins, and relics to Brown University's Natural History Museum. See William Richard Cutter, ed., *New England Families, Genealogical and Memorial: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of Commonwealths and the Founding of a Nation*, Volume 3 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1914), 1181, and Robert P. Emlen, "Blanding, William," Brown University Portrait Collection, http://library.brown.edu/cds/portraits/display.php?idno=73.

8/10/1827
General Winfield Scott, U.S. Army (1786-1866)—He was a United States Army general who was the longest serving general in American history. Served in War of 1812, the Black Hawk War, the Mexican-American War, the Second Seminole War, and Civil War. He was the Whig Party Presidential candidate in 1852. Visited the museum with his second wife, Maria DeHart Mayo. See Richard E. Beringer, "Scott, Winfield," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/04/04-00890.html.

8/13/1827
Reverend William Henry Furness, Philadelphia (1802–1896)—He was an American theologian and ardent abolitionist. After graduating from Harvard Divinity University in 1823, he became Minister of the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia where he served until 1875. Furness was a close friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson from his school days, and among his accomplished children were painter William Furness and architect Frank Furness. See Ann C. Rose, "Furness, William Henry," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/04/04-00890.html.

8/13/1827
Peter Goelet (1800-1879), Robert Goelet (1809-1879), New York, and Thomas R. Gerry, Boston (1794-1845)—The Goelet's were from a prosperous New York merchant family, and their sister Hannah married Thomas R. Gerry, the son of former Vice President and diplomat Elbridge Gerry. See Lyman Horace Weeks, *Prominent Families of New York: Being an Account in Biographical Form of Individuals and Families Distinguished as*

Representatives of the Social, Professional and Civic Life of New York City (New York: The Historical Company, 1897).

8/25/1827
Edmund Dwight, Boston (1780-1857)—He was a merchant and philanthropist who helped to establish New England cotton manufacturing in Chicopee, MA and supported the establishment of public education in Massachusetts. See Francis Bowen, *Memoir of Edmund Dwight*, Reprinted from *Barnard's American Journal of Education* (September, 1857).

9/12/1827
James A. Hamilton, New York (1788-1878)—He was acting Secretary of State under Andrew Jackson and the third son of Alexander Hamilton. Visited with his wife, Mary Morris, identified as "Lady Miss Morris." See James Alexander Hamilton, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton* (New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1869).

10/19/1827
Ralph Huntington, Boston (1784-1866)—He was a wealthy benefactor of M.I.T. and other institutions, who pushed for Boston's Back Bay to be filled in. Huntington Avenue in Boston is named after him.

10/29/1827
Henry Sargent, Esq., Boston (1770-1845)—He was a painter, art advocate, and military officer. See Carma R. Gorman, "Sargent, Henry," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/17/17-00776.html.

2/26/1828
William Scholefield, England (1809-1867)—He was a Birmingham, England politician and businessman. See Samuel Timmins, "Scholefield, William (1809–1867)," rev. Matthew Lee, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24815.

3/7/1828
Joshua Bates, Boston (1788-1864)—He was a businessman who founded the Boston Public Library. Visited with "a lady" and Peter Caesar Labouchere, a partner in the Amsterdam banking firm Hope & Company. See *A Memorial of Joshua Bates* (Boston: J.E. Farwell & Company, 1865).

4/15/1828
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Cambridge (1809-1894)—He was a writer, inventor, professor, and physician. He was a student at Harvard University at the time of his visit. See The Editors, "Holmes, Oliver Wendell," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/12/12-01980.html.

5/6/1828
William Dana, Buenos Aires, Argentina—He was United States Consul to Buenos Aires from 1823 to 1825.

7/23/1828
Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre, President of the Supreme Court (1773-1841)—He was a Peruvian lawyer and politician who advocated for independence. See Ainhoa Arozamena Ayala and Juan Bosco Amores Carredano, "Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre," http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/142331.

7/17/1828
Bryant P. Tilden, Boston (1781-1851)—He spent more than forty years at sea and was supercargo on many Salem trading ships to China and South America. See Bryant P. Tilden Papers, 1815-1837. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-219.

8/22/1828
Philip Yost Jr., Port au Prince, Haiti—He was United States Consul at Port au Prince.

9/11/1828
James Dunlap, London (1793-1848)—He was a Scottish astronomer and governor of New South Wales, Australia. See Harley Wood, "Dunlop, James (1793–1848)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dunlop-james-2008/text2457, published in hardcopy 1966.

9/13/1828
Silas Dinsmoor, Mobile (1766–1847)—Born in New Hampshire, he was United States agent to the Cherokee from 1794 to 1798 and the Choctaw from 1801 to 1813. He came to the museum with his son Silas Dinsmoor Jr. See Silas Dinsmoor Papers, 1794-1853, Kansas Historical Society.

1/23/1829
Joseph Holt Ingraham, Buenos Aires (1809-1860)—Born in Portland, Maine, Ingraham was a teacher, minister, and popular writer. He crafted over one hundred works, some under the pseudonym F. Clinton Barrington, many based on his adventures at sea. See Christina L. Wolak, "Ingraham, Joseph Holt," *Searchable Sea Literature*, The Maritime Studies Program of Williams College & Mystic Seaport, http://sites.williams.edu/searchablesealit/i/ingraham-joseph-holt/.

8/7/1829
Members of the Boston Light Infantry.

8/29/1829
Charles Morgan, New Orleans (1795-1878)—Born in Connecticut, he was an influential United States shipping and railroad developer, particularly in the south. See James P. Baughman, *Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968).

9/3/1829
R.M. Chipman, Dartmouth College, Hanover, MA—Born in Salem, he was a minister in several Massachusetts and Connecticut churches. See Lilley Brewer Caswel, *Athol, Massachusetts, Past and Present* (Athol, MA: Published by the author, 1899), 58.

5/18/1831
Edmund Brandt, Archangel, Russia—Born in Russia, he was partner in the Brandt shipping firm in Archangel. Though he was not a United States citizen, Brandt served as United States Consul in Archangel from 1832 to 1860 and in 1874. See Walther Kirchner, *Studies in Russian-American Commerce: 1820-1860* (Leiden: Brill Archive,1975) and http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/brandow-branstrom.html#421.58.16.

7/18/1831
P.F. Merrick, Natchez, MS—He was possibly the owner of the newspaper *The Ariel*, established about 1825 noted as a "creditable literary publication." See Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi: Comprising Sketches of Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form*, Volume 2, (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), 334. He visited with his wife and son, Master Charles F. Merrick.

7/19/1831
Samuel Eddy, Providence, RI (1769-1839)—He was a United States Congressman and Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court from 1827 to 1835. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

7/19/1831
Hiram Fuller, Halifax, MA (1814-1880)—He was an educator and journalist who founded and edited the Rhode Island newspaper the *Daily Mirror*. He served in the naval department during the Taylor administration. While abroad in London during the Civil War, he started the Confederate leaning newspaper the *Cosmopolitan*. See James Grant Wilson and John Fisk, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume II: Crane-Grimshaw (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 560.

7/19/1831
Rev. Elias Cornelius, Boston, MA (1794-1832)—Born in New York, he was an American missionary to Native American tribes and agent to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was Elias Boudinot's teacher, and donated over twenty specimens to the East India Marine Society. See Bella Bates Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev. Elias Cornelius* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1833).

7/23/1831
Commodore William Bainbridge (1774-1833)—Born in Princeton, NJ, he had a noted naval career, commanding the USS *Constitution* during her victory over the British frigate HMS *Java* during the War of 1812. He came to the museum with his daughter. See Linda M. Maloney, "Bainbridge, William," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/03/03-00020.html.

8/1/1831
Jonathan Sturges, NY (1802-1874)—He was a successful New York merchant and an important early American art collector and patron of Thomas Cole, Asher Durand, and other notable artists. He was the father of J.P. Morgan's first wife. He visited the museum with his wife Mary P., Elizabeth Cady, Catharine Reed, and George Barker. See Christine I. Oaklander, "Jonathan Sturges, W.H. Osborn, and William Church Osborn: A Chapter in American Art Patronage," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 43 (2008): 174-193.

8/5/1831
Chang and Eng Bunker (1811-1874)—Born as conjoined twins in Siam (Thailand) of Chinese-Malay descent, they toured with P.T. Barnum before settling in the south, owning a farm and slaves in North Carolina and becoming United States citizens. The term "Siamese Twins" was coined after them. They recorded their names as "Siamese youth Chang and Eng, Citorous of the World" in the guestbook. See Darryl Traywick, "Eng and Chang Bunker," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, Vol. 1, William S. Powell, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 269.

8/12/1831
Joseph Ripley Chandler (1792-1818)—Born in Kingston, MA, he was a Whig Party Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania and editor of the *United States Gazette* from 1822 to 1847. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

10/25/1831
Elias Loomis, Kaskaskia, IL (1811-1889)—Born in Connecticut, he was an astronomer, mathematician, naturalist, and meteorologist. Some of his textbooks were translated in Chinese, Japanese, French, Italian, and Arabic. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a corresponding member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and an honorary member of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, Royal Irish Academy, Royal Meteorological Society, and Societa Meteorologica Italiana. See James Rodger Fleming, "Loomis, Elias," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/13/13-01017.html.

11/24/1831
Beecher Family of Boston—American author Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896) visited the museum with her father Lyman Beecher (1775-1863), a Presbyterian minister and co-founder of the American Temperance Society, and her brother Edward Beecher (1803-1895), President of Illinois College, just before the family moved to Cincinnati. See https://www.harrietbeecherstowecenter.org/hbs/.

1/19/1832
João António José Frederico, Cape Verde (1799-1849)—Born on Santiago Island, he was a lawyer on the island of Santiago and a delegate of the Crown. During the civil war in Portugal between liberals and miguelistas, he was accused of being a liberal and forced to leave the island in 1831. He went to North America, Cambia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. While in North America, he visited the museum with a J.P. de Borja. See http://www.geni.com/people/Jo%C3%A3o-Jos%C3%A9-Ant%C3%B3nio-Frederico/6000000007384283854.

4/6/1832
William B. Hodgson—He was United States Consul in Constantinople, Algiers, Tunis, and a founding member of the American Oriental Society. He was also a member of the American Philosophical and Ethnological Societies. See Kambiz Ghanea Bassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23-24.

5/10/1832
Horace W.S. Cleveland, Havana (1814-1900)—Born in Lancaster, MA, he was one of the most important landscape architects during his time. His family lived in Havana in the 1820s.

7/25/1832
Mordecai Manuel Noah, New York (1785-1851)—Born in Philadelphia, Noah was a Jewish playwright, political figure, and proto-Zionist. He came to the museum with his family. See *Guide to the Papers of Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), 1816-1851*, American Jewish Historical Society, http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=365022#a2.

8/11/1832
Goold Brown, NY (1791-1857)—He was a teacher and grammarian. His grammar texts, such as *The Institutes of English Grammar* (1823) and the *Grammar of English Grammars* (1851) were influential into the twentieth century. Brown moved to Lynn, MA in the 1830s. See "Brown, Goold, Papers, 1814-1857," American Antiquarian Society, http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Findingaids/goold_brown.pdf.

9/4/1832
Thomas S. Russell, Valparaiso—He was United States Consul to Chile at the time.

9/13/1832
Thomas C. Coit, Natchez, MS (1791-1841)—Born in Connecticut, he was a silversmith who moved to Natchez in 1826. See Stephen G. C. Ensko, *American Silversmiths and Their Marks, The Definitive (1948) Edition* (Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publication, 2012), 39.

9/13/1832
J.W. Morse, Marseilles—American silk merchant and Vice-Consul at Marseilles.

9/25/1832
Joseph B. Carson, Pensacola—A slave trader. See Ernest Obadele-Starks, *Freebooters and Smugglers: The Foreign Slave Trade in the United States after 1808* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2007), 79.

9/25/1832
Joseph R. Dailey, Africa—Born in Richmond, VA, he was a Liberian colonist. He moved to Philadelphia and became a sailor and afterwards to New York where he worked at a counting house. He willingly emigrated to Liberia in 1830 or early 1831, but found conditions there terrible.

10/5/1832
Thomas Hill Hubbard, Utica (1781-1857)—He was a lawyer, judge, and United States Congressman. He visited the museum with Reverend Benjamin Dorr and H. Denio. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

10/5/1832
Robert Bennett Forbes, Boston (1804-1889)—Sea captain, China trade merchant, writer and Boston Marine Society member. He donated several objects to the East India Marine Society. Forbes visited the museum before his last voyage to China. See Robert Bennett Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1876).

10/5/1832
John Purdie, Smyrna (1803-1856)—He was British consul in Adalia, Turkey. See William Brewster, "In Memoriam: Henry Augustus Purdie," *The Auk*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January 1912): 1.

10/23/1832
William G. Merrill, Cape Verde—He was United States Consul to Cape Verde.

10/25/1832
James (1768-1844) and William Wadsworth (1765-1833), Geneseo—They were pioneer philanthropists and businessmen in New York State. See Wayne Mahood, "Wadsworth,

James," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/20/20-01739.html.

7/?/1833
The Wandering Piper—Though his name does not appear in the Society's guestbooks, two articles mention him visiting the museum. The *Salem Gazette* of July 16th notes, "'The Wandering Piper.' This Scottish nobleman in disguise, does not know how to spell his own nom de guerre, but actually placed two p's in the middle of the word piper, when he visited our East India museum and was invited, according to custom, to place his name in the album kept for that purpose." In the *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester, MA) of August 7th, the author notes, "THE WANDERING PIPER. This locomotive humbug who is much run after by such gaping fools as believe him 'a nobleumn in disguise,'—has recently favored the good people at Salem with a specimen of his accuracy in orthography. Being requested to inscribe his name in a record of visitors kept at the East India Museum, he signed himself 'The Wandering Pipper.' He had better apply at Harvard for the same honorary degree which conferred on Maj. Dowing' viz: A.S.S. Amazing Smart Skoler." The Wandering Piper's real name was Graham Stuart, who died on February 17th, 1839 per *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 11 (April 1839): 446.

8/6/1833
Sidney Mason, Puerto Rico (1799-1871)—He was a Boston merchant in the trade between New England and San Juan who was United States Consul in San Juan. See Victor Vazquez-Hernandez and Carmen Whalen, eds., *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 201-202.

8/10/1833
Roberts Vaux, Philadelphia (1786-1836)—He was a merchant, abolitionist, and philanthropist. He visited the museum with his family. See Vaux Family Papers 1739-1923, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

8/10/1833
James G. King, New York (1791-1853)—He was a businessman and Whig United States Congressman from New Jersey. He visited the museum with his daughter. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

8/13/1833
James Colles (1788-1883)—He was a merchant in New York City, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Morristown, New Jersey. He came to the museum with his wife Harrie, along with Hennen family. See Emily Johnston De Forest, *James Colles, 1788-1883: Life & Letters* (New York: Privately printed, 1926).

8/19/1833
Henry Cotheal, New York (1779-1849)—He was a merchant who, with his brother David, invested in brigs and schooners that traded up and down the East Coast. In the

1820s, they held interest in ships that brought tobacco from Kentucky and cotton from New Orleans in others that made trip to West Indies, bringing back coconuts and fustic, a bright yellow fabric dye. He visited the museum with Elizabeth M. Cotheal. Other members of the family came early this year. See Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 301.

9/13/1833
Octavia Celestia Valentine Walton, Florida (1811-1877)—She was an American socialite and writer in Mobile, Alabama, aka Octavia Walton Le Vert. Born in Augusta, Georgia, she was well known personality in her day known by politicians, writers and other. She was one of the first Alabama writers to receive national recognition. See Susie Lan Cassel, "Le Vert, Octavia Celeste Walton," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/16/16-02680.html.

10/27/1833
Daniel Webster, Boston (1782-1852)—He was an influential Massachusetts Senator, statesman, and orator, who was Secretary of State under William Henry Harrison and Millard Filmore. He donated a specimen of dendrites from Indiana to the museum in 1835. See Maurice G. Baxter, "Webster, Daniel," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/03/03-00525.html.

11/2/1833
John Frazee, New York (1790-1852)—He was an influential American sculptor known for his portrait busts. He wrote "Sculptor" next to his name in the guestbook. He likely came to the museum while executing a bust of Nathaniel Bowditch in Boston for the Boston Athenaeum. See Frederick Voss et al., *John Frazee, 1790-1852, Sculptor* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1986).

12/12/1833
Com. Jesse Duncan Elliott, US Navy (1782-1845)—He was commander of the United States Navy in Lake Erie during the War of 1812. When he visited the museum with his family and Joseph F. Miller of the Navy, he was commander of the Boston Navy Yard. See John C. Fredriksen, "Elliott, Jesse Duncan," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/03/03-00156.html.

12/23/1833
Lorenzo Warriner Pease, Auburn, NY (1811-1896)—He was a Presbyterian missionary born in Massachusetts and the first missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to explore Cyprus. See Brigette C. Kamsler, "Lorenzo Warriner Pease Papers, 1811-1896," The Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries), Union Theological Seminary, New York.

3/28/1834
Gustavus A. Van Lennep, Smyrna (1816-1863)—He was part of a Dutch family of prominent merchant ship owners that emigrated to Smyrna in the 1730s. A year later, on May 22nd, 1835, Henry J. Van Lennep of Smyrna visits the museum. See Henrick van Lennep, *Genealogy van de familie van Lennep* (Netherlands: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague, 2007).

6/24/1834
General Hugh Brady, Detroit (1768-1851)—Born in Pennsylvania, he served in the War of 1812 and was major general of garrison at Detroit. See "The Brady Family Heritage Association," http://bradyheritage.org/famous.htm.

8/12/1834
Joseph Ripley Chandler, Philadelphia (1792-1880)—He was a Whig member of the United States Congress. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

8/9/1834
William Henry Furness, Jr., Philadelphia (1827-1861)—He was a German trained portrait painter, son of Reverend William Henry Furness, and brother of architect Frank Furness. See
http://www.askart.com/askart/f/william_henry_jr_furness/william_henry_jr_furness.aspx.

8/13/1834
Timothy Flint, Louisiana (1780-1840)—Born in North Reading, he was a pioneer and missionary with ties to the North Shore of Massachusetts. He wrote several historical works, including a biography of Daniel Boone. See John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint: Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor, 1780-1840* (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911).

8/22/1834
Charles Augustus Poulson, Philadelphia (1789–1866)—Descended from a colonial family of printers, he studied conchology and translated French naturalist Constantine Samuel Rafinesque's text on the subject. See Poulson Family Papers, 1809-1918, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA.

John Richardson Latimer, Philadelphia (1793-1855)—He was a China trade merchant involved in the opium trade, and visited the museum with family. See John Richardson Latimer papers, 1679-1906, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

8/28/1834 and 8/30/1834
Various crew from H.M.B. Savage—They were in Salem after bringing in the captured crew of a Spanish privateer. The *Nantucket Inquirer* of September 2nd, 1834 notes, "From the Salem Register. The Savage, Br. brig of war, Lt. Com. Loney, weighed anchor on

Saturday at noon, and stood down the harbor, on her passage to Halifax, to which station she was ordered after landing the prisoners she had on board at this port. The U.S. revenue cutter Hamilton, Captain Howard, which arrived on the same day with the Savage, likewise got under weigh, and proceeded to sea in company. The wharves were thronged with citizens, and the harbor covered with sailboats, to witness their departure. The utmost attention and respect have been shown to the officers and crew of the British brig, during her short stay here. The gentlemanly and urbane deportment of Lt. Loney and his officers, has conciliated the esteem and confidence of all, and the friendly object and nature of the visit, have had the effect to create feelings of respect and gratitude towards the British government and nation. On Thursday evening, our venerable townsman Joseph Peabody, Esq. gave an entertainment at his mansion, at which the British officers, and the officers of the revenue cutter were present. The fine collection at our East India Museum has been visited by them, with admiration, and the various public and private ornaments of the town have been inspected by them. On Saturday, by invitation, they visited the Navy Yard at Charlestown, and examined our public ships and new Dry Dock. They afterwards visited Boston, by invitation of the Mayor, Hon Theodore Lyman Jr."

9/12/1834
Marmaduke Burrough, Philadelphia (1797-1844)—He was a physician who served as United States Consul to Calcutta in 1828 and Vera Cruz from 1835-1838. See Marmaduke Burrough Papers 1829-1847, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

9/20/1834
Charles Ferson Durant, New York (1805-1873)—He authored several scientific works and made the first balloon ascension in America in 1833 from the Battery, New York. See http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=12211641.

4/6/1835
Adrianno Archer da Silva, Pernambuco—He owned slaves per mention in the *Diario de Pernambuco* newspaper, and came to the museum with Carolina, Matilda, and Emilia (daughters?). http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00011611/00736.

5/25/1835
John C. Jay, New York (1808-1891)—He was an American physician and conchologist, the grandson of diplomat and first Supreme Court Chief Justice John Jay. He was a member of the Lyceum of Natural History (today the New York Academy of Sciences), one of the founders of the New York Yacht Club, and a trustee of Columbia College. See "John Clarkson Jay," *The New York Times*, November 17th, 1891.

6/12/1835
Henry B. Stanton, Ohio (1805-1887)—He was an abolitionist, reformer, and writer. See http://www.henrybstanton.com.

7/20/1835
The Winslow Blues, James Hunt, Capt., and 40 men—They were a Boston militia company active primarily between 1810 and 1834. http://resources.osv.org/explore_learn/collection_viewer.php?N=20.1.182.

9/12/1835
John Farnum Boynton, Ohio (1811–1890)—He was an American geologist, inventor, and one of the original members of the Latter Day Saint movement's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. See Wendy Woodfield and Dr. Alex Baugh, "John F. Boynton: Forgotten Apostle," *Journal of Undergraduate Research*, Brigham Young University (January 27, 2014), http://jur.byu.edu/?p=8851.

9/28/1835
Rev. Charles Samuel Stewart (1795-1870)—He was a naval chaplain and missionary. See Stewart (Rev. Charles S.) Papers 1822-1862, New York Historical Association Research Library.

3/25/1836
Andrew Downs, Halifax (1811-1892)—He was a New Jersey born naturalist, ornithologist, taxidermist, and owner of a zoological garden. See Susan Buggey, "Downs, Andrew," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 12 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/downs_andrew_12E.html.

5/28/1836
Charles Horace Upton, Virginia (1812-1877)—Born in Salem, MA, he was a member of the United States Congress and Consul to Switzerland under Lincoln and subsequent Presidents. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

9/13/1836
Hugh Swinton Legaré, Charleston (1797-1843)—He was a United States Congressman, Attorney General in the Tyler administration, and founder of the *Southern Review*. See http://millercenter.org/president/tyler/essays/cabinet/223.

10/7/1836
Aaron Columbus Burr, New York City (1808-1882)—He was the adopted son of Aaron Burr, who was involved in the mahogany trade in Central and South America. He proposed an American colony in British Honduras (today Belize) to Abraham Lincoln. See Janet L. Coryell, "'The Lincoln Colony': Aaron Columbus Burr's Proposed Colonization of British Honduras," *Civil War History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (March 1997): 5-16.

10/14/1836
Isaac Tatem Hopper, New York (1771-1852)—He was an American abolitionist and prison reformer who served as treasurer and book agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. See H. Larry Ingle, "Hopper, Isaac Tatem," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/15/15-00345.html.

4/3/1837
Rembrandt Peale, Philadelphia—Son of Charles Willson Peale, he was a painter and founder of the Baltimore Museum. His brother Rubens visited with his wife on July 17th, 1827. See Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*.

6/27/1837
Sarah M. Grimké, Charleston (1792-1873), Angelina Emily Grimké, Charleston (1805-1879)—They were both suffragists and abolitionists. See Sandra F. VanBurkleo and Mary Jo Miles, "Grimké, Sarah Moore," and Dennis Wepman, "Grimké, Angelina Emily," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/15/15-00819.html.

7/19/1837
George R. Gliddon (1809-1857) and William A. Gliddon, Cairo—George Robbins Gliddon was United States Consul to Egypt, gave lectures on archaeology, and was a key promoter of the theory of polygenesis. See "George R. Gliddon (1809-1957)," http://gliddonsinlondon.blogspot.com/2009/06/george-r-gliddon-1809-1957.html.

7/24/1837
Horatio Hastings Weld, New York (1811-1888)—He was a Boston born author, newspaper editor, and minister. In 1845 he became an Episcopal minister. See James Grant Wilson and John Fisk, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume II: Crane-Grimshaw (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 424.

8/29/1837
John Murray Forbes, New York (1813-1898)—He was a Boston businessman and philanthropist who worked in the China trade and helped finance and develop the transcontinental railroad system. See Nugent, "John Murray Forbes."

9/23/1837
Lucian Minor, Charlottesville (1802-1858)—He was a lawyer, Professor of Law at William and Mary, and a frequent contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, Volume 7 (January 1892), 263.

5/11/1838
Boston Musical Institute—Formed in 1837 by discontented members of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. They gave a concert in 1839 at the Salem Lyceum, and

disbanded the following year. See Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), 234.

5/25/1838
Horatio Hale, Boston (1817-1896)—American ethnologist who served on the United States Exploring Expedition and published influential books on the Iroquois. See Jacob W. Gruber, "Hale, Horatio Emmons," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000),http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/14/14-00253.html.

6/9/1838
Lemuel Shattuck, Boston (1793-1859)—He was a Boston merchant, bookseller and publisher, who aided in the expansion of public health through his work with vital statistics. See "Lemuel Shattuck Biography (1793-1859)," http://www.faqs.org/health/bios/27/Lemuel-Shattuck.html.

6/28/1839
Samuel Prescott Hildreth (1783–1863)—Born in Methuen, MA, he was a scientist, naturalist, and writer. His name does not appear in the guestbook, but he notes in his "Journal of a Visit to Boston, etc., 1839" on June 28th, 1839, "I made a trip to Salem on the railroad cars. Visited the great East India Museum, collected by masters of vessels who have doubled either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. It is shown in a large room and contains many rare articles not seen in any other collection." See Samuel Prescott Hildreth, *Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of the Hildreth Family* (Marietta, OH: 1840), 258, and Keith L. Miller, "Hildreth, Samuel Prescott," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/13/13-02048.html.

7/18/1838
James T. Field, Boston (1817-1881)—He was a poet, author, publisher, and editor. See J.C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors—Books and Publishers* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1884), 619- 629.

7/25/1838
Robert Ludlow Shaw, New York (1813-1876)—Nautical instrument maker. See Anne Preuss and Don Treworgy, "Robert Ludlow Shaw," *Rittenhouse* 2 (1988): 65-69.

8/2/1838
James Railey, Mississippi—He was a member of the Mississippi Colonization Society and an officer of the American Colonization Society. See Florence Ridlon, *A Black Physician's Struggle for Civil Rights: Edward C. Mazique, M.D.* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 333-334, footnote 21.

8/29/1838
Joshua A. Carnes, Boston—He was the author of *Journal of a Voyage From Boston to the West Coast of Africa: With a Full Description of the Manner of trading With the Natives on the Coast* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1852).

8/30/1838
Henry Perrine, So. Florida (1797–1840)—He was the United States Consul in Campeche, Mexico, and as a horticulturalist, worked to cultivate tropical plants in the United States. See Jerry Wilkinson, "Dr. Henry Perrine of Indian Key," http://www.keyshistory.org/IK-dr-perrine1.html.

10/8/1838
William Page, New York (1811-1885)—He was an American painter and portraitist, and President of the National Academy of Design from 1871 to 1873. See Anne Sue Hirshorn, "Page, William," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/17/17-00641.html.

10/15/1838
Thomas S. Savage, Cape Palmas, West Africa (1804-1880)—He was an Episcopalian minister who was sent as a missionary to Camp Palmas, Liberia, in the 1830s and 1840s. He collected an unknown species of ape, and with the help of Harvard anatomist Jeffries Wyman, identified it as the Western gorilla. See Richard Conniff, "The Missionary and the Gorilla," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (Sep/Oct 2008), https://www.yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/2182/the-missionary-and-the-gorilla.

10/27/1838
Felix Paul Wierzbicki, Poland (1815-1860)—He was a participant in the unsuccessful Polish revolution of 1830, and left soon after for the United States. He practiced medicine, joined the U.S. army during the Mexican-American War, and eventually settled in California. See Teofil Lachowicz, *Polish Freedom Fighters on American Soil: Polish Veterans in America from the Revolutionary War to 1939* (Minneapolis, MN: Two Harbors Press, 2011), 21.

11/10/1838
George Coombe, Edinburgh, Scotland (1788-1858)—One of the most important phrenologists of the nineteenth century. He visited the museum with his wife Cecilia, the daughter of the actress Sarah Siddons. Combe describes their experience in his volume pertaining to traveling to the United States. "—The Museum at Salem.—We visited the museum, containing about five thousand objects of curiosity; it was formed by shipmasters who have doubled Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope. The members have the privilege of giving free admission to any one whom they choose to introduce. It contains many oriental articles of interest and value, particularly full sized figures of individuals of different ranks among the Eastern nations, each in his proper costume."

See George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America: During a Phrenological Visit in 1838-9-40*, Volume 1 (Edinburgh: Neill & Co., 1841), 202-203.

12/6/1838
Ulric Zellweger, Trogen, Switzerland (d. 1871)—According to New York Congressman John James Taylor (1808-1892), writing from Switzerland on September 3rd, 1865 to Rev. James Martineau: "I fell in also with a very interesting person—a cousin of a former pupil of mine many years ago in Manchester—who has a country-house at Trogen, the chief town of Ausser-Rhoden. Of this gentleman, M. Ulric Zellweger, I must give you a more particular account when we meet. He is a pietist and a philanthropist, and a great benefactor to his native canton in founding schools, and improving the industry of its inhabitants— the most remarkable instance I have ever met with, of the union of the fervent, undoubting faith of a Christian of the first century—firmly believing in the constant personal presence of Christ and the direct efficacy of prayer—with the clear head, the business habits, and the long-sighted economical views of a merchant and banker (he is both) of the 19th century." See John Hamilton Thom, *Letters Embracing His Life of John James Taylor*, Vol. II (London: Williams and Norgate, 1872), 256.

12/29/1838
Enoch Cobb Wines, Philadelphia (1806-1879)—He was a clergyman, taught midshipmen in the United States navy, and a prison reformer. See "Wines, Enoch Cobb," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. (2014), http://www.encyclopedia.com.

4/5/1839
Elisha Whittlesey, Canfield, Ohio (1783–1863)—He was a United States Congressman and one of the founders of the Whig Party. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

7/10/1839
Charles Lewis Tiffany, New York (1812-1902)—He was the founder of Tiffany & Co. in 1837. See Edward L. Lach Jr., "Tiffany, Charles Lewis," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/10/10-01650.html.

7/31/1839
Edward D. Morgan, New York—He was a wholesale merchant and banker, New York Governor a United States Senator, and a Union general in the Civil War. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

8/5/1839
Isaac Franklin, New Orleans (1789-1846)—He was partner in one of the largest slave trading firms in the American South, Franklin & Armfield, and owned several plantations. See Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South: With Plantation Records* (Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1968).

7/29/1840
Henry Woodruff (Capt. Britannia Steamer), Samuel Cunard (1787-1865), William Cunard (Samuel Cunard's son), and Charles Clarke, Halifax—The *Britannia* was the first of Samuel Cunard's transatlantic steamships, and this group visited the museum ten days after her maiden voyage to Halifax and then to Boston. See Phyllis R. Blakeley, "CUNARD, Sir SAMUEL," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cunard_samuel_9E.html.

9/30/1840
Edward Spalding, Havana (1792-1851)—He was a shipping agent who worked in Cuba. See Edward Spalding Papers, 1795-1825, Cuban Heritage Collection, University of Miami Libraries, Coral Gables, Florida, http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cubanHeritage/chc0184.

5/19/1840
Thomas H. Badger, Boston (1792-1868)—He was a portrait painter, a student of John Ritto Penniman and the grandson of Boston Colonial portraitist, Joseph Badger. Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who Was Who in American Art* 1564-1975 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1999).

7/19/1841
Charles Scribner, New York (1821-1871)—He founded the publishing company Scribners. See Sandra Opdycke, "Scribner, Charles," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/16/16-02474.html.

7/22/1841
F.W. Moores, US Navy, with crew of the US Brig Apprentice—According to the *Salem Register* of July 26th, 1841: "The U.S. Apprentice boys marched up in a body and visited the East India Museum on Thursday. They made quite a display with their extremely neat uniform dress, their smiling, sunburnt countenances and cheerful demeanor. It is very evident that Uncle Sam is proud of these boys, for he keeps them in good condition; and well he may for they win do honor to his 'wooden walls.' The lads attracted much attention, especially from our old Captains and seafaring men generally who seemed to be as proud of the young tars as a father of his children, or as the apprentices themselves are of their snug little brig. Uncle Sam never did a better thing than when he introduced this system. There is no excuse now far boys in seaport towns especially, becoming idle vagabonds. Most of them have a fancy for a sailor's life and if they will only look to the old gentleman and behave themselves he will make a man of every mother's son of them.— Several from this city have already entered the service, and there is an astonishing improvement in the looks, deportment, and habits of the little fellows. They feel a pride in their vocation, are satisfied with their situation and officers, and are as happy as good fare, good treatment and the pursuit of an honorable employment can

make them. Five of the Salem boys formed a part of the crew of the brig on her late visit, and it may well be supposed they were lions among their old companions."

5/30/1842
George Jones Adams, New York (1811–1880)—He led a sect of the Latter Day Saints in an effort to set up an American colony in Palestine, which was unsuccessful. See Peter Amann, "Prophet in Zion: The Saga of George J. Adams," *New England Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1964): 477-500.

5/30/1842
Erastus Snow, Nauvoo, IL (1818–1888)—He was a prominent figure in the Mormon colonization of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, and went on a mission to Salem. See Sharon Snow Carver, "Snow, Erastus," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, http://www.uen.org/utah_history_encyclopedia/s/SNOW_ERASTUS.html.

6/21/1842
H.M. Schieffelin, New York (1809-1890)—He was Vice President of the American Colonization Society in 1851 and was elected to the New York State Colonization Society's Board of Managers in 1865. See James Fairhead et al., eds., *African-American Exploration in West Africa: Four Nineteenth-Century Diaries* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003).

9/12/1842
Willard Richards, Nauvoo, IL (1804–1854)—He was the Second Counselor to Brigham Young in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints starting in 1847. See D. Michael Quinn, "They Served: The Richards Legacy in the Church," *Ensign* (January 1980), https://www.lds.org/ensign/1980/01/they-served-the-richards-legacy-in-the-church?lang=eng.

9/27/1842
John Percival, US Navy, Boston (1779-1862)—He was a colorful figure in the United States Navy, known as "Mad Jack" Percival, and the inspiration for literary characters created by Herman Melville and other writers. He served during the Quasi-War with France, the War of 1812, and other conflicts. He visited the museum with George F. Cutter, a paymaster in the United States Navy. See James H. Ellis, *Mad Jack Percival: Legend of the Old Navy* (Annapolis, VA: Naval Institute Press, 2002).

2/25/1843
A. Calderon dela Barca, Spain—He was Spain's Foreign Minister to the United States in the 1850s. See *The Works of Daniel Webster*, Vol. 6 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1851), 507-512.

7/29/1843
J. Harvey Young, Boston (1830-1918)—He was a Salem born Portrait artist. See Frank Torrey Robinson, *Living New England Artists: Biographical Sketches, Reproductions of Original Drawings and Paintings by Each Artist* (Boston: Samuel E. Cassino, 1888), 195-200.

8/1/1843
Luiz Henrique Ferreira de Aguiar—He was the Brazilian Consulate General in New York starting in 1841 for the next thirty years. See "História do Consulado-Geral do Brasil em Nova York," http://novayork.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br/historia.xml.

9/19/1843
John Cheney, Boston (1801-1885)—He was an engraver in Boston and Philadelphia. In 1833, he was elected into the National Academy of Design. See Sally Pierce, *Early American Lithography Images to 1830* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1997).

9/23/1843
Peter Paul Francis Degrand, Boston (1787-1855)—He was a French born merchant and broker in Boston, who worked on the Boston Stock Exchange and promoted the railroad. He also published the *Boston Weekly Report* and employed Edgar Allan Poe. See "P.P.F. Degrand," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P.P.F._Degrand.

10/18/1843
James D. Dana, New Haven (1813-1895)—He was a geologist and member of the United States Exploring Expedition. See Louis V. Pirsson, *Biographical Memoir of James Dwight Dana 1813-1895* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1919).

11/23/1843
John Ross Browne, Louisville, KY (1821—1875)—He was an Irish born artist, traveler, and writer. While in Zanzibar after taking a cruise on the New Bedford whaling bark *Bruce* from 1842 to 1843, he returned to the United States aboard the Salem brig *Rolla*. She anchored in Salem Harbor on November 19th, 1843, and Brown spent a week in the home of the *Rolla*'s captain Augustine S. Perkins, who became a Society member in 1866 and likely directed Browne to the museum. See Lina Fergusson Browne, ed., *J. Ross Browne: His Letters, Journals and Writings* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1969).

1/11/1844
Horace Greeley, New York (1811–1872)—He was an influential American newspaper editor, founder of the *New York Tribune*, and noted politician and abolitionist. See Erik S. Lunde, "Greeley, Horace," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/16/16-00653.html.

1/24/1844
John Bartholomew Gough, Boston (1817-1886)—Born in England, he was a noted temperance orator. See W. J. Rorabaugh, "Gough, John Bartholomew," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/16/16-00653.html.

5/8/1844
Edward Willmer, European Times Office, Liverpool

6/12/1844
John J. Audubon, New York (1785-1851)—He was an influential naturalist and artist, known for his ornithological work *The Birds of America*. See Keir B. Sterling, "Audubon, John James," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/17/17-00030.html.

9/17/1844
John Macpherson Berrien, Savannah (1781–1856)—He was United States Senator and Andrew Attorney General under Andrew Jackson. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, http://bioguide.congress.gov.

4/8/1845
Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, Washington City (1791-1858)—He was the first Commissioner of the United States Patent Office, and the founder of what became the United States Department of Agriculture. See "Guide to the Henry Leavitt Ellsworth Papers," Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, http://drs.library.yale.edu/fedora/get/mssa:ms.0196/PDF.

5/2/1845
Frederick Law Olmsted, Hartford (1822-1903)—Influential landscape architect, known as the father of American landscape architecture. He visited the museum with his brother J.H. Olmstead of Yale College. See Charles E. Beveridge, "Olmsted, Frederick Law," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/17/17-00636.html.

7/7/1845
John Chislett, Pittsburgh (1800-1869)—Born in England, he was the most prominent architect in Pittsburgh. See Lu Donnelly, "John Chislett, Architect," *Western Pennsylvania History* (Summer 2010): 8-11.

7/7/1845
George Hood, Philadelphia (1815-1869)—He was the business manager of the Philadelphia academy of music, and author of a *History of Music in New England* (Boston, 1846). See James Grant Wilson and John Fisk, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of*

American Biography, Volume III: Grinnell-Lockwood (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), 247.

10/11/1845
Freeman Hunt, New York (1804-1858)—Born in Quincy, MA, he was the founder and editor of the noted nineteenth century publication, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*. He came to the museum with John Frederic Hunt. See Jerome Thomases, "Freeman Hunt's America," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Dec. 1943): 395-407.

6/27/1846
Clifton A. Hall, Boston (1826-1913)—Born in Boston, he was an architect who worked mostly in Providence, RI. See "Clifton A. Hall," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clifton_A._Hall.

7/13/1846
John Torrey, New York (1796–1873)—He was a noted American botanist. See Liz Keeney, "Torrey, John," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/13/13-01676.html.

7/20/1846
George Bemis, Boston (1816–1878)—He was an influential Boston lawyer, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. See Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, *Memoir of George Bemis, Esq.* (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1878).

7/29/1846
Jane, Lady Franklin (1791–1875)—Born in London, she was the second wife of the explorer John Franklin (1786-1847) and sponsored several voyages to discovery the whereabouts of his ill-fated naval expedition onboard the *Erebus* and *Terror* (1845-1847). She traveled extensively, particularly in Australia, New Zealand, and Van Diemen's Land (today Tasmania) where she promoted social and cultural aspects of this new settlement. She came to the museum with her daughter during a trip to the United States, and notes in her journal that Salem "seems to be chiefly visited for its E. Ind[a] Museum." Jane Franklin Collection, Scott Polar research Institute, University of Cambridge, GB015, MS 248/160; BJ Journal, July to August 1846 [Visit to United States of America]1 volume. See Alan Cooke, "Griffin, Jane (Franklin, Lady Franklin)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/griffin_jane_10E.html.

8/19/1846
Rah ge ga gah bowh. Chief Ojebway (na written above "Ojebway"), Canada ? BNN.

1/20/1847
"Company A. (Capt. Webster's) of the Mexican Volunteers"—The *Salem Register* of January 21st, 1847, notes they visited the museum and "[i]n their march through the streets they attracted crowds of gazers who were very anxious to see how a live volunteer differed from the sham warhawks which we have in our midst."

5/9/1849
Alexandre Vattemare, Paris (1796–1864)—Born in France, he was a French ventriloquist and philanthropist also known under the stage name Monsieur Alexandre. He is most noted for creating the first international exchange system for libraries. He came to the museum during his second visit to the United States from 1847 to 1849. See Alexandre Vattemare Papers 1817-1889, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, http://archives.nypl.org/mss/3149.

6/30/1849
Charles Lanman, Washington (1819-1895)—He was a librarian at several governmental offices in Washington, D.C., an artist who trained under Asher B. Durand, governmental official, and historian who published a Dictionary on the Unites States Congress in 1859. See Lanman, Charles (1819-1895), Collection, 1826-1869, The State Historical Society of Missouri, http://shs.umsystem.edu/manuscripts/invent/3725.pdf.

7/3/1849
Epes Sargent (1813-1880)—He was a poet, playwright, and editor of several newspapers. While editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, he visited the museum as part of a horticultural tour of Essex County recounted in two columns published on July 7th and 10th. A portion was republished in the Salem Register of July 12th, 1849, where he describes his visit to the museum: "Leaving the hospitable mansion of Mr. Johnson, after a bountiful feast of Hovey's mammoth strawberries, fresh from the vines, we started for Salem, which we reached in something less than half an hour. Alighting in the large and spacious dept, we directed our steps to the East India Museum, of which every Salemite is proud; and well he may be, for it contains the most unique and valuable collection of Asiatic curiosities and rare works of art to be found in the United States. Contributions from the numerous ship-owners and sea-captains in the East India trade, for which Salem was once renowned, for a long series of years, have enriched this Museum to that extant, that a person can learn more of the habits and customs of Canton and Calcutta, by an hour or two passed in examining the little casts in clay, the costumed figures, the utensils and pictures from those cities, than in studying huge volumes of travels. There are upwards of 10,000 different names of articles on the catalogue. The hall is spacious and well proportioned, and is open daily for the reception of visiters. The East India Marine Society, by whom this interesting institution was founded, is composed only of such persons as have actually navigated the seas round the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. Among the likeness of the founders, with which the walls are adorned, is one of the late Mr. Bowditch, of this city, which is a faithful resemblance."

7/20/1849
Charles Wilkins Webber (1819-1856)—He was a journalist and explorer. See "Charles Wilkins Webber," *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, New Edition, Vol. 24 (Philadelphia, PA: Maxwell Sommerville, 1894), 881.

7/23/1849
J.A. Machado, New York—He was a slave trader, and visited the museum with J. Gago da Camara from Portugal. See "Arrest of a Noted Slaver-Trader," *The New York Times*, August 28th, 1861.

8/18/1849
Edward G.P. Wilkins, Boston (c.1830-1861)—He was a Boston born playwright and journalist who was on the editorial staff of the *New York Herald*. He also visited a year later on August 30th, 1850. See "Wilkins, Ed. G.P. (Edward G.P.), d. 1861," http://literature.proquestlearning.com.

9/1849
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts—Their visit is recorded in the *Salem Register* of October 4th, 1849. In a letter dated October 1st "To the Government and Members of the East India Marine Society," they "voted unanimously—'that the acknowledgements of the Company be presented to the East India Marine Society of Salem for their polite invitation, affording us an opportunity of visiting their spacious Hall of oriental natural and artifical productions.'" East India Marine Society. *Records, 1799-1972*. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-88, Series VI-Scrapbooks, Scrapbook 3.

10/6/1849
Maungwadans, Awinwabe, Waubudick, Uhjijauk, and Noodinokay, "Ojibway Indians of Lake Huron Visited Salem in 1849."— Maungwudas (c. 1807-after 1851), or George Henry, was an Ojibway Methodist missionary and performer. He donated a few objects to the Society in 1850 and 1851. See Norton, "This Bridge of the Yankees," 133-144.

5/21/1850
Maungwadans, Lake Huron—See above.

5/31/1850
Christophorus Plato Castanis, Greece (b. 1814)—He was a native of the island of Scio in the Aegean Sea who survived a Turkish led massacre on Scio in 1822. He came to the United States and became a lecturer on ancient and modern Greece. He recorded his name in the Society's guestbook in English and Greek. See "Castanis, Christophorus Plato, Letters, 1840-1851," American Antiquarian Society, http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Findingaids/christophorus_plato_castanis.pdf.

10/18/1850
Henry Hirzel, Directeur de l'Asib de avengsan (?), Lausanne, Switzerland—He was director of a school for the blind, deaf and dumb, and had visited the United States in 1843 for an American convention for teaching blind, deaf and dumb people. See *Documents of the Assembly of the State of New York, Seventy-Fifth Session*, Vol. 5, No. 112 (Albany, NY: C. Van Benthuysen, 1852), 179.

6/4/1851
Wulf Fries, Boston—Christian Julius Fries, nicknamed Wulf, was a German born cellist and influential performer in New England. See "Christian Julies Fries (Wulf Fries)," *Musician Biographies* (January 10, 2008), http://musicbio.wordpress.com/2008/01/10/christian-julius-fries-wulf-fries.

7/9/1851
Dr. Charles F. Guillou, US Navy (1813–99)—He was a physician in the United States Navy who was on the United States Exploring Expedition, and later physician to Kamehameha IV of Hawaii. See Charles F. Guillou Papers, Historical Collections of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, http://www.collegeofphysicians.org/FIND_AID/hist/histcfg1.htm.

8/30/1851
Samuel C. Damon, Honolulu, Sandwich Islands (1815–1885)—He was a missionary in Hawaii, pastor of the Seamen's Bethel Church, chaplain of the Honolulu American Seamen's Friend Society and editor of the monthly newspaper *The Friend*. He came with his wife and Julia S. Damon. See Samuel C. Damon Papers, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, http://www.missionhouses.org/manuscriptfinding/damon_papers.html.

10/15/1851
Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky City, Ohio (1828-1908)—He was a lawyer, abolitionist, and Underground Railroad participant. See "Rush R. Sloan House," http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/oh6.htm.

10/20/1851
Horatio Greenough, Boston (1805-1852)—He was a noted sculptor who crafted several works for the United States government such as *The Rescue* and a statue of George Washington. See Wayne Craven, "Greenough, Horatio," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/17/17-00349.html.

6/20/1852
David W. Alexander, Los Angeles (1812–1887)—Born in Ireland, he was a California pioneer and twice Sheriff of Los Angeles county. See "Death of a Pioneer," *Los Angeles Daily Herald*, April 30th, 1886.

7/21/1852
William Thurston Black, New York (c. 1810-1893)—He was a portrait painter who exhibited at the National Academy and worked in the East Coast, Midwest, before settling in San Diego. He wrote artist next to his name. See Robert Perine et al., *San Diego Artists* (Encinitas, CA: Artra Pub, 1998)

9/30/1852
The Peak Family, Vocalists and Swiss Bells

10/30/1852
Commodore Alfred Van Santvoord, New York (1819-1901)—He was a wealthy businessman who owned many steamboat lines and chartered vessels for the Union during the Civil War. See "Alfred Van Santvoord," *The New York Times*, July 2nd, 1899.

8/6/1853
Alphonso Taft, Cincinnati (1810-1891)—He was Attorney General and Secretary of War under President Ulysses S. Grant, a diplomat, and father of President William Howard Taft. See William Gardner Bell, *Secretaries of War and Secretaries of the Army: Portraits & Biographical Sketches* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1992), 80-81.

8/18/1853
William E. McMaster, New York (1823-1889)—He was a portrait artist. See http://www.askart.com/askart/m/william_e_mcmaster/william_e_mcmaster.aspx.

9/3/1853
Clara Barton, Boston (1821-1912)—Born in North Oxford, MA, she was a philanthropist and nurse who founded the American Red Cross. See Elizabeth B. Pryor, "Barton, Clara," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/12/12-00054.html.

10/7/1853
Mons La Thorne, Equestrian, New York—He was circus performer and theater stage manager. See T. Allston Brown, *A History of the New York Stage From the First Performance in 1732 to 1901*, Vol. 1 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1903, and William L. Slout, *Olympians of the Sawdust Circle: A Biographical Dictionary of the Nineteenth Century American Circus* (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo Press, 1998), 175, who notes a Mons Le Tort who was a French rider.

10/7/1853
John M. Dilks, New York (1823-1903)—He was a circus performer, also known as John M. La Thorne, who attempted cannon ball, perch and slack-wire acts. See Slout, *Olympians of the Sawdust Circle*, 167-168.

5/3/1854
Charles P. Crawford, Clay Co., Georgia—He was a lawyer and Confederate Army officer during the Civil War. See Crawford Family Papers, Cushing Memorial Library, University of Texas, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/tamucush/00164/tamu-00164.html.

8/21/1854
Alfred Jaëll (1832–1882)—He was an Austrian born virtuoso pianist. See Catherine Guichard, *Marie Jaëll: The Magic Touch, Piano Music by Mind Training* (New York: Algora Pub., 2007).

8/10/1855
William Speiden, Jr., Washington City, D.C. (1835-1920)—He was purser's clerk on the USS *Mississippi*, part of Commodore Matthew Perry's Fleet sent to Japan from 1852 to 1854. See David Ranzan et al., eds., *With Commodore Perry to Japan: The Journal of William Speiden Jr., 1852-1855* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013).

9/13/1855
Isaac Vanderbeck Fowler (1818-1869)—He was the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society (Tammany Hall) three times, and Postmaster of New York City. See "Isaac V. Fowler," *The New York Times*, Oct. 1st, 1869.

8/13/1856
Abe (Ali?) bin Abdullah, Zanzibar

9/11/1856
Augustus A. Gould, Boston (1805-1866)—He was a noted physician and conchologist, a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was a charter member of the National Academy of Sciences. See Clark A. Elliott, "Gould, Augustus Addison," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/13/13-00634.html.

8/21/1857
David C. and Rhodolphus Hall, Boston—Born in Lyme, NH, they were major figures in nineteenth century American band music. See "The Halls," http://www.yankeebrassband.org/hallbrothers.html.

11/16/1857
Sir Charles Fox, London, England (1810-1874)—He was an English civil and railway engineer. See Robert Thorne, "Fox, Sir Charles (1810–1874)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10022.

8/2/1858
Annie Sherwood, New York—(1836-1918) She was a poet known by her married name of Annie Sherwood Hawks. http://cyberhymnal.org/bio/h/a/w/hawks_as.htm.

8/6/1858
Salmon P. Chase, Governor of Ohio (1808-1873)—He was a United States Senator, Governor of Ohio, Treasury Secretary under President Abraham Lincoln, and the sixth Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Chase visited with members of the American Association for the advancement of Science, who came via the steamer *R.B. Forbes*, according to the *Salem Register* of August 23rd, 1849. See Stephen E. Maizlish, "Chase, Salmon Portland," in *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/04/04-00222.html.

8/24/1858
Henry J. Gardner, Boston (1818-1892)—He was the Governor of Massachusetts from 1855 to 1858 and a member of the short lived Know Nothing party. See Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

9/3/1858
George P. Upton, Editor Chicago Journal (1834-1919)—He was a journalist and music critic. See Mary Ann J. Feldman, "George P. Upton: Journalist, Music Critic and Mentor to Early Chicago (Illinois)," University of Minnesota, 1983. United States—Minnesota, *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*.

9/18/1858
Daniel R.B. Upton, Gambia, Africa—He was the United States Consul in Gambia, West Africa. See Enoch Richmond Ware Papers. Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library. MSS# MH-229.

9/18/1858
Richard Eddy, Canton, SC (1828-1906)—Born in Providence, RI, he was an ordained minister who served in the Civil War and was known as the "Fighting Chaplain." See Harry D. Boonin, "Richard Eddy (1828–1906): The 'Fighting Chaplain'," *The Eddy Family Association*, http://www.eddyfamilyassociation.com/biographies.htm.

9/18/1858
Edwin May, Boston (1823-1880)—He was an architect in Indianapolis, Indiana who designed the state house. See Mary Ellen Gadski, "May, Edwin," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 908.

William E. Channing, Concord (1818–1901)—He was a Transcendentalist poet, a friend of Thoreau, who wrote one of his first biographers. See William Ellery Channing Papers,

1843-1901, Concord Free Public Library,
http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/fin_aids/channing_w_e.html.

10/4/1858
Charles T. Congdon, New York (1821-1891)—He was a journalist, poet, and writer. In 1857, he worked for Horace Greeley at the *New York Tribune*. See Charles T. Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1880).

10/14/1858
Joguth Chunder Gangooly, Calcutta—He was a Christianized Hindoo, baptized as Philip, author of *Life and Religion of the Hindoos* (1860). He likely visited the museum when speaking in Boston. According to *The New York Times* of December 4th, 1858: "Philip Gangooly, a native of India, is delivering a course of lectures on India in Boston. He appears in Brahaminical costume."

1/8/1859
George D. Prentice, Louisville, KY (1802-1870)—He was editor of the *Louisville Journal*, and used it as a platform for supporting the Know-Nothing Party and publishing anti-Catholic and anti-foreigner sentiments in the 1850s. A notice of his visit and a lecture he delivered at Mechanic Hall ran in the *Salem Register* of January 13th, 1859, which mentions he visited the museum. See William C. Mallalieu, "George D. Prentice: A Reappraisal Reappraised," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (January, 1966): 44-50.

3/21/1859
LeGrand Lockwood, New York (1820-1872)—He was a businessman, financier, and art patron who served as director of the New York Central Railroad and treasurer of the New York Stock Exchange. He commissioned works from Albert Bierstadt, such as *The Domes of the Yosemite*, and purchased paintings from Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900) and William Bradford (1823-1892). He financed Bradford's art cruise to the Arctic onboard the steamer *Panther* in 1869, and after his death in 1873, Bradford dedicated the volume produced from the voyage, *The Arctic Regions*, to Lockwood. See "Le Grand Lockwood," *The New York Times*, February 25th, 1872.

5/3/1859
Forrest Shepherd, New Haven (1800-1888)—He was a geologist who patented a new type of watercolor paint and suggested using chemical weapons against the Confederates during the Civil War. See Wyndham Miles, "The Idea of Chemical Warfare in Modern Times," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 31, No. 2. (Apr –Jun., 1970): 301-302.

7/21/1859
George W. Thorne, New York (active 1850s-1870s)—He was a photographer who owned a photographic equipment store in New York and specialized in stereoviews. See http://home.centurytel.net/s3dcor/Becker/Beckers.htm.

7/16/1860
Henry Munroe Rogers, Boston (1839-1937)—He was a Boston lawyer and patron of local theater. See Rogers Memorial Collection: Henry Munroe Rogers papers, 1812-1937, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Harvard University, http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01508.

7/25/1860
Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth, Commander, U.S. Zouaves Cadet Chicago (1837-1861)—He was a soldier who rejuvenated a dysfunctional Illinois unit into one recognized nationally. He worked for Abraham Lincoln's 1860 campaign and formed a close relationship with him, and afterwards, rallied for a national military bureau. His death at the beginning of the Civil War, the first prominent Union soldier, made him a martyr. It was a rallying cry for Union soldiers and the subject of a famous print. He came to the museum along with other cadets. See Edward G. Longacre, "Ellsworth, Elmer Ephraim," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/04/04-00346.html.

7/27/1860
William S. Thayer, New York (1830-1864)—He was a newspaper correspondent, editor, and United States Consul General in Egypt. See William Sydney Thayer Papers, 1835-1901, Library of Congress, http://findingaids.loc.gov/db/search/xq/searchMfer02.xq?_id=loc.mss.eadmss.ms010249&_faSection=overview&_faSubsection=did&_dmdid=d26415e6.

10/9/1860
Rustomjee Hirjeebhoy Wadia, Bombay, India—He came from a prominent Parsi family of merchants. See Khorshed F. Jungalwala, "The Wadias of India: Then and Now," *Web Journal on Zoroastrian Heritage*, Vohuman: A Zoroastrian Educational Institute. http://www.zoroastrian.org.uk/vohuman/Article/The%20Wadias%20of%20India.htm#The Yankee Connection and a Brush with American History.

5/25/1861
David A. Burr, Washington (1838-1891)—He was a daguerreotypist, photographer, active in Salt Lake City in 1858. See Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865* (Stanford, CA: Standford University Press, 2000), 139-140.

8/28/1861
Clarence Cook, New York (1828-1900)—Born in Dorchester, MA, he was a well-known art critic. See "Clarence Cook Dead," *The New York Times*, June 3rd, 1900.

5/21/1863
William B. Cushing, US Navy (1842-1874)—He was a lieutenant in the United States Navy during the Civil War, who sank the Confederate ironclad CSS *Albemarle* in 1864. See E.M.H. Edwards, *Commander William Baker Cushing* (London & New York: F. Tennyson Neely Publishing, 1898).

8/28/1863
Louis H.F. D'Aguiar, Brazilian Consul General (with sons)

6/1/1864
T.M. Barrows, Buckleys Minstrels, Boston

9/15/1864
Edward S. Goulston, Boston—He was an English born tobacconist and influential Jewish leader at Temple Israel in Boston. See Meaghan Dwyer-Ryan, *Becoming American Jews: Temple Israel of Boston* (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, Published by University Press of New England, 2009).

9/14/1865
Barton S. Alexander, U.S.A., Washington (1819-1878)—He was an architect and engineer commander, who served in the Mexican-American War and Civil War. He completed the construction of the Smithsonian Institution, and afterwards, oversaw the rebuilding of Minot's Ledge Lighthouse. He also convinced the United States government to acquire Pearl Harbor from the Kingdom of Hawaii. See Jesse Russell and Ronald Cohn, *Barton S Alexander* (Tbilisi, GA: Tbilisi State University, 2012).

8/1/1866
George Hathorne, New York (d. 1889)—Born in Massachusetts, he was a New York architect who designed the Queens County Courthouse and an early member of the American Institute of Architects. See *American Architect and Architecture*, Vol. 25, No. 683 (January 26, 1889): 38.

8/8/1866
Bernard Soulie, New Orleans—He was a wealthy merchant and banker from a prominent free family of color in New Orleans. See Christopher E. G. Benfey, *Degas in New Orleans: Encounters in the Creole World of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

8/10/1866
Brigham Young, Salt Lake City (1801-1877)—He was an influential figure in the Church of Latter Day Saints as the second President of the church and the first governor of the Utah territory. Leonard J. Arrington, "Young, Brigham," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/08/08-01714.html.

8/25/1866
Horatio Allen (with wife), New York (1802-1889)—He was an engineer and contributed improvements to American railroads including the South Carolina Railroad, the first one in the United States. See David F. Channell, "Allen, Horatio," *American National Biography Online* (Feb. 2000), http://www.anb.org.ezproxy.bu.edu/articles/13/13-00027.html.

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Past Positions:
2012-2014: Research Assistant, Boston University, American & New England Studies
2011-2012: Teaching Fellow, Boston University, Departments of History and History of Art & Architecture
2009-2011: Assistant Curator for Exhibitions & Research, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.
2006-2009: Assistant Curator of Maritime Art and History, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.
2002-2006: Curatorial Assistant, Maritime Art and History, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.
1999-2002: Department Assistant, Maritime Art and History, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

Education:
Ph.D., American & New England Studies, Boston University, 2015
M.A., History/Historical Archaeology, University of Massachusetts Boston, 2005
B.A., Anthropology, with Honors, Brown University, Providence, RI, 1999
Williams-Mystic Maritime Studies Program, Mystic, CT, Spring 1998

Exhibits:
2011: *US Route 66: The Death of an American Icon – Photographs by Arnold Berkman* (curator) – Lawrence Street Gallery, Ferndale, Michigan
2010: *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea* (assistant curator) – Peabody Essex Museum
2009: *Seafaring Culture* and *Vessel Portraits* (curator) – Peabody Essex Museum
2008: *Western Depictions of Pacific Island Tattoos* (curator) – Peabody Essex Museum
2007: *Seafaring Culture* and *Vessel Portraits* (curator) – Peabody Essex Museum
2006: *The Yachting Photography of Willard B. Jackson* (co-curator) – Peabody Essex Museum
2005: *Picturing Marseille: The Sketchbooks of Antoine Roux (1765-1835).* Online exhibit curator and organizer – Peabody Essex Museum

Articles and Book Chapters:
Forthcoming: "John Remond." In *Reflections on Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.
2015: "Iron Plates & Belching Stacks: Marine Painting of the Civil War and Industrialization on the High Seas." *Coriolis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1.
2013: "A Pint of the Past: Assessing Authenticity in Modern Versions of Ancient and

Historic Ales." *Brewery History: The Journal of the Brewery History Society*, Longfield, Kent, UK.

2012: "'In Remembrance of My Cruise': Japanese Textiles for Western Sailors during the Meiji Period." *Threads of Silk and Gold: Ornamental Textiles from Meiji Japan.* Hiroko T. McDermott & Clare Pollard, with essays by Katsumi Mori and George Schwartz. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford University.

2012: "'The Chief Spirit…Our Venerable Fellow Citizen': The Life of John Remond in Antebellum Salem, Massachusetts." *Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings.*

2011: "Digging up Salem's Golden Age: New Archaeological Discoveries Concerning Ceramic Use Among the Merchant Class." *Ceramics in America*. Chipstone Foundation.

2010: Contributing author, *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mythic Sea*. New Haven and London: Peabody Essex Museum in association with Yale University Press.

Conference Papers and Recent Speaking Engagements:

2014: "Collecting and Arranging…a History of the Globe": The Salem East India Marine Society and the Exploration of American Identity. *New England and the World.* Graduate Student Association Conference, American & New England Studies, Boston University.

2014: *PEM/PM—British Pub Night*. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. Gallery lecture on beer and pubs during the time of J.M.W. Turner in connection with the exhibition *Turner & the Sea.*

2014: "'In Memory of Our Famous Cruise': Japanese Textiles for American Sailors in the Context of Imperial Exchange." Association of Art Historians 40th Annual Conference, Royal College of Art, London.

2013: *Friday Evening Gallery Event—The Beer Tour and the Wine Tour*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. Gallery lecture on *Merrymakers at Shrovetide* by Frans Hals and Dutch beer.

2013: *Beyond Production and Consumption: Refining American Material Culture Studies* Graduate Student Association Conference, American & New England Studies at Boston University - Commentator for the section "Evocative Commodities and Material Imaginaries."

2012: "'In Remembrance of My Cruise': Japanese Textiles for Western Sailors during the Meiji Period." Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford University, *Threads of Silk and Gold: Ornamental Textiles from Meiji Japan* exhibition opening symposium.

2012: *A Pint With Mr. Nobody: Beer and the Ceramic Traditions*, panel talk and tasting. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. Organizer, moderator, and presenter.

2011: *A Pint of the Past: Ancient and Historic Beer*, panel talk and tasting. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. Organizer, moderator, and presenter.

2010: *Beer+Chocolate=Food of the Gods*, panel talk and tasting. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. Organizer, moderator, and presenter.

2010: "'The Chief Spirit…Our Venerable Fellow Citizen': The Life of John Remond in Antebellum Salem, Massachusetts," lecture. Salem Athenaeum.
2010: *Dutch Beer Tasting*, panel talk and tasting. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. Organizer and moderator.
2008: "'The Chief Spirit…Our Venerable Fellow Citizen': The Life of John Remond in Antebellum Salem, Massachusetts," paper. Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Deerfield, MA.
2006: *The Yachting Photography of Willard B. Jackson*, exhibition lecture. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.
2005: "Digging Up Salem's Past," paper. Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology Annual Conference, Trenton, NJ.
2005: "Go Straight Ahead: Salem's Rise to Global Entrepôt," lecture. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

Archaeological Field Research:
2003-2004: Gosnold's Island excavation, Cuttyhunk, MA - Part of a five-man crew
1998: Tel Tanninim Archaeological Project, Israel – Volunteer

Awards
2014: Francis E. Malamy Research Fellow, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA
2014: Angela J. and James J. Rallis Memorial Award, Boston University Center for the Humanities
2014: Edwin S. and Ruth M. White Prize, Boston University Center for the Humanities
2014: Summer Research Fellowship, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Boston University
1998: Dorot Foundation Travel Grant, Brown University, Providence, RI

Organizational Memberships
Camp Rising Sun, Louis August Jonas Foundation, Rhinebeck, New York. Alum.
The Speckled Band of Boston, literary society (scion society of the Baker Street Irregulars, NYC)